

back, having on the left side a single curve, and on the right side a serpentine profile.

Finally, the historian of Byzantine iconography is presented with the task of determining when the repetition of a motif or figure type in two apparently separate contexts is merely a matter of artistic convenience, and when it carries a deeper significance. This problem is illustrated by another page from the Paris Gregory (folio 226v., fig. 50), which shows Moses striking the rock, and the people kneeling prostrate beside the flowing water. Here it is hard to determine whether the Israelites' kneeling poses were just intended to show the action of drinking from the stream, or whether, as Dr. Cutler suggests, they bore a further meaning, of *proskynesis* or reverence for the living waters flowing from the Rock as a symbol of Christ. In other cases, however, Dr. Cutler can convincingly demonstrate from texts that the Byzantines intentionally repeated the same figure type in two different contexts, in order to express visually a connection in theme or subject matter. A striking example is the parallel between the genuflecting poses of Adam raised from Limbo in portrayals of the *Anastasis*, and of Peter saved from the waves in the Walking on the Water, poses which were specifically linked as images of redemption by the Byzantine ecclesiastic Mesarites, in his *ekphrasis* of the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.

The book is neatly produced, but there appear to be several misprints, particularly in the Greek texts cited in the notes.

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*Agape: An Ethical Analysis.* By Gene Outka. New Haven: Yale University Press; 1972. Pp. 321. \$15.00

This book is an ethical analysis of the concept of Christian love or agape from the point of view of a writer deeply indebted to a protestant theological stance, but who seeks to objectively analyze the idea of love in terms of its logical, rational, philosophical, and theological implications and consequences. Of the eight chapters, the first and the last serve best to articulate

Outka's own views about the basic meaning of love and the consequences of that position. Thus, the first chapter is entitled "The Content of Human Agape" and the last, "A Revisit." Five of the remaining chapters make deep and penetrating analyses on the meaning of Christian love in reference to other related concepts. Thus, he deals with the thorny issues of agape as self-love (Chapter 2), love and justice (Chapter 3), agape and subsidiary rules (Chapter 4), agape as a virtue of the agent (Chapter 5), and the status and justification of human agape (Chapter 6, the most demanding of the chapters). Chapter 7 is a thorough discussion of agape in the thought of Karl Barth, a refreshing pause for the theologian after the thorny by-ways of the ethical analysis of the previous chapter.

In an attempt to accurately deal with the basic emphases of the author and to note how he relates his key understanding of agape with dimensions of the problem, Chapters 1 and 8 will consequently be the central focus of our attention. The sections of the first chapter are instructive: self-love as wholly nefarious . . . as normal, reasonable, prudent . . . as justified derivatively . . . as a definite obligation. In his second chapter, Outka then provides for us a survey of the possible relationships in the literature under discussion between self-love (not always referred to as eros) and various views of agape.

Outka defines agape as "equal regard" and contrasts it for purposes of conceptual clarity with understandings of agape as self-sacrifice and mutuality. The initial definition reads as follows:

Agape is regard for the neighbor which in crucial respects is independent and unalterable. To these features there is a corollary: the regard is for every person qua human existent, to be distinguished from those special traits, actions, etc., which distinguish particular personalities from each other (p. 9).

He frequently restates his understanding of agape and elsewhere summarizes as follows:

. . . the well-being of others ought to be considered as well as one's own, that each person is irreducibly valuable and one person's well-being is as valuable as another's (p. 196).

. . . agape as neighbor-love means "identification with his interests in utter independence of the question of his attrac-



tiveness, of what he has to offer, of the reciprocity of the relationship . . . (quoting Karl Barth) (p. 214).

. . . agape is, in both its genesis and continuation, an active concern for the neighbor's well-being which is somehow independent of particular actions of the other (p. 260).

. . . agape enjoins one to identify with the neighbor's point of view, to try to imaginatively see what it is for him to live the life he does, to occupy the position he holds (p. 311).

This concept and understanding is brought to bear on several important collateral ethical issues.

In the last chapter he deals with the question of the relationship between self-love and agape in relation to his central understanding of agape as "equal regard." In this final "Revisit" chapter, Outka tends to dispute the view that all self-regard is incompatible with agape. He seems to agree with Paul Tillich that there is a "normal drive towards vital self-fulfillment" on a more or less natural plane which cannot and need not be removed for agape to be exercised. However, it is a self-love, spontaneously arising, which "is not blameworthy but not particularly praiseworthy." Simply, agape ought to control it so that in its expression this "epithymia" (desire) might not subvert the integrity of the other. He further points out that agape is mutual. This mutuality requires a certain love of self for "a man must apprehend and be present to himself in his uniqueness if he is to cherish another." He seems to understand the relationship of the two in terms of "coincidence." Self-love is a manifest duty, but it is never an alternative to neighbor-love, nor does it proceed neighbor-love in a causative manner: rather, it is correlative with it.

Thus, in a similar manner is self-sacrifice subsumed to agape. Throughout the book he denies that "equal regard" means providing a "blank check" to others so that they may exploit the person who lives according to agape. He approaches the issue by examining the potential situations. Self-sacrifice, which may be the meaning of agape on a one-to-one basis, may change radically when another or others are introduced into the situation. I may not sacrifice others by my self-sacrifice, nor may my self-sacrifice be "parasitic"—possible because of what others do.

Generally, therefore I am inclined to think that instead of appraising self-sacrifice as the purest and most perfect manifestation of agape, the difficulties I have considered are

avoided if one allows it only *instrumental* warrant. Self-sacrifice must always be purposive in promoting the welfare of others and never simply expressive of something resident in the agent (p. 278).

What relationship does agape have with the benefits which accrue to the agent when he acts according to agape? This may be put otherwise by asking what is the relationship of agape and philia (mutual love)? The author holds that

one should distinguish between the independence of the existence of regard from a response and regard manifested in a concern about states of others independent of concern about reciprocity . . . there is nothing to preclude an acceptance of the latter. Indeed, any serious regard for others would seem invariably to result in actions whose aim is to establish, continue, or alter certain states in other men, and whose collateral effects are largely confided to others (p. 280).

Outka's work is a valuable contribution to understanding the meaning of agape in Christian ethics. "Equal regard" as the key definition of agape points to the unconditioned aspect of the prototype which is God's love for His creatures. As unconditioned, it puts into subservient position the attractiveness, worth, and deservingness of the person loved. This is crucial to an understanding not only of God's agape, but also of the agape which we as Christians are called to exercise as the image and likeness of God.

Nevertheless, there remain questions of the adequacy of Outka's insistence on agape as "equal regard" which at the same time is not incompatible with self-love, with mutuality of love (philia), and with the special demands of neighbor-love. Moreover, the most unsatisfactory aspect of this treatment is the almost total absence of love for God in his treatment of agape. Admittedly, any attempt to comprehend and isolate the uniqueness of agape faces this problem. Nygren's *Agape and Eros* is an extreme statement of this problem. The patristic willingness to see agape as integrally united with divine eros is one solution to the issue. However, Outka seems to resolve the question by simply placing love for God outside his concern for understanding agape. The projection of "equal regard" on love for God shows its weakness. The utter uniqueness of God immediately casts the "equal" dimension of his definition into doubt.

Yet, this is an important book which deals honestly and seriously with perhaps the most important theoretical question in Christian ethics. Students of ethics, whether in schools of theology, universities, or parishes will find it provocative, enlightening, and well worth reading.

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*Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective*, by Demetrios J. Constantelos. Minneapolis, Minn., Light and Life Publishing Company, 1975. Pp.93. Paper \$3.95.

The book's title and its cover, adorned with the photo of a handsome young bride and groom, are somewhat misleading. *Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* is not intended to be a systematic presentation of the Orthodox Church's understanding of marriage and related subjects or a guide for those contemplating marriage or involved in pastoral counseling. As the introduction warns (p. 8): "The reader will soon realize that this is not intended to serve as a pattern of behavior or as guidelines for pastoral ministry. In my writings, it has been my practice to provide the facts and the evidence and let the reader draw conclusions for himself. In this work, too, I examine three areas of human concern and indicate how marriage, sexuality, and celibacy have fared in the life of the Church through history."

Yet this statement also needs qualification. The book is based on papers delivered by the author on three different occasions to different audiences and under different circumstances. Hence its presentation of "the facts and the evidence" is neither exhaustive nor uniform. While some topics receive close attention, others—perhaps more important ones—go unmentioned. A further difficulty arises from the way in which "historical approach" (p.7) is employed. Facts and evidence seldom are self-explanatory. Their very selection and arrangement demand a broader perspective. Unfortunately, the book, despite its subtitle, often lacks this needed perspective. Some sections (I have in mind that entitled "Theological Foundations and the Purpose of Marriage") do successfully integrate the raw historical

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**APPLICATIONS OF THE THEME 'EIKON THEOU'  
(IMAGE OF GOD)  
ACCORDING TO SAINT BASIL THE GREAT \***

The theme of the image of God finds various applications in the theology of Saint Basil the Great. Among these applications are those in the domain of trinitarian theology, angelology, anthropology, Christology, ecclesiology, and finally, eschatology. As a small contribution to the understanding of the theology of this great Cappadocian father, the present study intends to briefly discuss each of these applications.

**TRINITARIAN DOCTRINE**

Among the various applications of the theme of the image of God, Basil affirms the Son's divinity by using the theme of the important. Saint Basil establishes the divinity of the Son of God by using the scriptural theme of the image.

**The Son, Image of the Invisible**

Against Arianism, which attacked the divinity of the Son of God, Basil affirms the Son's divinity by using the theme of the image of God. The Son is the living image of the Invisible God. This means that the Son, as an image of God, has the same essence as God. Because He is the perfect image of the Father, he reflects not only the "magnificent attributes" of the essence of the Father, but also the very essence itself. Thus, the Son fully reflects both the essence and energies of God the Father.<sup>1</sup>

\* This study originally appeared as part of my thesis "La dialectique de l'image de Dieu chez Saint Basile le Grand," submitted to the School of Theology of the University of Louvain in partial fulfillment of the requirements "pro gradu Doctoris in Sacra Theologia." It has been revised, especially with regard to the notes. I am deeply appreciative of the good suggestions of my thesis director, the late Monsignor Gérard Philips, under whose guidance this work was written.

<sup>1</sup> Among the many passages which we find in Saint Basil's works in reference to this doctrine, see: *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 18; PG 29:552C; *ibid.*; 1, 20; PG 29:556C; *ibid.*, 1, 23; PG 29:564A; *ibid.*, 1, 27; PG 29:572A; *ibid.*, 2, 16; PG 29:604C-605A; *ibid.*, 2, 17; PG 29:605B; *ibid.*, 2, 31; PG 29:645B. Cf. *Contra Sabellianos*, 2; PG 31:604BC; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 21; PG 32:105AB; *Homilia de fide*, 2; PG 31:465C-468B; *Letter* 105; PG 32:513A; *Letter* 226, 3; PG 32:849A; *Letter* 236, 1; PG 32:877AB; and *Liturgy*, ed. F. E. Brightman, in *Liturgies Eastern and Western, Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church* (Oxford, 1896), p. 322, lines 28-30; and p. 402, lines 18-19.

Nevertheless, although the essence and energies of the Son are identical to those of the Father, the persons of the Father and of the Son are by no means identical. Each person possesses his unique personal properties, "propria personarum." In this way the identity of essence and energies does not exclude the diversity of persons between the Father and the Son: the "propria personarum" (*ἰδιαζόντως ἐπιθεωρούμενα*)<sup>2</sup> are not reflected in the image of God. The paradox of similarity and dissimilarity between image and its archetype is kept, even in the most perfect expression of this image, the image of God in His Son.<sup>3</sup>

### The Spirit of God: Image of the Son?

The fifth book of *Against Eunomius*, employs the theme of image in defending the divinity of the Holy Spirit: "As Christ is the image of God . . . so the Spirit is the image of the Son,"<sup>4</sup> also, "the Spirit is the visible and natural image of God and of the Lord."<sup>5</sup> However, this work is rejected as inauthentic and is attributed to Didymos the Blind.

In his authentic works, Saint Basil does not develop the idea of the Holy Spirit as the image of God. There are two reasons for this: the first is methodological; the second is theological. Insofar as methodology is concerned, Basil always establishes his doctrine on the basis of Holy Scripture. Reasonings are accepted to elaborate a doctrine only if the doctrine is basically found in Holy Scripture. Yet, nowhere in the Scripture is the Spirit said to be the "image of God" or the "image of the Son." For this reason Basil does not draw upon the theme of image in his justification of the divinity of the Spirit.

Moreover, from a theological perspective, the idea of the Spirit as the "image of God" or as the "image of Christ" violates the scriptural doctrine of "monarchy" in the divinity<sup>6</sup> advocated by Basil. According to the doctrine of monarchy, the Father has

<sup>2</sup> See *Letter* 28, 6; PG 32:336C; ed. Courtonne, 6; p. 89, line 7; *ibid.*, 4; PG 32:332A; ed. Courtonne, 4; p. 85, lines 40-42; *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 28; PG 29:637B; *ibid.*, 1,14; PG 29:545A; *ibid.*, 2,4; PG 29:577C; *ibid.*, 1, 7; PG 29:524D.

<sup>3</sup> See my thesis "La dialectique de l'image de Dieu chez Saint Basile le Grand," University of Louvain, 1964, pp. 50-62.

<sup>4</sup> "Εἰκὼν μὲν Θεοῦ Χριστός, . . . εἰκὼν δὲ τιοῦ τοῦ Πνεύματος." *Adversus Eunomium*, 5; PG 29:724C.

<sup>5</sup> "Ὅτι εἰκὼν ἀληθῆς καὶ φυσικὴ Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου τοῦ Πνεύματος." *Ibid.*, 5; PG 29:725B.

<sup>6</sup> "Τὸ εὐσεβὲς δόγμα τῆς μοναρχίας." *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 47; PG 32:153BC.

an absolute supremacy in the All-Holy Trinity. He is the source and the principle in the life of the Blessed Trinity: "The natural goodness, the innate holiness, the royal dignity, passes from the Father through the Only Begotten to the Spirit."<sup>7</sup> According to this doctrine, if an "image passes" to the Spirit through the Son, it must be the image of God the Father. Yet, Saint Basil does not call the Spirit the image of God the Father. The Spirit is called the "spiritual light" which enlightens man and shows him the Image of the Invisible God: Christ, through Whom man contemplates the light of the paternal Archetype.<sup>8</sup>

### ANGELOLOGY

Are the angels created in the image of God? Saint Basil does not give an explicit answer to this question. There is only one text in the *Hexaemeron* which refers to the image of God and the angels. In this instance, he refutes the Philonian doctrine of the "image of angels."<sup>9</sup> According to this doctrine, God creates man with the assistance of the angels<sup>10</sup> and is addressing the angels when He says: "Let us make man according to our image and likeness." Basil states that the Son of God, not the angels, is the one to whom God addressed the words of Genesis 1.26. The Son of God, not the angels, is the "living image" of God, identical with the fatherly Archetype. However, he does not state whether the angels themselves are made in the image of God.

Nevertheless, the concept of the creation of the angels themselves in the image of God is implied in Saint Basil's theology. The same constitutive elements of the image are found in the angels and in man: Basil speaks frequently of the reason and the freedom of the angels; he speaks of their knowledge and love of God, of their perfection, their holiness, and their communion in the Holy Spirit. They are established in the Good through the use of their free will; they are "stable" in their choice for God, even though they are of "unstable" nature, as is man.<sup>11</sup> For Saint Basil, the angels are superior to man, setting

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 18, 47; PG 32:153B.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 18, 47; PG 32:153AB.

<sup>9</sup> In *Hexaemeron*, 9, 6; PG 29:205AC; ed. Giet, pp. 516-18.

<sup>10</sup> Philo the Jew, *De opificio mundi*, 24, 14-15; ed. Cohn, 25.

<sup>11</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 3, 2; PG 29:660AC; *ibid.*, 3, 4; PG 29:661BC; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 16, 38; PG 32:136A-140B; *In Hexaemeron*, 1, 5; PG 29:13A; ed. Giet, pp. 104-106; *ibid.*, 2, 4; PG 29:40C-41A; ed. Giet, pp. 162-164; *ibid.*, 3, 9; PG 29:73D-76A; ed. Giet, p. 236.

an example for him to follow: "Man, who pursues perfection, elevates himself to the dignity of angels;"<sup>12</sup> he does this because he is created in the image of God, thus being virtuous like the angels.<sup>13</sup> If man, although he is inferior to the angels, has the potential of being assimilated with God because of the image of God in him, the angels, who have the same and even superior prerogatives than man, should also be created in the image of God. This, although the creation of the angels in the image of God is not explicitly stated—probably either because it is not scriptural, or because the opportunity or need of making such a statement did not arise—nevertheless, this doctrine is in continuity with the theology of St. Basil.

### ANTHROPOLOGY

Saint Basil uses the theme of the image of God mostly in the domain of anthropology, where he makes multiple applications of it.

Saint Basil sees the creation of man in the image of God as an expression of God's love towards man. Man is particularly favored among God's creation, elevated by God to the special dignity of being created in His image. This dignity distinguishes man from the rest of creation: man is the only one to be created in the image of God.<sup>14</sup>

What in man reflects the image of God? Where in man's dual nature, both material and spiritual, is the image of God to be found? Saint Basil excludes the body from the image of God. Unlike his brother Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>15</sup> Basil believes that man's body cannot reflect God, because God is bodiless.<sup>16</sup> Only the human soul is created in the image of God. The soul possesses whatever there is which makes man God-like. Thus man is led to knowledge of God through his soul, through that which within him is God-like; in this way he gains knowledge of "the Like by

<sup>12</sup> *In Hexameron*, 9, 6; PG 29:205BC; ed. Giet, p. 518.

<sup>13</sup> *In illud, attende tibi ipsi*, 6; PG 31:212B.

<sup>14</sup> See *Regulae fusius tractatae*, 2, 3; PG 31: 913B; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 449BD; and *In illud, attende tibi ipsi*, 6; PG 31: 21 2BC.

<sup>15</sup> See Roger Leys, *L'image de Dieu chez Saint Gregoire de Nysse* (Brussels, 1951), pp. 64-65. Even for Gregory, though, priority is given to the human soul, created in the image of God. For Gregory, the body participates in the nobility of the soul, being the instrument through which the soul-in-the-image-of-God expresses itself (*ibid.*).

<sup>16</sup> See *In illud, attende*, 7; PG 31: 216A.



the like." In knowing the soul as "bodiless and invisible," man knows God, bodiless and invisible.<sup>17</sup>

More specifically, St. Basil notes the special attributes of man which characterize the image of God within him. Man's reason (λογικόν) and his freedom of will (αὐτεξούσιον) are seen by him as the main faculties of the human soul which reflect the image of God in man. They make man God-like; furthermore, it is through their good use that man progresses in likeness with God.<sup>18</sup> Our "affectivity," which is principally our faculty of love, is also included in the image of God in us. God has implanted in us the seeds of our force of loving the Creator. Man is called to cultivate these seeds, to know and love God, to unite himself with Him—to resemble Him.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the power that man has over creation is included as a consequence of man's creation in the image of God: the "royal faculty" (ἡγεμονικόν) is given to man so that he might master the creation.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the human soul is crowned with immortality, which is part of the image of God in man.<sup>21</sup>

What exactly does Saint Basil understand when he speaks of "image of God" in reference to the hypostases of the Holy Trinity? Is man created "in the image of the Trinity," as Saint Augustine would say in the West?

The question seems legitimate, since St. Basil cites the same attributes which St. Augustine notes as the elements of the image of God in man: reason, will, and love.<sup>22</sup> Yet, Saint Basil

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 3; PG 31: 204A; also ibid., 7; PG 31: 261A.

<sup>18</sup> See *Regulae fustius*, 2, 2; PG 31: 913B; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 419C; *In illud, attende*, 3; PG 31: 204A; ibid., 6; PG 31: 212BC; ibid., 7; PG 31: 216B; and *Quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, 6; PG 31: 344B.

<sup>19</sup> *Regulae fustius*, 2, 1; PG 31: 908B-914A.

<sup>20</sup> *Regulae fustius*, 2, 3; PG 31: 913B; *In illud, attende*, 6; PG 31: 212BC; and *In Hexameron*, 9, 5; PG 29: 201C; ed. Giet, p. 508.

<sup>21</sup> See *In illud, attende*, 3; PG 31: 204AC; and *Ad adolescentes*, 8; PG 31: 588C; ed. Boulenger, 10; p. 60, lines 21-22.

<sup>22</sup> For the doctrine of Saint Augustine see J. Heijke, "St. Augustine's Comments on 'Imago Dei,' An Anthology from All his Works Exclusive of the *De Trinitate*," in *Classical Folia*, Supplement III (1960), pp. 14, 16, 20, 37-38, 49-50, 51-52, 66, 67, 68, 72-75, 77, and 87-88. Also, excerpts from the *De Trinitate* in English translation referring to the same doctrine are found in Henry Bettenson, *The Later Christian Fathers* (London, 1970), pp. 229-

does not make the same use of these elements. For Augustine, these elements are equivalent to the *propria personarum* of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; thus reason is ascribed to the Father, will to the Son, and love to the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, for Saint Basil these faculties of the soul reflect the common attributes (*κοινῶς ἐπιθεωρούμενα*) of the divine substance, distinct from the substance itself and common to the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity. The *propria personarum* are not reflected in the image of God in man.<sup>23</sup>

For Saint Basil, man is not called the "image of the Father," or the "image of the Son," or the "image of the Holy Spirit." Only the Son of God is called the image of the Father, the image of the invisible God. What man is in relation to the hypostases in the Trinity, is that he is "in the image of God" (the Father), which the Son imprints in us, being our "creative cause," and the Spirit leads to perfection, being our "perfecting cause." It is only the Father who, being our "primordial cause," is the source of the "image of God" in us. The other two persons do not have their image in us as persons.

As for the "nature" of this image, the image of God in us is the reflection in us of divine attributes, such as: immortality, reason, freedom, will, love, perfection and holiness, otherwise called the energies of God, common to the three persons of the Holy Trinity.<sup>24</sup>

36. See also Gerald McCool, "The Ambrosian Origin of St. Augustine's Theology of the Image of God in Man," in *Theological Studies*, 20.1 (1959), pp. 62-81. Cf. Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge, England, 1968), p. 81.

23 These "*propria personarum*" or hypostatic idioms (properties) are different in Saint Basil and Augustine. For Saint Basil, these idioms are "Fatherhood" (or the "pious dogma of monarchy") for God the Father, "Generation" for the Son, and "procession" for the Holy Spirit. See *Letter* 38, 4; PG 32: 329A-352A; ed. Courtonne, pp. 84-84, lines 1-50; cf. *Contra Sabelianos*, 6; PG 31: 612BC, and *Letter* 105; PG 32: 513AB. See also my article "Image as 'Sign' (Semeion) of God: Knowledge of God through the Image according to Saint Basil," in *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 21.1 (1976), p. 35.

24 See my article *Image as 'Sign,'* p. 35, note 55. Cf. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, pp. 79-80 and 115.

As one can see, this interpretation of the image of God in us in Saint Basil's theology has nothing in common with the Augustinian view of man as an "image of the Trinity."<sup>25</sup> R. Leys supports this conclusion when speaking of the theology of Basil's brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa; indeed he finds no place for the view of man created in the image of the Trinity in St. Gregory as in any Eastern Father.<sup>26</sup> St. Basil is no exception.

### SPECIAL PROBLEMS

#### Image and Likeness

One of the special problems concerning the image of God in man is the distinction between "image" and "likeness." This distinction, considered by some scholars as a philosophical one, has its beginning in Origen.<sup>27</sup> It is greatly developed in the

<sup>25</sup> One might be tempted to see a kind of "image of the son" or "image of the Spirit" in such expressions as "conformity with the image of the Son of God," or "put on Christ," or "spiritualization," or "conformity with the Spirit." In reality, this "image of the Son of God is identical with the "image of the Father." Both of them indicate the common "Magnificent attributes" or energies of God, fully shared together with the substance by the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity. This is the image that God put in us at our creation. As for the expressions "put on Christ" and "become spiritual," they refer to the restoration of the image in the life of grace. They indicate participation in the "magnificent attributes" of the Holy Trinity, which descend to us from the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit.

<sup>26</sup> Leys, *L'image de Dieu*, pp. 93-97.

<sup>27</sup> See Erik Peterson, "L'immagine di Dio in S. Ireneo," in *La Scuola Cattolica*, 69.1 (1941), pp. 50-51: In chapter 6 of his book *Against the Heresies*, Saint Irenaeos makes a distinction between 'image,' as being similarity with God, found in our body, and 'likeness,' as being resemblance with God, the result of the work of the Holy Spirit in us. Peterson makes the following remark: "The distinction between the image and the likeness of God in man (which we find) in this chapter of Saint Irenaeos is important, because in a sense it anticipates the future doctrine of the Church" (ibid.). Cf. Gustaf Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation, A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeos*, translation Ross Mackenzie (Philadelphia, Great Britain, 1959), pp. 14-26, 90-100, 147-59, 201-213. See also Henri Crouzel, *Théologie de l'image de Dieu chez Origène* (Paris, 1956), pp. 32, and 217-45. We read on page 217: "The distinction between 'image,' which is given at the beginning, and the 'likeness,' which is the purpose of human life— [a distinction] which we have found in Platonic philosophers, in Irenaeos, and in Clement [of Alexandria]—also occupies an important place in the doctrine of Origen on the image."

homilies *On the Human Structure*, attributed to Saint Basil.<sup>28</sup>

Following Origen, in the first homily *On the Human Structure*, Basil establishes the distinction between "image" and "likeness" as a distinction between the Aristotelian terms *δύναμις* (power) and *ἐνέργεια* (energy, action):

The reasonable and spiritual part of my being, in which I am created in the image of God, is a power. The action consists in the accomplishment of virtue, in achieving good in my activity, and reaching the likeness of God through my best [Christian] behavior.

Thus, since my creation, I have received in my nature what makes me to be in the image of God: this is the origin and the roots of the good in me. The likeness of God comes to me through my actions, my labors to achieve the good, my virtuous life. This is why my Creator has not attributed to me the likeness of God at my creation. For it is written in the Gospel: "Become (*γίνεσθε*) perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect."<sup>29</sup>

Father E. Stephanou is correct in seeing in this text the fulfillment of the promise given by Saint Basil in his last homily, *On Hexaemeron*. Saint Basil says: "In what has man the image of God and how does he participate in His likeness? This is what we are going to discuss in what follows, if God allows."<sup>30</sup> This plan is followed by the homilies *On the Human Structure*:

The end of the ninth homily gives the division of the next homily planned by Basil: 'Ἐν τίνι οὖν ἔχει τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ πῶς μεταλαμβάνει τοῦ καθ'ὁμοίωσιν.' The originality of the answer is already contained in the way the question is posed by the Saint: to be *κατ'εἰκόνα* of God is a matter of nature (*ἔχει*), whereas to be *καθ'ὁμοίωσιν* of God is a matter of personal effort and of freedom of will (*μεταλαμβάνει*). Now, the *Ia De Structura* is entirely concerned with responding to this clear division. The author

<sup>28</sup> From my study of these homilies I would agree with Stanislas Giet that the ideas in them are those of Saint Basil, even if in their present form the homilies do not seem to be Basilian. They are probably the work of some stenographer who took notes while Saint Basil was lecturing on the subject. The study of the doctrine of the image in the undoubtedly authentic works of Saint Basil confirms this view. Cf. Stanislas Giet, "Saint Basile a-t-il donné suite à l'Hexaéméron?" in *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (1946), p. 520, note 3.

<sup>29</sup> *De hominis structura*, 1.20; PG 30:32CD.

<sup>30</sup> *In Hexaemeron*, 9.6; PG 29:208A; ed. Giet, p. 520.

summarizes his answer in the following nice sentence, quoted by Saint Maximos in his *Loci Communes*: ‘Ὡστε τὸ κατ’ εἰκόνα μὲν ἔχεις ἐκ τοῦ λογικὸς εἶναι. καθ’ ὁμοίωσιν δὲ γένη ἐκ τοῦ χρηστότητα ἀναλαβεῖν’ (*Ia De Structura*, 21; PG 30: 33A). I confess that the author of *De Hominis Structura* has captured and realized the original plan of Saint Basil well, based on an idea both nice and new.<sup>31</sup>

The same E. Stephanou<sup>32</sup> finds an interesting parallel doctrine in the homily *On Psalm 48*. In this text, the image of God in man is seen as the great natural privilege of man: man is “precious in his natural construction” (τὸ τίμιον ἐν τῇ φύσει κατὰ σκευὴ ἔχων) because of the image of God in him, which distinguishes him from the rest of creation.<sup>33</sup> On the basis of this image, man was called to become God-like: “Man was elevated above the whole creation; no creature but he is called the image of God in the highest. Yet, man did not realize his dignity: he stopped following God and resembling the Creator. On the contrary, he enslaved himself to his passions; he compared himself with the unreasonable animals; he became their equal.”<sup>34</sup> S. Giet<sup>35</sup> finds a similar text in the book *On the Holy Spirit*, where Basil sees the purpose of man’s creation as “resemblance with God, as much as this is possible for the human nature.”<sup>36</sup> In the life of grace, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, man “abides in God, resembles God,” and achieves the “ultimate desirable:” “he becomes God.”<sup>37</sup> One thing is clear from these texts, that man has to *become* God-like, whereas he *is* created in the image of God, which makes him more precious than any other creature. The distinction between image and likeness is implied in these texts.

Other texts speak in the same sense. Thus, in the homily, *On Observing Yourself*, we read:

31 Elpide Stéphanou, “Le sixième jour de l’Hexaëmeron de Saint Basile,” in *Echos d’Orient*, 168 (1932), p. 391.

32 Ibid.

33 *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 449BD.

34 Ibid.

35 Giet, *Saint Basile a-t-il donné suite*, p. 520, note 3.

36 *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1.2; PG 32: 109C.

37 Ibid., 9.23; PG 32:109C.

You are a man, the only living being to be created by the hands of God Himself, Creator of the universe. Just think about it: is this privilege not enough to fill your heart with joy and confidence? Made in the image of Him who created you, you can elevate yourself to the dignity of angels, through your virtuous life. You are endowed with an intelligent soul, so that you know God, reason on the nature of beings, and collect the agreeable fruits of science. All animals on earth are subject to your authority . . . These are your advantages as a human; but there is one of a superior order: God became man for you, the Holy Spirit poured out his grace, the dominion of death has been destroyed, the hope of resurrection has been given, divine precepts perfect your life, the observance of the commandments gives you the power to come closer to God, the Kingdom of Heaven and the crowns of justice are reserved for those who do not avoid the labors inherent in the practice of virtue.<sup>38</sup>

The same ideas are present in this text, as in the previous texts: the image of God in man is seen as the great natural privilege of man, imprinted in his reasonable soul. On the basis of this image, man has power over the whole creation. Departing from this image, man is able to journey towards God, and to achieve a dignity equal to that of the angels. In the life of grace, man receives extra help from God to achieve the purpose given to him at his creation: to become God-like, to unite himself with God, to participate in His glory.

The image of God in man as a reality given at his creation and the likeness of God as a reality to be fulfilled seem to be quite distinct in Saint Basil's thought. Yet, there is at least one important text from the *Great Rules* which seems to identify the two: it is the text of the "hymn of the benefits" that God bestowed upon man. The first of these benefits is that "God created man in His image and likeness" (κατ'εἰκόνα Θεοῦ καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Θεός).<sup>39</sup> This text dates from the early years of Saint Basil. It is possible that at this time Basil followed the biblical manner of speaking, according to which 'image' and 'likeness' are synonyms. It is possible that there is evolution in Saint Basil's thought: he introduces a distinction between two

<sup>38</sup> *In illud, attende*, 6; PG 31: 913B.

<sup>39</sup> *Regulae fusius*, 2.3; PG 31: 913B.

synonyms in order to present the Christian doctrine of a dynamic 'image' of God in man, leading to likeness with God.

In the years of maturity of theological thought, man's creation in the image of God means, for Basil, that man is endowed with reason, capable of knowing God. The likeness of God is achieved through knowledge of God.<sup>40</sup> Image and likeness are distinguished as 'power' and 'action,' the faculty of knowing and the activity of this faculty—that is, the knowledge and the love of God.<sup>41</sup>

Another related way of distinguishing between image and likeness in Saint Basil's thought is distinguishing between being and becoming, present in the minds of many of the Eastern Fathers.<sup>42</sup> The 'image' is given at the beginning, but it has to be fully realized at the end of the process. 'Image' is 'likeness,' or 'similarity' with God. Yet, the 'image' has to become fully the 'likeness.' Man has to realize the potential likeness with God, already present in the image. He has to become more and more what he already is: the image of God, that is, God-like. The power of knowing God, in which man has the image of God, can be used to know God, and thus, to be God-like through 'assimilation' with Him in His energies.<sup>43</sup> The image of God in man, his reason and freedom of choice, is made perfect through activity, that is, through deployment of the potential which is in it. Without this activity the image remains static, unachieved, unfulfilled. It only realizes itself when it fully becomes the likeness of God.

40 See *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1.2; PG 32: 69B: "There is no likeness [of God] without knowledge" (ἡμοίωσις δέ οὐκ ὄνεν γνῶσεως).

41 See *Letter* 233, 1; PG 32:864C-865C: Reason, which bears in it the image of the Creator, is oriented towards the knowledge of God; this knowledge results in "likeness with God." Cf. my article *Image as 'Sign,'* p. 25.

42 See for example the doctrine of Saint Irenaeos, in Peterson, *L'immagine di Dio*, p. 52; the doctrine of Origen, in Crouzel, *Théologie de l'image*, pp. 217-22; doctrine of Saint Athanasios, in Regis Bernard, *L'image de Dieu d'après Athanase* (Paris, 1952), pp. 130-35; the doctrine of Saint Gregory of Nyssa, in Leys, *L'image de Dieu*, pp. 116-19; and the doctrine which preceeds him, in Walter Burghardt, *The Image of God in Man according to Cyril of Alexandria* (Woodstock, Maryland, 1957), pp. 1-11. Cf. Jean Gribet, *L'Homme image de Dieu dans les commentaires littéraires de Philon d'Alexandrie* (Louvain, 1949), pp. 97, 114; Vladimir Lossky, *In the Image and the Likeness of God* (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974), pp. 138-39; and Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Middlesex, England, 1964), pp. 224-26.

43 See *Letter* 233, 1; PG 32:865A. See also *De hominis structura*, 1.20; PG 30:32BC.

In the last analysis, we can say that in Saint Basil's theology, the image is seen on an 'ontological' level, as a matter of 'nature.' Likeness is seen on an ethical level, as a purpose to achieve. From this point of view, the distinction between image and likeness is not only a theoretical one, it is also very practical: it deals with the destiny of man himself. To achieve likeness with God on the basis of the image of God in man is to achieve the purpose for which man is created. To fail in this enterprise is to fail in achieving man's ultimate destiny.

### Image and Sexes

In Saint Basil's doctrine, the body is not directly involved with the image of God. The image is imprinted in the human soul, reflected by the superior faculties of the human spirit: intelligence and freedom of will. In this male and female are absolutely equal. Man and woman are equally created in the image of God, and they are equally called to resemble God. Saint Basil puts these words on the lips of Julitta the Martyr: "We are made of the same dough as men. Like them we are made in the image of God. The female sex is equally (*ἰσοτιμίως*) as capable of virtue as is the male sex. Are not we then related to men in everything?"<sup>44</sup> "There is only one virtue both for man and woman," says Basil, "because there is only one creation of equal dignity for both." Consequently, "there is only one kind of reward for both . . . Those who have the same nature, have also the same activity. Those who are doing the same work receive an identical reward."<sup>45</sup>

Thus, male and female are equally created in the image of God. They are equally called to likeness with God. They receive the same rewards, when they accomplish their common task.

### Image and Evil

Through the image of God in man, the latter is called to know and to love God. Adam is called to "abide close to God" (*πρόσεδρος Θεοῦ*), and to unite himself to God through love." Not to know God and not to be in union with Him through love, is to lose "life according to nature." To lose life according to nature is to "corrupt the soul made in the image of God,"

<sup>44</sup> *In martyrem Iulittam*, 2; PG 31; 241A.

<sup>45</sup> *In Psalmum* I, 3; PG 29: 216D-217A.



and to resemble the senseless beasts. This depravation of the human nature is called evil. Evil has no "ontological" existence. It is a "loss of the good." However, evil has a veritable psychological existence, with painful consequences in the ontological domain. The foundation of evil is not in God, for God created everything "good, even very good." The foundation of evil is in human freedom: "The source and the principle of evil are in us, in our free will." Two kinds of evil are distinguishable, according to Saint Basil: "evil according to its nature," that is, moral evil; and "evil according to our senses," that is, physical evil. The latter is often used by God to serve the good, and to fight the veritable evil, which is moral evil. This moral evil is the only evil deserving of its name: "Sin is the real evil, the only one to deserve this name." This evil "depends on our will, for we have the power to give in to the vice, or to abstain from it."<sup>46</sup>

### Image and Grace

The work of divine economy consists of restoring the faculties of knowledge and love of the human soul, so as to orient them anew toward their true object, God. This is what restoration of the fallen image means; this is the work of Christ, man's "deliverance from death," that death which is a consequence of his sin, that is, his estrangement from God, his source of true life.

The "blessed end" of human life is the "knowledge of God."<sup>47</sup> This knowledge introduces man to God's familiarity. God offers Himself to man as an Object of Knowledge. This knowledge is not only intellectual, but also experiential. It "assimilates" man with God, it makes man God-like.<sup>48</sup> Reason, which reflects the image of God, is granted to man to that end.<sup>49</sup>

Adam failed to achieve this goal. The "fall" resulted from this failure: the tarnishing of the image of God in man, his comparison and resemblance not with God but with the sense-

<sup>46</sup> *Quod Deus*, passim; PG 31: 329A-353A. See also *In Hexaemeron*, 2.4-5; PG 29: 36B-40B; ed. Giet, pp. 152-62.

<sup>47</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8.18; PG 32: 100C. See also *Letter* 233, 2; PG 32: 868B.

<sup>48</sup> See my article *Image as 'Sign'*, p. 40 ff.

<sup>49</sup> See *Letter* 233, 1-2; PG 32:864C-868B.

less beasts, and separation from God, which is equal to death.<sup>50</sup> Christ liberates man from death, renews life in man, and restores the fallen image. The Spirit gives to this image its original beauty. Departing from this restored image, enlightened by the Holy Spirit to see the image of the invisible God in His Son, man is led to the knowledge of God, his "blessed end." In this knowledge man is united with God; man is transformed by Him; he resembles Him; he arrives to divine filiation, to "divine dignity," to "theosis," and he becomes "god."<sup>51</sup>

The above represents the theology of Saint Basil concerning the image in relation to the divine economy of the two persons of the Trinity, the Incarnate Logos and the Holy Spirit. Although we cannot expect Saint Basil to answer questions which were not raised until later, it does seem perfectly legitimate to look for clues which might indicate how he might have responded.

Questions which we may consider include the following: Is there a distinction between "nature" and "supernature" in Saint Basil's theology? Where is the image to be found if we accept this distinction? How can we explain the possibility of grace for man? Is there anything comparable to the doctrine of "created grace" of the Latin middle ages?

Basil speaks of "nature" many times in his writings. One meaning of "nature" according to Basil is that which can be distinguished from "grace": The Son of God is "similar" to God "by nature" (ἐκ φύσεως), whereas man is similar to God "by grace" (ἐκ τῆς χάριτος).<sup>52</sup> Man is an adopted son of God through grace; the Son of God is the Son by nature. Perfection, holiness, and deification, are the result of grace, which is communicated to man in the Holy Spirit, the "source of sanctification" and of all the gifts which He distributes to man. These gifts, given to man "by grace," exist in the Spirit "by nature."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> *Regulae fusiis*, 2.3; PG 31: 913BC; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 449D-452A; and *Quod Deus*, 6-8; PG 31: 344 A-348B.

<sup>51</sup> See *Regulae fusiis*, 2.3-4; PG 31: 913C-916A; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 9.23; PG 32:109AC; and *Homilia de fide*, 3; PG 31: 468C-472A; Cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 15.36; PG 32: 132B; cf. also my article *Image as 'Sign,' pp. 52-53*.

<sup>52</sup> *In Hexaëmeron*, 9.6; PG 29:208B; ed. Giet, pp. 520-22.

<sup>53</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8.19; PG 32:100D; *ibid.*, 15.35; PG 32:132AB; *ibid.*, 9.22; PG 32:108C; *Letter 105*: PG 32: 513B; and *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 323, line 9; p. 402, line 24. The whole thrust of Saint Basil's argument in the book *On the Holy Spirit* is to prove that the Spirit, Who is the

It is clear that 'nature' here means the concrete reality, the ontological substratum of a person. 'Nature' is opposed to whatever is not this ontological substratum, whatever—in the case of the human person—comes "from outside."<sup>54</sup> Thus, in Saint Basil's thought, in the case of man who enters in terms of communion with God, there is a distinction between 'nature' and 'grace,' the latter coming "from outside" of human reality. The basis for the distinction between "nature" and "supernature" is certainly to be found in this distinction between "nature" and "grace."

What is the relation between nature and grace? Saint Basil is always in the context of Eastern Christianity, in which grace does not come to be "added" to nature. Grace assumes, restores, transforms and transfigures the nature; it does this not by being added exteriorly, but by working from the inside. Several things support this view: the distinction between essence and energies in God, used to explain the life in divine grace; the inhabitation in man of the Holy Trinity, through the energies of God; and the image of iron in the fire used to explain the deification of created nature in the Holy Spirit.<sup>55</sup>

The image of God in man is the great natural prerogative of man. It is part of the human nature such as is created by God. It is imprinted by the creator Logos in human nature. Grace renders to this image its original beauty; moreover, grace strengthens and transfigures this image, making it conform more with God. Grace gives man more potentialities to realize his destiny of perfection and theosis, achieved by special assistance from the perfecting and deifying cause, the Holy Spirit. Man in the life of

"Source of Sanctification," cannot be of the same nature with those whom He sanctifies. The fact that the Spirit is the source of the divine life which He communicates to us is the proof that the Spirit is divine. Thus, the Spirit is of the same value with the Father and the Son, and, together with them, worthy of the same honors (*ὁμότιμον*).

<sup>54</sup> It is understood that for the divine persons of the Son of God and of the Holy Spirit 'nature' contains 'grace.' The distinction between nature and grace applies to the human reality only. In the theological tradition of the East—according to the terminology that Saint Basil himself was using—there is a clear distinction between 'essence' and 'energies' in God; that is, a distinction between the nature of God as transcendent, unreachable, incommunicable (essence), and the nature of God as immanent, descending towards us, reachable, communicable to us (energies). God is unknown in His essence, yet known in His energies (*Letter* 234, 1; PG 32: 689AB. Cf. my article *Image as 'Sign,'* p. 36). Grace is nothing else than these energies of God, which reach man. See Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, p. 87.

<sup>55</sup> This image is applied to the angels in *Adversus Eunomium*, 3.2; PG 29: 660AB, also *De Spiritu Sancto*, 26.63; PG 32:184AC.

grace "participates in the resemblance" of God.<sup>56</sup>

In Saint Basil's theology there is nothing similar to the Augustinian and scholastic doctrine of "original justice" as an "added gift." The image is imprinted in the very nature of Adam. The relative perfection which Adam could achieve depended upon his use of the potential hidden within him in the image of God. The loss of this relative perfection through the fall, the loss of the orientation of the image towards its transcendent Archetype, hurt the image of God in man, thus hurting the human nature: separated from God, Adam found himself in inauthentic existence, equal to death. The decay and fall of man was more than the loss of an "added gift."

The superiority of grace over the image is seen in the way in which God granted His grace to man: through the incarnation of His Son, and the "distribution" of His Holy Spirit. When the Son of God became man, He liberated man from death, renewed life in him, and redeemed him through His precious blood. This is what constitutes man's value, man's dignity: man is bought with the precious blood of God. Moreover, Christ bestows upon him a "divine dignity," including everything that accompanies it. Christ gave man the power to "become God," through His Holy Spirit Whom He sent to him.<sup>57</sup>

What in the human nature explains the receptivity of divine grace? Is there an intermediate reality between God and man which enables man to be capable of being united with God? Is there anything comparable to the "created grace" of scholastic theology?

It would be presumptuous to ask this kind of question in relation to Saint Basil's theology, or to the theology of any Greek Father. In the Christian East the doctrine of uncreated divine energies explains the mystery of communion between God and man in the life of grace.<sup>58</sup> The idea of "created grace" is completely foreign to the theology of Eastern Christianity.

<sup>56</sup> See *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 449B; *Letter* 233, 1; PG 32: 865 A. Cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1.2; PG 32:69AB.

<sup>57</sup> See *Regulae fustius*, 2.3-4; PG 31: 913B-916C; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29: 449B-452B; and *In illud, attende*, 6; PG 31: 213A.

<sup>58</sup> See Charles Moeller and Gérald Philips, *Grâce et Oecuménisme* (Chevetogne, 1957), pp. 12-21.

Yet, there is an expression in Saint Basil's book, *On the Holy Spirit*, which, in the minds of some, could suggest a kind of "created grace."<sup>59</sup> Saint Basil speaks of the Holy Spirit as the "form" of our soul.<sup>60</sup> Is this not a doctrine similar to that of "created grace?"

Benoit Pruche, recent editor of the text of *On the Holy Spirit*, makes the following comments:

In this text of Saint Basil, one cannot see 'an intermediary creature,' or a 'grace' coming from the Spirit without being the Spirit Himself, but which would become after reception the 'reality' of the recipient. What one can and should see there is 'the Holy Spirit in person, as He offers Himself directly in participation in order to make the soul spiritual through an immediate communion with Him. It is at this point that one can truly call Him the 'formal cause' of our sanctification."<sup>61</sup>

Saint Basil, and with him the whole theological tradition of the East, which finds its best expression in the theology of Saint Gregory Palamas (fourteenth century), tries to find out what in God explains the possibility of divine grace, or life in communion with Him.<sup>62</sup> Saint Basil does not try to explain what in the created nature justifies its union with the Uncreated Nature. This is what the Christian West tries to do with the concept of "created grace."<sup>63</sup> As for Saint Basil, he is satisfied with the statement that in the case of grace the Holy Spirit, "inaccessible by nature," becomes "communicable by goodness."<sup>64</sup>

If one wishes to push for an answer to the question of what on the human side explains the possibility of grace, this answer, according to Saint Basil's thought, would not be found in an "added gift," but rather in the image of God in man. This image, the "particle of grace"<sup>65</sup> which God put in man at his creation and which is ultimately the presence of God in man,<sup>66</sup> gives

<sup>59</sup> Actually, there is such an interpretation of Saint Basil's doctrine, found in E. Scholle, *Die Lehre des hl. Basilius von der Gnade* (Friburg in Brissgau, 1881), passim.

<sup>60</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 26. 61; PG 32:180BC

<sup>61</sup> Benoit Pruche, "Basile de Césarée, Traité du Saint-Esprit," in *Sources Chrétiennes*, 17 (Paris. 1947), p. 73; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 225-226, in footnote.

<sup>62</sup> See Philips, *Grâce*, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> Philips, *ibid.*, pp. 22-41.

<sup>64</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 9.22; PG 32:108C.

<sup>65</sup> In *Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29:449BD. See also *Dicta tempore famis et sicclitatis*, 5; PG 31:317AB.

<sup>66</sup> See my thesis *La dialectique*, pp. 297-347; see also my article *Image as 'Sign,'* pp. 19-20.

man regenerated in Christ the possibility to "renew himself in knowledge according to the image of his Creator," to resemble God, and to "become god."

One final remark pertaining to the distinction between "nature" and "supernature," and "image" and "grace" in Saint Basil's thought must be made: there is no understanding whatsoever for Saint Basil or any of the Greek Fathers of an "independent nature."<sup>67</sup> Human nature, created in the image of God, is intrinsically dependent on God as the basis of its very being. The only way in which the image is able to keep its full potential is to continue to be the link between God and man, between the Archetype and the image. When the image deteriorates, man loses his life "according to nature." The restored image in Christ and the resemblance with God through virtuous life on the basis of the image of God in man, the likeness with God and the life of theosis, these constitute true human life, the "life according to nature."<sup>68</sup>

### Image and Glory

When properly used, the dynamism of the image leads to resemblance with God. This resemblance, which is an assimilation with God, makes man a participant of the divine nature inasmuch as man is able to participate in it. The divine nature in which man participates is called the energies of God<sup>69</sup> or, according to another favored expression of Saint Basil, the "goods of life eternal."<sup>70</sup> Among these energies or goods is that of divine glory, which surrounds the divine essence.

Saint Basil says: "Had man kept the glory in which he was first elevated by God, his exaltation would have been real, and not imaginary! Man would have been glorified by the power of God in the Highest, and adorned with His wisdom; man would have rejoiced in the goods of life eternal."

Adam was elevated in this glory through his creation in the image and likeness of God. He had the power to stay in it through the exercise of love. However, his failure to do so resulted in a loss of the divine glory:

<sup>67</sup> See John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), p. 138. Cf. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, pp. 126-27.

<sup>68</sup> See *Quod Deus*, passim; PG 31; 329 A-353A.

<sup>69</sup> See *Letter* 234, 1; PG 32; 689AB. See also my article *Image as 'Sign,'* p. 36.

<sup>70</sup> *De humilitate*, 1; PG 31: 525AB.

But, having renounced the glory that he had from God, he desired another one, that he could not reach, and he lost that which he could gain. His unique resource, the only way to heal his evil, is to return to the dignity from which he fell; it is to be motivated by humble feelings, not to imagine a vain structure of glory that he finds in himself, but to search for his glory in God. Thus he will correct his mistake; he will heal his illness; and he will return to the divine precept from which he ran away.<sup>71</sup>

The grace of Christ gives man the possibility of this "return" to the dignity from which he has fallen. Saint Basil says:

In what can man really glorify himself? What makes him great? God says: 'Let him who wants to glorify himself . . . put his glory in knowing me and acknowledging that I am the Lord!' Man's grandeur, his glory and dignity consist in knowing what is really great, to attach himself to it, and to seek his glory in the Lord of glory. The Apostle says: 'Let him who glorifies himself, be glorified in the Lord. Jesus the Christ is given to us to be our wisdom, our justification, our sanctification, our redemption, according to what has been written: Let him who glorifies himself be glorified only in the Lord.' The veritable and perfect way of being glorious in God is not to boast about our righteousness, but to acknowledge that when left on our own means, we are deprived of veritable righteousness: we are justified only by faith in Jesus the Christ. Saint Paul glorifies himself in the disdain for his own righteousness, and in the attitude of seeking justification from faith in Jesus the Christ, and which comes from God through faith. In this justification he knows Christ, participates in His sufferings and experiences the power of His resurrection: he becomes confirmed with His death and does everything possible to reach the blessed resurrection of the dead. There it is where all pride disappears. O man, to you nothing is left in which you can boast. All of your glory and hope consist in mortifying everything which is in you, so that you seek for the life that you enjoy in Jesus the Christ. Of this life, we now experience the foretaste, living by the goodness and the grace of God. 'For it is God who operates in us the will and the energy according to His good pleasure.' It

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., PG31: 525B.

is God who, through His Spirit, reveals to us His own wisdom, which He had predestined for our glory.<sup>72</sup>

God wants man "to be worthy of being glorified."<sup>73</sup> This is why He gave man His Son, His wisdom, to make His abode among him through His "God-bearing flesh," through Christ whose human nature was made glorious by being inhabited by the divinity. Through His Christ, God sent His Spirit to impart in man the glorious humanity of Christ. In the Light of the Holy Spirit, man becomes 'spiritual' and a 'Spirit-bearer.'

[Man is] transformed in a certain way to become something more brilliant, through His glory . . . This is what it means 'to be transformed by the glory of the Spirit in one's own glory!' [Man thus becomes glorious], not in a stingy or feeble way, but in a way commensurate to the capability of the being enlightened by the Spirit.<sup>74</sup>

Of this glory, St. Basil concludes, man has now received the "earnest," but he expects the fulfillment in the age to come.

#### CHRISTOLOGY AND ECCLESIOLOGY

Basil is especially interested in "theology," that is, the trinitarian doctrine. He has to defend the divinity of the Word and of the Holy Spirit against his enemies: the Arians and Pneumatomachs. It is only towards the end of his life (about 376) that Saint Basil begins to articulate the doctrine of the Church concerning the incarnation of the Word. Basil responds to the Christological heresy of Apollinarios of Laodicea, which adds itself to the still persistent trinitarian heresies. Against Apollinarios, who diminishes the human nature of Christ by negating the existence of a reasonable soul in it, Basil states that Christ "was not a soulless flesh, but a divinity using a flesh with soul."<sup>75</sup>

The Apollinarian heresy marks the beginning of the dispute on the dogma of Incarnation, as we can see it in several of Saint

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 3; PG 31: 529B-532A.

<sup>73</sup> In *Psalmum XXIX* 7; PG 29: 304AB.

<sup>74</sup> See *De Spiritu Sancto*, 15.23; PG 32: 109BC; *ibid.*, 21.52; PG 32: 165BC; and *ibid.*, 15.36; PG 32: 132B.

<sup>75</sup> "Οὐχὶ σὰρξ ἦν ἄψυχος, ἀλλὰ Θεότης σαρκὶ ἐμψύχῳ κεχρημένη. *Lecter* 234, 1; PG 32: 877C.



Basil's letters, dating from the end of his life.<sup>76</sup> In all of these letters, Basil defends the reality of the human nature in Christ. If Christ had not assumed a true human nature, the entire work of divine economy would have been negated in its foundation. Death, which dominated human nature, could not have been overcome without its contact with a concrete human nature united with the divinity. Sin could not have been abolished without the righteousness of the God-man Jesus.<sup>77</sup>

What is interesting in these texts with respect to the image of God in man is that the human nature, made in the image of God, was healed from sin and death through its assumption by the Logos. In the restoration of the human nature by Christ, the restoration of the image of God in man is certainly included. The image is the great natural prerogative of man. Yet, the theme of the restoration of the image is not very much developed by Basil; it is left up to other Fathers in the Christian tradition of the East to do this kind of work.

The great concern of Saint Basil until the end of his life is the defense of the trinitarian dogma. In his *Hexaemeron*, the last work of his life, Basil seems satisfied with simply alluding to the Christological heresy.<sup>78</sup> In the theological and apologetical works of Saint Basil, we cannot expect complete doctrinal presentations in the domain of Christology since the need for it does not arise during Saint Basil's lifetime.

Although the Christological doctrine with its anthropological implications is not greatly discussed in the great theological and apologetic works of Saint Basil, we can nevertheless find elements of this doctrine in his irenic works. In his commentaries on the Psalms, Saint Basil presents us with several elements of his Christological doctrine which have anthropological implications.

<sup>76</sup> See *Letter* 250, 8; PG 32: 965C; *Letter* 251; PG 32: 963B-972D; *Letter* 252; PG 32: 973A-976A; *Letter* 253, 4; PG 32: 980BD; and *Letter* 255, 2; PG 32: 984B- 988C. All these letters were written during the year 377.

<sup>77</sup> See especially *Letter* 251; PG 32: (71AC, and *Letter* 252, 1-2; PG 32: 973AC.

<sup>78</sup> In *Hexaemeron*, 9.6; PG 29: 205C; ed. Giet, p. 518. Saint Basil alludes to the heresy of Apollinarios of Laodicea, calling it a "new circumcision."

While meditating upon various verses of the Psalms, Saint Basil presents the doctrine of the Incarnation of the Logos and the redemption of man in a positive fashion. He speaks of the *kenosis* of the Son of God, who, "being rich by nature—for everything that belongs to the Father belongs to Him as well—became poor for us, to enrich us by His poverty." The Son of God emptied Himself, taking up the condition of a slave, so that "from His fullness we all receive, grace upon grace." Christ became man's peace and reconciliation with God: He "in His person created the two-in-one new man, who, through His blood shed on the cross, reconciled every being in Him, both on earth and in heaven."<sup>79</sup>

On other occasions, Basil speaks of the following themes: the "God-bearing flesh, vestment of the divinity," through which God came among men;<sup>80</sup> the "redemption by the blood of the Only Begotten,"<sup>81</sup> the "God-bearing flesh" sanctified through its union with God; the flesh as the "residence" of God, through which He manifested Himself to us, and through which God resides in the midst of his city, the Church.<sup>82</sup> Basil tells us of "the God-Man, Jesus the Christ, the only one capable of giving Himself up and offering Himself to God as a ransom for all of us."<sup>83</sup> Ultimately, Basil develops the theme of Christ the Beloved One, the Bridegroom of the soul in particular, and of the Church in general.<sup>84</sup>

In all of these texts, as in the apologetic texts, Basil is interested more in the Only Begotten Son of God than in the Incarnate Logos. The human nature of Christ is seen in relation to the redemptive work of the Logos. The anthropological implications of the Logos becoming flesh remain undeveloped. The fate of the image of God in the human nature of Christ is not discussed here, either. Yet, the doctrine is implied in statements such as: "The Son of God humiliated Himself to raise us up and became poor to enrich us." Christ accomplished all of this in His own humanity; the first fruits of man's own regen-

<sup>79</sup> In *Psalmum XXXIII*, 5; PG 29: 361BD.

<sup>80</sup> In *Psalmum LIX*, 4; PG 29: 468AB.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 3; PG 29: 465A.

<sup>82</sup> In *Psalmum XLV*, 4-5; PG 29: 424AD.

<sup>83</sup> In *Psalmum XLVIII*, 4; PG 29: 440BC; cf. *ibid.*, 4; PG 29: 441AC.

<sup>84</sup> In *Psalmum XLIV*, *passim*; PG 29: 389C-413D.

erated humanity are in Him. His "God-bearing flesh" through which God manifests Himself to man and in which He resides in the midst of His city, the Church, is the instrument of man's redemption. In this humanity of the Logos, the restoration of human nature as a whole takes place. Human nature cannot be understood without its great "natural prerogative," the image of God in it.

Is the Church as a whole in the image of God? The Church is not only the body of Christ, but His spouse, too. For Saint Basil, as for Saint Paul, the body of Christ is constituted by the totality of its members. This totality, the Church, is also called the spouse of Christ. Saint Basil applies this last name both to the Church and to the individual soul. Just as for the Church, Basil asks for the same kind of ornaments for the individual soul, worthy of the Spouse, and "worthy of him who is created in the image of God," that is, man.<sup>85</sup> It is implied that the Church as a whole reflects the same qualities which we find in the individual soul, and which make the latter to be "in the image of God." Yet, there is no explicit statement made about the Church being "in the image of God." In Saint Basil's doctrine, ecclesiology is as greatly undeveloped as is Christology.

### ESCHATOLOGY

What happens to the image of God in man at the end of time? The image of God contains a dynamism that cannot be exhausted. Under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, this dynamism leads man to resemblance with God, to theosis, and divine filiation. What happens to this dynamism at the coming again of the Lord?

There is at least one text in Saint Basil's writings which gives us a hint about the last things, as far as human fate is concerned. The image of God is not mentioned in the text; yet, the doctrine of the image is implied in the text, in relation to the dynamism which is in it and the life of holiness which results from it. The text reads as follows:

[The psalmist] describes the future time in comparison with actual conditions. On earth, he says, I am surrounded with the labors of death; in heaven, my soul is delivered from

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 9; PG 29: 409BC; *ibid.*, 10; PG 29: 409B, and *ibid.*, 11; PG 29: 412AC.

death. On earth, my eyes pour tears because of suffering; in heaven, there are no more tears to darken the pupils of the eyes of those who rejoice in the union of the vision of the divine glory. 'For God will wipe all tears from all faces.' On earth, the dangers of failures are multiple; this is why it is written: 'Whoever flatters himself about being upright, let him be careful not to fall.' In heaven, the feet are stable; life is without change; there is no more danger of falling into sin. There are no more revolts of the flesh, no collaboration of a woman in sin. There is no longer man and woman in the resurrection. There is only one and unique life, the life of those who please their Master and reside in the land of the living. This world is mortal: it is the place of those who die. The nature of visible things is composite; now, whatever is composite is by nature perishable. Man, being in the world and being part of the world by necessity participates in the nature of the universe . . .

But there, where there is no longer change, neither of the body nor of the soul—for there is no further deviation of thought, or change of opinion, as there are no more circumstances which can jeopardize the stability and tranquility of our thought—there is the land of those who really live and who are always identical with themselves. It is in this land that we will be as agreeable as possible to God, as the prophet promises: for no more external things will be able to take us away from our purpose, the true service of God, identical to the service of angels.<sup>86</sup>

At the end of time, the dynamism which God put in the image of God in man will achieve on the one hand, the maximum of its deployment, becoming resemblance to God; on the other hand, it will be stabilized because it will achieve its purpose, a true service of God, identical to that of the angels. There will be no further opportunity for another fall—estrangement from God, with "death as the wages of sin"—there will be the life of those who live in God, who resemble God; there will be the life of "gods," the life of those who "live the veritable life in Jesus the Christ, to whom belong glory and power in the ages of ages. Amen."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> *In Psalmum CXIV*, 5; PG 29: 492B-493C.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 5; PG 29: 493C.

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## BYZANTINE EPISTOLOGRAPHY

Epistolography is perhaps the only literary achievement in which the Byzantines excelled over their classical and post-classical prototypes. Men such as Theodore of Studion, Photios, Michael Psellos, Maximos Planoudes, Gregory the Cypriot and Cardinal Bessarion are authors of letters of greater literary value than their counterparts of earlier years, such as Demetrios, Libanios, Synesios, and others. In epistolography one can find achievements of Byzantine superiority which belong to world literature.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of its importance, however, very little research has been done in this field. The reasons vary: first, most of the texts are unedited, or if edited they are in inaccessible places; secondly, and not insignificantly, is that the ancient epistolography, the forerunner of the Byzantine, has not yet been studied. Thirdly, the early Byzantines knew very little of Hellenic literature because they considered themselves Romans and knew more thoroughly the writings of the Roman and Hellenistic periods. The study of Byzantine epistolography, however, throws much light on the ancient as well as on the Byzantine times.<sup>2</sup>

Letters provide the source of study of history and civilization of any period as well as proofs of the way of life and studies of personalities. Yet most historians think it would be wasted effort to research the heavy volumes of the Byzantine letters. Unfortunately, intimate letters of a personal nature have not survived because they were judged not worthy of preservation. What we have today are exclusively literary letters, written with the anticipation of publication. Scholars wrote their letters 'for eternity,' at least those which they preserved and published.

The research for this study was made possible by a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

<sup>1</sup> For an excellent study of epistolography, see Ioannes Sykutris, "Epistolographie," *R.E. Supplebd*, 5, 185-220.

<sup>2</sup> A contribution to early Byzantine epistolography is the study by Sister M. Monica Wagner, "The Letters of Theodoret," *DOP*, (1947), 121-81. Also in Greek the study by Nikolaos Tomadakes, *Βυζαντινή Έπιστολογραφία*, τομ. 3ος τῆς Εἰσαγωγῆς εἰς τὴν Βυζαντινὴν Φιλολογίαν (Athens, 1969).

Deissmann calls the carefully prepared writings 'epistles,' or 'literary letters,' those expected to be published. "True letters" are those written for the sake of letter writing, without the expectation that readers other than the recipient will read the contents.<sup>3</sup> Sykoutris, however, points out that the term 'literary' which Deissmann gives to letters with the purpose of publication is very narrow.<sup>4</sup> Roller, on the other hand, who wrote on the letters of St. Paul, also agrees with Sykoutris. But he adds that any written form of communication is a letter whether it is formal or very informal, whether it is destined to be published or not, or whether it is addressed to one person or many. For him 'epistle' has nothing in common with a letter, since it was not written with the intention of communicating a message or sent to any particular recipient. It is a purely literary accomplishment in the form of a letter.<sup>5</sup>

Formality and propriety were natural characteristics of the Byzantines, as evidenced in the ornamentation of their buildings and churches, as well as in the care they took of their own personal appearances. Village priests would discard their everyday ragged clothes and don richly trimmed robes for the religious services. This spirit of formality is manifested in the letters of that period which forced the writer to express himself with all the elegance and ceremony and with all the *lumina orationis* that he could command.

We find it difficult to comprehend this attitude today; increasingly we place less importance on the appearance of things than on the meaning. Anyone, however, who has had the opportunity to be at a village wedding on a small Greek island, has witnessed the transformation of the small poor house to a splendid dwelling of beauty, with the rare pieces of silks and jewels and other treasures preserved from generation to generation for such festivities taken out and put on display. And the old village folk, arrayed for the occasion in rich garments, move about with much dignity, as though this were part of their everyday life. With this knowledge one can comprehend a

<sup>3</sup> A. Dreissmann, *Bibelstudien* (Marburg, 1895), 206-07.

<sup>4</sup> Sykutris, "Epistolographie," p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> O. Roller, *Die Formular der Paulinischen Briefe* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 23-26.

Byzantine letter, with its emphatic structure, its original thought, its far-fetched magnificence, its archaic words. Above all we need to be transported to the spirit of the Age, 'die Zeitgeist,' to understand the period better.

The ancients and the Byzantines said that a letter should be a picture of the 'self,' however, it does not have to be the 'everyday self,' but can express the 'idyllic Ego.' In other words, the writer can choose to be 'the one he ought to be,' and not 'what he is.'<sup>6</sup> This type of propriety can only develop in a class in society which is capable of rising to a high level of perfection.

The cultured Byzantines, it seems, came close to achieving this perfection as epistolography is the product of the few. In this small circle of intellectuals these dainty masterpieces were circulated as in other times poetry was exchanged among the few. This is a very significant point in the understanding of Byzantine epistolography. There is a parallel much later in the West in the letters of the humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth century such as Guarino and Aurispa, both students of Chrysoloras, and in the sixteenth century in the letters called 'précieux' in France. Even later one finds a great similarity of ways and forms in letters of Balzac and Voltaire and those of the Byzantines.

In studying Byzantine epistolography we become aware of the influence exerted by the two schools of thought: first, the rhetorical epistolography of Rome, especially the time of the 'Second Sophistic,' in the letters of Libanios and Aphthonios; secondly, the early Christian epistolography based on the writings of St. Paul. In addition the influence of the Church Fathers, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzos and St. John Chrysostom is especially strong in the theological and journalistic letters. By the fifth century these two diverse influences had established the rules and tradition in epistolography. The pseudo-Libanios tradition recognized some 41 different types of letters, while a later tradition counts some 113.

Chronologically, the first Christian text which became the basis of the Greek medieval epistolography is a letter written by

<sup>6</sup> Ioannes Sykutris, *Problem der byzantinischen Epistolographie* (Athens: Actes de IIIe Congres d'Etudes Byzantines, 1932), p. 300.



St. Gregory of Nazianzos to his nephew Nikovoulos.<sup>7</sup> In this letter St. Gregory states the three principles of letterwriting: briefness, clarity, and richness of expression. "The letter writer," according to Gregory, "should avoid both excessive length and excessive brevity." He should use briefness, that is, *syntomia*. Quintilian also states clearly the difference between briefness and brevity: "For this reason some of the Greeks draw a distinction between a concise statement (the word they use is *syntomos*) and a brief statement, the former being free from all superfluous matter, while the latter may conceivably omit something that requires to be stated. Personally, when I use the word brevity, I mean not saying less, but not saying more than occasion demands." Pseudo-Libanios also refers to briefness meaning actually concision.<sup>9</sup> The second topic which Gregory discusses is the clarity of the language: it should not be so scholarly that it becomes difficult to comprehend. On the other hand, it should not be so simple as to be without interest. The third topic of admonition is to avoid aridity in language, while at the same time avoiding excessive ornamentation. As for the construction and syntax, it is proper, Gregory continues, to use the usual forms and to leave the rest to the orators. Thus Gregory condemns the affected, the archaic, the complicated, the short and long, and praises the natural which can be understood by all. According to Gregory, the letter also has to have a useful purpose. This attitude contrasts with the views of Libanios who frequently in his correspondence prefers and admires more the appearance and format than the content.<sup>10</sup>

Almost five centuries later the Patriarch Photios of Constantinople, writing to Amphilochios, the Metropolitan of Kythera, discusses systematically the ancient and Byzantine epistolographers.<sup>11</sup> In this letter, Photios divides authors of letters chronologically into three categories. In the first he places the three great figures from the classical period: Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes. In the second he includes those of the second

<sup>7</sup> M. Guignet, *Les Procédés Epistolaires de St. Grégoire de Naziane* (Paris, 1911), Letter 54.

<sup>8</sup> *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. H.E. Butler (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 4, 2.42.

<sup>9</sup> V. Weichert (ed.), *Demetri et Libanii, Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί et 'Επιστολμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Letter 132, 310, 518; the letters of Libanios referred to in this study are from the edition of Richardus Foerster, *Libanii Opera* (Leipzig, 1921-1922), Letters 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> The letters of Patriarch Photios are from I. Valettas' edition, *Φωτίου 'Επιστολαί* (London, 1864), Letter 233, p. 545.

Sophistic period, Phalaris of Akradantos, Brutus the Roman general, the 'Philosopher-Emperor,' and Libanios. In the third he places the great Christian writers Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos and Isidoros of Pelousion. In comparing the works of the writers of the first group, Photios finds that the letters of Plato are inferior to his other writings as his letters "lack the rules of good epistolography."<sup>12</sup> Even though the letters of Aristotle are more artistically phrased than his other works, Photios considers them inferior to those of Plato. In regard to the letters of Demosthenes, whose works have received general admiration, the Patriarch thinks their quality inferior to those of Plato.

In the second group, the preference of the Patriarch falls to the letters of Phalaris of Akradantos and especially the letters of the Roman general Brutus; he also likes the style of the 'Philosopher-Emperor,' who could be either Julian or Hadrian, though unfortunately Photios does not name him. He considers the letters of Libanios of the 'Second Sophistic' as prototypes for letter writers. If one, however, wants to find more style, and wishes to benefit from the reading of the letters regarding morality, he recommends that one should look in the last group, that of the Christian Fathers. He especially recommends the letters of St. Basil, the 'sweet,' and St. Gregory. One might also consult the letters of Isidoros of Pelousion for their aesthetic and poetic qualities.

The letter became an important tool of communication through these centuries, as it is clear from the manuals of Pseudo-Libanios and Demetrios, which were followed not only for practical use but also for the sake of the letter itself. Synesios writes to his brother more for the sake of salutation than because of necessity.<sup>13</sup>

Letters, however, were exchanged among the Fathers and their friends as a proof of love and friendliness and social convictions. St. Basil states, "Not only is it worthwhile in itself to get a friendly letter, but if that which is written also accomplishes the necessary result in very important matters, it is

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 545.

<sup>13</sup> Letter., PG 66, 237.

obviously worth far more.”<sup>14</sup> St. John Chrysostom writes: “We have sent other letters with some specific purpose, but this is just a salutation.”<sup>15</sup>

Further, the letter was part of a literary form and expression, especially during the Roman period when the rule that a letter should form an artistic unit of only one theme was followed strictly.<sup>16</sup> The true purpose of the letter as a tool of friendship can be traced not only to the time of the Fathers and the ‘Second Sophistic’ but as far back as Aristotle, who wrote one of the earliest treatises on letter style. Aristotle points out that although separation does not destroy friendship it does affect it, especially if the absence is a long one. Artemon, a pupil of Aristotle, in his prolegomena to the letters of Aristotle, presented the earliest known discussion of epistolary style. We learn his doctrine through the explanation of Demetrios, who defines a letter as “the heart’s good wishes in concise form and the exposition of a simple subject in simple terms.”<sup>17</sup> For the Christian Fathers, the letter was second best to actual bodily presence, and the representation of the writer’s soul and heart.<sup>18</sup> For them also a letter is a symbol of the voice,<sup>19</sup> a token of remembrance, a consolation.<sup>20</sup> St. John Chrysostom asks constantly for a letter as consolation while in exile. Later Photios attempts to console his brother Tarasios for the loss of his newly wed daughter with a letter, regarded as second best to his bodily presence.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to these texts of sympathy and friendship, epistolography became the organ of politics and diplomacy in the delicate relationship between rulers and subjects or among kings and other rulers. Thus, gradually, letterwriting lost its spontaneity and its clarity. It became gradually more formal

14 Letter 324: “Now, even to receive a friendly letter is in itself worthy of our zeal, but, if what is written brings about the needed result, in most important matters, it is certainly of much more worth.” *The Letters of St. Basil*, trans. Agnes Claire, commentary by Roy J. Deferrari (New York, 1955), 2, p. 312.

15 Letter 117, 52, 672.

16 Apollonaris Sidonius, 7, 18.

17 Demetrios of Phaleron, *Περὶ ἐρμηνείας* (Glasgow, 1743), p. 231.

18 St. Basil, Letters 134, 1, p. 275; Letter 163, 2, pp. 322-23.

19 St. Basil, Letter 183, 1, p. 343.

20 St. Basil, Letter 73, 1, pp. 174-75.

21 Valetas, Letter 225, p. 540.

and sometimes even obscure and enigmatic from fear that the letter might fall into the hands of opponents. Photios wrote to Eustathios, the Patriarch of Antioch, that he had to be "very laconic for the fear of the enemy."<sup>22</sup>

Accordingly, each one of the great epistle writers of the later Byzantine age such as Photios, Psellos, Kedones, and others formed his own personal style in which he individualized the rules of epistolography. Photios was able to discourse more directly concerning human feelings, while Psellos excelled in the fine aesthetic observations, and Kedones lived consistently in the past, ignoring his surroundings and serving the government. It is in this light that one should try to see Byzantine epistolography, endeavoring to understand the delicate style and the heights to which the medieval Greeks raised the art of letterwriting.

A study of the letters of this period would not be complete without a discussion of the writing tools and methods used. The Byzantines wrote on paper with a *kalamos* which was dipped in ink. The terms "paper,"<sup>23</sup> "black,"<sup>24</sup> and "*kalamos*"<sup>25</sup> are from the New Testament as are the terms "book" and "epistle." From repeated references in the letters of St. Basil, Synesios, and others, we learn that the Byzantines also used the term "envelope" as well as the above terms.<sup>26</sup> The Byzantines, writing with a feather pen or *kalamos*, carried the pen in a case which he could place in the belt. In later years these scribes became known as *kalamarades*, and those who carried two ink cases were called *diplokalamarades*.<sup>27</sup>

Persons of high rank and important officials in government did not write their own letters. They dictated them to a speed-writer, a writer or notarios, or copyist. If the letter was for some reason written by the author, this fact was stated most of the time on the letter.<sup>28</sup> Occasionally even the emperors wrote

<sup>22</sup> Valetas, Letter 225, p. 540.

<sup>23</sup> Jn 2.12.

<sup>24</sup> Jn. 2:12 and 3.13.

<sup>25</sup> Jn 3.13.

<sup>26</sup> St. Basil, Letter 330, 2, p. 200.

<sup>27</sup> Tomadakes, p. 59.

<sup>28</sup> Julian's epistle to a friend in Joseph Bidez, *Julian* (Paris, 1924), Letter 83, p. 143; Patriarch Photios (in Letter 225, p. 540) mentions that he wrote the letter with his own hand.

their own letters, especially when they wanted their correspondence to remain private. Manuel II Paleologos wrote in one of his letters to a Persian friend: "In order to avoid what I will write being read by others I thought it will be easier if I write it myself."<sup>29</sup> Sometimes the copyist was also the "tachygrapher." Gregory of Nyssa uses the terms interchangeably in his correspondence.<sup>30</sup> Photios mentions in his letter to the Bishops that he was finally able to send a message because he had a scribe available to take down his words.<sup>31</sup> A number of letters by Photios are addressed to a Notarios or to a Protonotarios, which indicated that these were different levels or degrees among the copyists. First, there were those who used certain signs and were therefore called *semeiographers* (stenographers). It is known that semeiographers kept the minutes of the Synods.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, Theodore II Laskaris talks about a signer, *hypomnematrographos*, who could have been the signer of the emperor's name to public documents or even the signer of the emperor's personal correspondence. While writing to Patriarch Xiphilinos, Theodore II played on the length of words, creating himself new words and calling the signer a "στρογγυλοφιλοσοφ-γραμμα."<sup>33</sup> After the letters were dictated and copied, the signature was put in "ὕπογραφή καὶ σφραγῆς"<sup>34</sup> and then were sealed. If the sender did not know how to write, he placed a sign instead of his name.<sup>35</sup>

The Byzantines were very particular about the appearance of their letters. The quality of the paper was also an important consideration as well as the way the letters should be copied. We read two notes by St. Basil left with instructions first to the stenographer about the careful placing of his letters and signs so that there would be no mistakes. Then the instructions to the copyist were to write straight and not to appear that his hand is going over a "creaspesis." Next to the style,

<sup>29</sup> Emile Legrand (ed.), Manuel II Paleologus, *Lettres de l'Empereur Manuel Paleologue* (Amsterdam, 1962), p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> 45, 221-40.

<sup>31</sup> Valettas, Letter 146, pp. 471-85.

<sup>32</sup> Sophocles Choudaverdoglou, Βυζαντινὰ Ἐπιστολαί (Athens, 1939), p. 198.

<sup>33</sup> Nicholas Festa, *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII* (Firenze, 1898), Letter 180, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., Letter 128, 1-3.

<sup>35</sup> Tomodakes, p. 65.

the Byzantines admired the exterior appearance of the letter. Michael Psellos was delighted when he saw one of his letters finished: "and admired and was not surprised of the beauty, the setting of the words, the rhythm of thoughts, the beauty of the letter, the balance..."<sup>36</sup>

Lastly, in the class of writers were special copyists who were hired by persons of means to keep a book with copies of their letters. Sometimes if the road by which the letter was sent were dangerous, multiple copies of the same letter were made and sent by different routes; also one copy was kept for the sender's own archives. Today there exist volumes of letters, the *libri copiales*. If the letter was of broad interest it was copied in a codex of *epistolae variae*. Also men of letters collected the correspondence of other famous men in volumes, *volumina*. To such collectors we owe many Byzantine *synagogas epistolon*, or in other instances the same writers of the letters prepared those volumes.<sup>37</sup> Later also when Greece was under the Turks, *volumina* were kept by the monks, one of which is the Codex of Patmos with the epistles of Meletios of Pegas.<sup>38</sup>

In the ancient times, letters were transported by private means because there was no service for that purpose. The Byzantines, as we know, used certain professional services for transportation. The letters were carried by a letter carrier (tachydromos) who ἐκόμιζον, ἀπεκόμιζον, διεκόμιζον, μετεκόμιζον, thus receiving the names κομιστής, ἀποκομιστής, διακομιστής, μετακομιστής. Most of the time the service was very dependable. Letters were delivered efficiently and speedily. For long distances horses were used. There was always, of course, the fear of loss in case of war or sickness. This was another reason why copies were usually made of the important letters and were kept in private archives. Because of the preservation of these manuscripts in private collections we are aided today in the study of Byzantine epistolography.

<sup>36</sup> PG 122, 1161-86.

<sup>37</sup> Tomadakis, pp. 66-67.

<sup>38</sup> Panagiotes Nikolopoulos, *Γραφής καὶ πρότυπα τοῦ Πατμιακοῦ Ἐπιστολαρίου Μελετίου Πηγᾶ* (Athens, 1966), 163-83.

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JOHN E. REXINE

## CLASSICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

In *The Classick Pages* by Meyer Reinhold we read under "The Equal Principles of Republican Government" that "In the complex and long lineage of early American theory and practice of government, the Classical ancestry of the constitution is too authentic to require repeated legitimation."<sup>1</sup> Most of the Founding Fathers were well versed in classical matters, certainly in the classical political theories available in Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and Cicero. R. A. Ames and H. C. Montgomery in their article on "The Influence of Rome on the American Constitution" have said that the "Constitutional Fathers" were "no ordinary body of men. Perhaps never before or since in history has so able and intelligent a group been assembled."<sup>2</sup> This group, in its original fifty-five included at least thirty-one lawyers, of whom twenty-four were college graduates: nine from Princeton, three from Yale, two from Harvard, two from the College of Philadelphia, four from William and Mary, and one each from Columbia, Edinburgh, Oxford, and Glasgow.

The men most active in the framing of the American Constitution were also those most educated: Alexander Hamilton was educated at Columbia College; James Madison at Princeton (A.B., 1772); Rufus King (Harvard, 1777); Charles Pinckney in law in England; James Wilson was educated at Glasgow, St. Andrews, and Edinburgh, came to America in 1766, served as tutor at Philadelphia College, earning a reputation as a classical scholar; John Rutledge pursued the study of law in England; Gouverneur Morris was educated at King's College (Columbia, A.B., 1768).

There is no question in the mind of any scholar who knows the educational curriculum of the time that the Constitutional Convention and its leaders were well versed in ancient Greek

<sup>1</sup> *The Classick Pages* (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1975), p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> R. A. Ames and H. C. Montgomery, "The Influence of Rome on the American Constitution," *The Classical Journal*, 30 (1934) 20. The whole article covers pp. 19-27.



and Roman culture and the Classics. C. Edward Merriam records that "the colonists claimed no originality for the fundamental doctrines they preached; in fact, they declared that these ideas were at least as old as the days of Greece and Rome."<sup>3</sup> Gerald Else in his "The Classics in the New World" put it this way in 1964 in addressing the Fourth International Congress of Classical Studies in Philadelphia: "The Constitution and the Federalist papers...are permeated by a *high seriousness*, and by a *desire and power to generalize* political experience for the benefit of all, which are rare in human history. Part of that seriousness and power to generalize came to the men of the Convention from the study of the Classics. They scrutinized the past, including the Greek and Roman past, as equals, with respect but also with critical eyes, looking for what was best, what was permanently valid and workable. In their debates no classicist can fail to make (*sic*) a familiar voice. It is the accent of practical reason, probing, inquiring, searching for the principles that underlie human government: the moral and political *archai* by which societies live. It is like the voice of Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero; it deals with the same kind of problems and in the same temper. Actually, of course, Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, and other ancients helped contribute important ideas to the synthesis which was achieved in the Constitution: the balance of power among executive, legislative, and judiciary branches; the concept of a Senate; the awareness that a constitution also implies and fosters a way of life. Above all, without the master ideas of liberty and the safeguards of liberty under law, the American experiment could never have worked..."<sup>4</sup>

The Founding Fathers were knowledgeable about the constitutions of the Greek *poleis*, of Carthage, and of Rome, and were especially interested in cyclical theories of government and the idea of the mixed constitution. John Adams said in 1772 that "The best governments of the World have been mixed. The Republics of Greece, Rome, Carthage were all mixed Governments."<sup>5</sup> John Corbin has said that "The theory of our Constitution derives from Aristotle, and was put into successful practice in ancient Rome, in eighteenth century

<sup>3</sup> C. Edward Merriam, *A History of American Political Theories* (New York, 1903), p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *American Council of Learned Societies Newsletter*, 16 (May, 1965), 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Diary* 2:58.

England, and in our early state constitutions before it was given its most perfect embodiment by the Convention of 1787.”<sup>6</sup>

It is not possible here to review all those areas and authors, primary and secondary, Greek and Latin, in which there are relations between the ancients and the American Constitution. One could go back to the very beginning and cite Homer and the seeds of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches in the Homeric agora,<sup>7</sup> boule, basileus, and/or the Spartan Gerousia with its two kings and twenty-eight elders selected for life from leading noble Dorian families or trace Athenian constitutional development from Solon, Peisistratus, Cleisthenes down to Pericles, but we shall have to be satisfied here with simply referring to the fact that it is the Greeks to whom we owe the idea of constitutionalism and its concomitant *isonomia* — the idea that no one can place himself above the law. Associated with the concept of equality before the law are also the notions of responsibility and accountability. Public magistrates and all government officials are both accountable for their actions before the Assembly and also before the people who ultimately are the source of all law. Though Cleisthenes is credited with the introduction of isonomy into the Athenian governmental system, the principle is re-echoed in Pericles’ Oration in Thucydides: “If we look into the laws, they afford equal justice to all in their private differences” and again “but all this ease in our private relations does not make us lawless citizens. Against this fear is our chief safeguard, teaching us to obey the magistrates and the laws...”<sup>8</sup> Plato too emphasizes the rule of law when he says that “It is really necessary for men to make themselves laws and to live according to laws, or else to differ not at all from the most savage of beasts.”<sup>9</sup> Aristotle emphasizes that “Rightly constituted laws should be the final sovereign” and “Law should be sovereign on every issue, and the magistrates and the citizen body should only decide about details.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cited by Richard Mott Grummere in “The Classical Ancestry of the United States Constitution,” *American Quarterly* 14 (1962), 6. The whole article comprises pp. 3-18.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Donald Kagan, *The Great Dialogue* (New York, 1965), p. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 2.6, line 37.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, *Laws* 9.874E.

<sup>10</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 3.16 (1287.a-b).

There is much discussion about the forms of government and their perversion in Herodotus, Plato and Aristotle (kingship, aristocracy, and polity — tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy) but all their observations were based on the *polis* and the polis was to be succeeded as a political formation by the federation and the league.

Traditional Greek political theorists are always conscious of the class struggles which resulted in different forms of government. The two major classes were identified with two different forms of government which excluded the other from effective participation in the state. Aristocracy was rule by the rich while democracy was rule by the masses. Although ideally each of the classes was to rule in the interests of the state they inevitably ruled in their own interests. One of the first discussions of the different forms of government occurs in Herodotus. He described the mythical conversation between three Persians — Otanes, Darius, Megabyzus — who debate the type of government they should have in Persia. Otanes asserts that monarchy and absolute control of the state by an individual has passed. Monarchs are both envious and proud. "These two vices are the root cause of all wickedness: both lead to acts of savage and unnatural violence." Democracy and the rule of the people is the only true form of government. Megabyzus replies that "the masses are a feckless lot — nowhere will you find more ignorance or irresponsibility or violence. It would be an intolerable thing to escape the murderous caprice of a king, only to be caught by the equally wanton brutality of the rabble."<sup>11</sup> He proposes that power be given to a certain number of the best men in the country. But Darius answers that one ruler is the best if he is the finest man in the state. "Take the three forms of government we are considering — democracy, oligarchy and monarchy — and suppose each of them to be the best in its kind; I maintain that the third is greatly preferable to the other two. One ruler: it is impossible to improve on that — provided he is the best man for the job."<sup>12</sup> Thus Herodotus has classified all governments into three categories which he derived from Greek political experience.

<sup>11</sup> Herodotus 2.80-82.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 3.81.

In Thucydides we find a penetrating analysis of Athenian democracy. He points to the excesses and irrationality which the Assembly was subject to after Pericles' death. Athenian democracy degenerates into mob rule and demagoguery. The prevailing political attitude after the Peloponnesian War represents an aversion to democracy. This explains Plato's and Aristotle's antipathy to democracy. But Greek political thinkers were also wary of the abuses which existed under tyranny and oligarchy. As a consequence, to safeguard against the dominance of any one class and the oppression of another, the ideal of a mixed state was developed. This ideal in Greek political theory reached its highest peak in the works of Plato and Aristotle. It was further refined by the political writings of Polybius and Cicero in Rome which will be discussed later.

Plato noticed how easily each of the three forms could be corrupted unless ruled by law. Although he expressed a penchant for a rule by a philosopher-statesman, he realized in his *Laws* the necessity of a mixed government so that any one class is not suppressed by another. Plato points to the extremes of the Persian monarchy and Athenian democracy as totally abhorrent. "Now it is essential for a polity to partake of both these forms, if it is to have freedom and friendship combined with wisdom."<sup>13</sup> Plato upholds Sparta as an example of a stable and well balanced constitution. But Plato's ideal state lacks a monarchical element. In the end the Platonic state is guided by a nocturnal council composed of philosopher-statesmen. Thus in Plato we see postulated an ideal government which is democratically organized but which definitely contains an aristocratic bias.

Like Plato, Aristotle sought in his ideal government to combine the best of the three types of government. For Aristotle the right constitution was the one, no matter whether power rested with the few or the many, in which authority was exercised with a view to the common interest. Realizing how easily power corrupts human nature and fully cognizant of the political history of the Greek city-states, Aristotle postulated his theory of political change. The pure forms of kingship, aristocracy, and polity where the best one rules to the interest of all inevitably deteriorate into tyranny, oligarchy and democracy where one rules in his own interest,

<sup>13</sup> Plato, *Laws* 3.693E.

where the rich rule to their interest and where the poor rule to their interest. To prevent this cycle of change and lend some stability to the state Aristotle advocated a mixed government. "A properly mixed polity should look as if it contained both democratic and oligarchic elements — and as if it contained neither."<sup>14</sup>

The political writings of Plato and Aristotle represent the full flowering of the city-state philosophy. But this philosophy, although it represents traditional Greek political theory, contained the seeds of its own destruction. In the polis the state was always considered more important than the individual. The state was a total unity of all aspects of city-state life. Aristotle explains the subordination of the individual to the state as such: "The reason for this is that the whole is necessarily prior to the part." As a result, "The conception of private rights as a chief value to be conserved by political institutions is correspondingly absent, for personal liberty is largely meaningless where a single organization overlaps all interests of life."<sup>15</sup>

Another problem which was considerably more profound was the attitude toward law which existed within the framework of the city-state. Because of the smallness and consequent intensity of the polis the law was merely another part of the entire state. For Plato law was actually an impediment. For him the best form of government was the arbitrary rule of the philosopher-king who governed in the interests of the people. "Before the Stoics, the Greeks apparently drew no distinction between the society and the state, between the social and the civil. . . . As a consequence, the Greeks thought of law in the state as one part of the whole polity itself, never as something apart from the state to which the polity must conform, nor even as any social provision within the state to which others are subordinate."<sup>16</sup>

The Greeks thought of law in terms of the state. As a result when traditional city-state philosophers even considered the concept of natural law, it was not regarded as a source of practical law. This idea included the notion of justice. Justice was not something which existed outside the city-state. Because

<sup>14</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 3.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 3.14.1288a and George Holland Sabine and Stanley Barney Smith, *Marcus Tullius Cicero on the Commonwealth* (New York, 1929), p. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Charles McIlwain, *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern* (Ithaca, New York, 1960), p. 39.

Plato and Aristotle believed that without law man would only pursue the dictates of his own self-interest, they felt man could only achieve good in the polis. Consequently, Aristotle expresses the belief that justice can only be found in the polis. "Justice belongs to the polis; for justice which is the determining of what is just is an ordering of the political association."<sup>17</sup>

By the fourth century the city-state was doomed to destruction. The small and independent city-states of Greece were not able to resist the expansion of both the Persian and the Macedonian empires. The Peloponnesian War had sapped the Greek states of much of their vitality. Not only that, but the city-state was faced with a problem which later proved insoluble. "It could attain political and economic self-sufficiency (the ideal of the city-state) only at the cost of isolation, and isolation, if possible at all, meant stagnation in culture and the reduction of internal politics to the level of petty dissension between interests too bitterly opposed to permit a stable balance. If, on the other hand, it chose not to isolate itself, it was faced at once with the necessity of seeking alliances with other cities."<sup>18</sup>

By the fourth century most of Greece was united in the form of several federations. The pressure of the expanding empires around them forced many states to unite to resist them. But the federations were a failure before they began. "...For discontent within the polis as an institution and the Greek system of independent poleis grew as both proved themselves to be unable to cope with the problems of war, poverty, social unrest and national disgrace."<sup>19</sup> The Greeks were thus forced to surrender much of the independence of their city-states to federal governments if they were to successfully resist Persia and Macedonia. But this was impossible and in 387 B.C. Greece fell under Persian rule and later under Macedonian sovereignty. But the death knell of the city-state had been rung. The sphere of politics was becoming larger and larger with the growth of huge empires and as a result the importance of the city-state had diminished.

Though Greek federalism has a long tradition, generally in the pre-Hellenistic periods federal governments possessed power only in foreign affairs. The Founding Fathers refer much to the

<sup>17</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 1.2 (1253b).

<sup>18</sup> Sabine and Smith, *Cicero*, p. 12.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Kagan, *Great Dialogue*, p. 133.

Amphictyonic Council, by far the largest of the Greek federations, the Achaean League (in which power was vested in a popular assembly and the citizens of each member state were citizens under the federal government and members of the popular assembly), and the Lycian League (a federation of twenty-three cities in which legislative power rested in a common council and utilized a system of proportional representation). Such federal systems challenged the traditional authority of the city-state and undermined its effectiveness by positing the revolutionary principle for the development of classical Greek political theory that there was a higher law than that of the city-state. The Sophists had played a crucial role in this challenge and paved the way for the idea of a universal natural law, whose seeds for development can be found in Plato and Aristotle, but it was the Stoics who taught that "the supreme legislature was Nature," that "Nature, human nature and reason were one." Perhaps Cicero best epitomizes Stoic philosophy when he writes:

True Law is right reason, harmonious with nature, diffused among all, constant, eternal; a law which calls to duty by its commands and restraints from evil by its prohibitions. . . It is a sacred obligation not to attempt to legislate in contradiction to this law; nor may it be derogated from nor abrogated. Indeed neither the Senate nor the people can be released from this law; nor does it require any but ourselves to be its expositor or interpreter. Nor is it one law at Rome and another at Athens; one now and another at a later time; but one eternal and unchanging law binding on all nations through all time. . .<sup>20</sup>

The development of Roman political theory reflects the great influence that Stoicism had on political theorists: Polybius and Cicero are important sources for their discussions of the Roman republican constitution.

Polybius admired the Roman constitution and refined the idea of mixed government. He saw a stable Roman system based on the balancing and checking powers of the consuls, the Senate, and the people. Believing that there was an inherent tendency for each of the three major forms of government to be

<sup>20</sup> Cicero, *De Republica* 3.22.

perverted, he put forth a theory of constitutional change. The notion of separation of powers is demonstrated in the Roman constitution. The consuls exercise control over the magistrates and consult the Senate in times of emergency and carry out its decisions. They introduce measures to the people and enact their decrees. The consuls have power in military affairs but the Senate controls the treasury and regulates all expenditures, has jurisdiction over all criminal cases involving treason, assassination, and conspiracy, and has the power to declare war and peace. The people confer honors, inflict punishment, try public officials accused of crime, have the power to approve or reject laws and can deliberate on the question of war and peace, and ratify all treaties.

In Polybius we also find the system of checks and balances for the Roman constitution. The consul, even though he has absolute control of the military, needs the support of the Senate and the people, for they control the budget. The Senate can also supersede the consul when his term of office expires. The consul must relate to the people, for they can ratify or annul the treaties he is empowered to make. The Senate must relate to the people, for it is they who empower the Senate to investigate serious crimes. If the tribunes interpose themselves, the Senate cannot act on any matter. The people must relate to the Senate because the Senate dispenses all public contracts, which are a great source of labor for the people. The Senate also appoints most judges in civil trials.

For Polybius the Roman Constitution combined the best features of a combined government:

The three kinds of government, of which we have been speaking, were all found united in the commonwealth of Rome. And so even was the balance between them all, and so regular the administration that resulted from their union, that it was no easy thing, even for the Romans themselves, to determine with assurance whether the entire state was to be esteemed an aristocracy, a democracy, or a monarchy. For if they turned their view upon the power of the consuls, the government appeared to be purely monarchical and regal. If again, the authority of the senate was considered, it then seemed to wear the form of aristocracy. And, lastly, if regard was had to the share which the people possessed in



the administration of affairs, it could scarcely fail to be denominated a popular state. . . .<sup>21</sup>

For Cicero the basis of any state is the law, without which no state can exist. This law of the state is or should be an imitation of the universal and natural law, before which all men are equal. This is a fulfillment of the Greek principle of isonomia. Law is established to set men free and freedom lies in obedience to law.

Like Polybius, Cicero too preferred a mixed form of government as the most stable and just: "For I hold it desirable, first, that there should be a dominant and a royal element in the commonwealth; second, that some powers should be granted and assigned to the influence of the aristocracy; and third, that certain matters should be reserved to the people for decision and judgment. Such a government insures at once an element of equality, without which the people can hardly be free, and an element of strength."<sup>22</sup> For Cicero Rome possesses the embodiment of the ideal constitution because each of the three major types of government are represented in the three branches: kingship in the two consuls, who are chosen in the assembly of centuries, a branch of the people whose membership is based on wealth. They lead the army and serve as executive officials seeking the advice of the Senate. They present business to the Senate and summon and preside over the People. The People's check on the consuls are the tribunes, though the consuls are tops in foreign affairs. The ten tribunes elected by the People have the power to nullify and void all acts of which they disapprove. The Senate is the center of the aristocracy. The Senate responds to appeals for advice from the magistrates. The *populus* consists of an assembly of centuries and tribunes. They hear all capital cases but otherwise their power is severely limited.

Surely the preceding is more than needed to show that ancient political theory provided the concepts of balance of power and checks and balances. Another concept that was enormously important in the development of Western political theory was the concept of popular sovereignty. This involves the notion that the people are the source of the law. There are excellent expressions of it in both Aristotle and Cicero. Aristotle puts it this way: "No state except one in which the

<sup>21</sup> Here I use the Polybius (6.11ff) translation of Mr. Hampton (London, 1811) excerpted by Meyer Reinhold, *Classick Pages*, pp. 123-24.

<sup>22</sup> Cicero, *De Republica* 1.45.

people have supreme power provides for a habitation of liberty,"<sup>23</sup> while Cicero echoes: "The republic is the people's affair. . . It is the coming together of a number of men who are united by a common agreement about laws and rights and by the desire to participate in mutual advantages."<sup>24</sup> One could fairly claim that the very idea of a constitution is a Greek invention.

Already noted and of primary interest to the framers of the U.S. constitution was the ideal of the mixed state. It was believed that this was best expressed in the constitution of Rome. Inherent to this kind of state was the separation of powers and a system of checks and balances with each organ of government possessing powers with which it could check the excesses of the other branches. Each branch itself represented or embodied one of the major forms of government — kingship, aristocracy, democracy.

Important too is the development of the idea of natural law, an advance in political theory largely contributed by Stoicism. Professor Charles McIlwain in his *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern* emphasizes that "It was only after the appearance of a notion of a higher and *older* law, out of which the laws of the particular states are fashioned and to which they must conform to be valid, that the conception of modern constitutionalism could replace the ancient ones."<sup>25</sup> Cicero records this transformation in seeing the state as a bond of law between free persons with the source of all laws within the state found in natural law.

Another important contribution of ancient political theory is that of the supremacy of the constitution of a state. The constitution is considered the embodiment of divine and eternal law. Both Plato and Aristotle recommended the rule of law over the rule of the individual. Aristotle says quite pointedly that "Rightly constituted laws should be the final sovereign."<sup>26</sup> Also Polybius makes the state constitution supreme and the source of all political action when he says,

<sup>23</sup> Aristotle, *Politics* 6.2(1317a-b).

<sup>24</sup> Cicero, *De Republica* 1.25.

<sup>25</sup> McIlwain, *Constitutionalism*, p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> See above note 10.

"Now the chief cause of success of the reverse in all matters is the form of a state's constitution; for springing from this, as from a fountainhead all designs and plans of action not only originate, but reach their consummation."<sup>27</sup>

Ancient constitutions have served as practical models for modern republican constitutions. In the case of the legislative branch it was the Greeks and Romans who invented bicameralism. The Senate, in a mixed constitution, has maintained its bouletic functions and aristocratic character from the Gerousia of Sparta, through the Areopagus of Athens and the Senate of Rome. Its numbers have been limited and business conducted in a dignified manner. The Senate's major function has always been a primary advisory council to the magistrates. On the other hand, the Assembly has always been a democratic organ, originally involving all the citizens of the state. The functions of the Assembly differed widely in antiquity, depending on the character of the constitution. The ancients also developed the idea of an organ of government to enforce decisions of the legislative branch. The executive branch/monarchical principle was composed of a number of magistrates who were responsible to the People.

The American Founding Fathers knew these concepts of natural law, popular sovereignty, mixed constitution, constitutionalism, and federalism from their study of classical political theory and the classics, and not merely from indirect knowledge through their access to the Enlightenment period and the political thinking of Locke, Rousseau, Hobbes, and Montesquieu.

Colonial writers saw a utilitarian usage of the classics and a clear application of ancient wisdom and knowledge to their own situation. Dr. Richard Mott Gummere has put it this way: "The Greco-Roman medium of expression was so natural to educated men along the Atlantic seaboard that literary parallels with ancient Rome or Athens were not consciously worked up, nor were comparisons continually drawn between the institutions of the past and those of the present. They were simply taken for granted as current material for daily use and illustration."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Polybius, *The Histories* 6.1, lines 9-10.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Mott Gummere, "The Heritage of the Classics in North America: An Essay on the Greco-Roman Tradition," *Proceedings of the American Philological Society* 99 (1955), 75.

The American colonialists appealed to a natural law that had been well developed by classical thinkers and revived by Enlightenment political theorists in their struggle with England. In *Seedtime of the Republic* Clinton Rossiter says, "This universality of natural laws gave the colonists a strong sense of fellowship with all men struggling to be free, while its antiquity placed them in a great chain of heroes and philosophers stretching back through their own ancestors to the beginnings of Western history."<sup>29</sup>

The ideal of freedom and the existence of a higher law were invoked in response to what they considered England's transgression of this law. Mullet in his article on "Classical Influences on the American Revolution" says: "In the realm of political ideas, the colonial agitator used classical sources to prove both the existence and the validity of a law superior to all positive law, and to laud again and again the high ideal of freedom."<sup>30</sup> Again quoting Rossiter we can see that "American thinkers were conscious heirs of the noble transition of natural law. Greece, Rome, Israel and the Church had all brought forth great men to affirm the reality of moral restraints on political power, and the colonists eagerly turned to these prophets for philosophical support in the struggle against England."<sup>31</sup>

The delegates to the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 were fearful that what had happened to the independent city-states of Greece would happen in America but they had no models in their contemporary world to shape their new republic on. England was rejected and Europe was looked upon as corrupt. As a result, they turned to the democratic republicanism of ancient Greece and Rome. Douglass C. Adair in "Experience Must Be Our Only Guide" expressed it this way: "The American states of 1776 stood alone in the political world in gambling on democratic republicanism. Nowhere in contemporary Europe or Asia could Americans turn for reassuring precedents showing functioning republican government. . . The leaders of the Revolutionary generation turned for counsel to classical history."<sup>32</sup> It was

<sup>29</sup> Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic* (New York, 1953), p. 353.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Mullet, "Classical Influences on the American Revolution," *The Classical Journal* 35 (1939-40), 94.

<sup>31</sup> Rossiter, *Seedtime*, p. 356.

<sup>32</sup> Douglass C. Adair, "Experience Must Be Our Only Guide," *Reinterpretation of the American Revolution* (New York, 1968), p. 405.

necessary to consult previous models in order to embrace in their government that which was positive/good and avoid that which was negative. James Madison said, "Let us consult experience, the guide that ought always to be followed whenever it can be found."<sup>33</sup> It is obvious and has been documented that there was an abundance of classical references during the Constitutional Convention and in the *Federalist Papers* which contain 200,000 words of classical references. Dr. Gummere has noted that "in no field were Greek and Roman sources more often invoked; and at no time were they more frequently cited than during the preliminary discussions and debates on the Constitution at the ratifying conventions, and in *The Federalist Papers*."<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps the most significant intellectual leader of the Revolutionary Period was John Adams. Adams had served as a diplomat in England during the years the convention was being prepared and during its actual proceedings. In 1786 he authored the widely read and influential *A Defence of the Constitutions of the United States*. Many of its ideas were to be incorporated in the U.S. Constitution. Tenney Frank has indicated that

It was a plea for a more closely integrated government than we then had, and the general argument was that the English had demonstrated the practicality of Cicero's ideas of a commonwealth. Quoting verbatim the famous passage in which Cicero insisted that a stable constitution must contain a right fusion of regal, aristocratic and popular functions, he added: 'As all ages of the world have not produced a greater statesman united than Cicero, his authority should have great weight.'<sup>35</sup>

There can be no questioning that Adams was a student of the classics. In the *Defence* he surveys the history of republican government from Greece to Rome to Switzerland. He emphatically indicates that most republican principles had been established in Greece and Rome:

According to a story in Herodotus, the nature of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy and the advantages and

<sup>33</sup> John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, *The Federalist Papers*, edited by Clinton Rossiter (New York, 1961), p. 327.

<sup>34</sup> Richard Mott Gummere, *The American Colonial Mind* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 173.

<sup>35</sup> Tenney Frank, "Cicero," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 18 (1932), 4-5.

inconveniences of each, were as well understood at the time of the neighing horse of Darius as they are at this hour. A variety of mixtures of these simple species were conceived and attempted with various success, by the Greeks and Roman representations instead of collections of the people; a total separation of the executive from the legislative power, and of the judicial from both; and a balance in the legislature, by three independent, equal branches, are perhaps the only three discoveries in the constitution of a free government since the institution of Lycurgus.<sup>36</sup>

Adams believed in the model of a mixed government on the model of Polybius and Cicero. His senate was identical with that described by Cicero in the Roman constitution – to be composed of a natural aristocracy of the rich and to be balanced by the Assembly. Like Plato, Adams was repelled by the excesses of democracy and oligarchy and pointed to a solution in a mixed government that contained a system of checks and balances. The Senate was to be an advisory board to the magistrates. Adams took the ancient models seriously which compelled Richard Mott Gummere to comment “. . . of all the American statesmen of his day John Adams was the outstanding student of the Greco-Roman tradition, which he regarded as a working model rather than a merely academic slogan.”<sup>37</sup>

There was need for a stronger union. William Patterson described the situation at the beginning of the convention in this way: “We are here as the deputies of 13 independent, sovereign states for federal purposes.”<sup>38</sup> The example of the failure of the ancient Greek city-states was constantly cited and while the delegates agreed that the union had to be strengthened, they did not agree as to how to bring this about and how much power the states would have to relinquish to the federal government.

Positions ranged from George Read’s “we must come to a consolidation – the state governments must be swept away” to James Wilson’s “I am in favor of a presentation of the state

<sup>36</sup> John Adams, Preface to *The Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* in *The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1946), p. 79. Edited with and introduction by Adrienne Koch and William Peden.

<sup>37</sup> Richard Mott Gummere, “The Classical Politics of John Adams,” *Boston Public Library Quarterly* 9 (1956), 165.

<sup>38</sup> Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1911-1937), 1.326.

governments from being swallowed up by the general government. In every instance of confederation of states the contrary has been true — the Amphictyonic Council and the Achaean League were dissolved by the encroachments of its constituent members.”<sup>39</sup> Norman Cousins in *The Good Inheritance* has summarized the problem facing the Founding Fathers this way: “For these references concerned the very core of the struggles over the constitution—whether the American colonies were to continue, like Greece nineteen hundred years earlier, as a number of autonomous states, endlessly absorbed in bickerings and disputes and divided in the face of a common threat; or whether they were made into a single nation. Behind this fundamental issue, all other provisions on the Constitution become secondary considerations.”<sup>40</sup>

In *The Federalist Papers* we can witness the appeal to the states for a stronger union of states through ratification of the Constitution. John Jay argued on the basis of national defense: “Leave America divided into 13 . . . —What armies could they raise and pay, what fleets could they hope to have?” “Although such conduct would not be wise, it would, nevertheless, be natural. The history of the states of Greece . . . abounds with such instances. . .”<sup>41</sup> Hamilton urges “A firm union will be of the utmost importance to the peace and liberty of the states as a barrier against domestic factions and insurrection. It is impossible to read the history of the petty republics of Greece and Italy without sensations of horror and disgust at the distractions with which they were constantly agitated. . .”<sup>42</sup> James Madison adds that a union is essential: “It is evident that if we do not radically depart from a federal plan, we shall share the same fate of the ancient confederacies. The Amphictyonic Council, like the American Congress, had the power of judging in the last resort in war and peace — call out the force — send ambassadors. What was its fate or continuance? Philip of Macedon, with little difficulty, destroyed every appearance of it. The Athenian Council had nearly the same fate.”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>40</sup> Norman Cousins, *The Good Inheritance* (New York, 1942), p. 137.

<sup>41</sup> *The Federalist Papers*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> Farrand, *Records*, 1, p. 326.

Any reading of the sources and documents of the Founding Fathers on the Constitution makes it abundantly clear that the confederations of ancient Greece played a great role in their deliberations. Luther Martin warned that the smaller states be given an equal voice with the larger states. "The Lacedaemonians insisted in the Amphictyonic Council to exclude some of the smaller states from a right to vote in order to tyrannize them."<sup>44</sup> James Madison disagreed and utilized classical references to make his point: "Among the principal members of ancient and modern confederacies we find the same effect and the same causes. The contentions, not the coalitions of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes proved fatal to the small members of the Amphictyonic Council."<sup>45</sup> Arguing later with Judge Ellsworth who supported the idea of the structure of the ancient confederacies with equality of representation in the common council, James Madison says "He [Ellsworth] supposes the equality of votes is the principle on which all confederacies are formed—that of Lycia, so justly applauded by Montesquieu, was different."<sup>46</sup> Hamilton also likes the Lycian League because he desires a strong federal government which would function directly in relation to its citizens and not through the agency of the states. "The Constitution. . . must carry its agency to the persons of the citizens. It must stand in need of no intermediate legislation, but itself must be empowered to employ the ordinary arm of the magistrate to execute its own resolutions."<sup>47</sup>

The Founding Fathers admired the Achaean League because of the principle of unity. Hamilton holds up as examples the Lycian and Achaean Leagues as "those which have best deserved and have most liberally received the applauding suffrages of political writers."<sup>48</sup> James Madison refers to the Achaean League as an intimate union of states which shared the same laws and in which the common council appointed the magistrates of the states. Madison is circumspect in not exhorting the delegates or the states to adopt the structures of the ancient confederacies whole. In the *Federalist Papers* he admonishes Americans to learn from the mistakes of the Greeks, especially the lesson of the necessity for a strong national/central government that the ancients lacked. It is interesting to

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 441.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 448.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 497.

<sup>47</sup> *The Federalist Papers*, p. 116.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 113.



note that the final form of federalism that was adopted was indicative of a compromise between those who supported equal representation as in the Amphictyonic Council and those who supported proportional representation as in the Lycian League. The principle of the equality of the States is embodied in the Senate while the Lycian principle of proportional representation is reflected in the House of Representatives. Also incorporated in the Constitution are strong executive elements from the Achaean and Lycian Leagues. The American federal structure also reflects a compromise between the national consolidation of the Lycian League and the weak federal structure of the Amphictyonic Council.

The Founding Fathers looked to a mixed constitution as the American solution that embodied the monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements. There was much discussion as to the extent of executive power and the number of executives. There was the fear that a plurality of executives would produce a tyranny like that of the tyrants of Athens or the decemvirs of Rome.

Hamilton supported a strong executive, even to the extent of supporting a motion naming Washington king, stating that "Every man the least conversant in Roman history knows how often the republic was obliged to take refuge in the absolute power of a single man, under the formidable title of dictator."<sup>49</sup>

In terms of the legislature, the Founding Fathers knew the classical evidence. Madison saw the necessity for balance between the Senate and the House of Representatives when he noted that "In Greece and Rome the rich and the poor, the creditors and the debtors, as well as the patricians and the plebeians alternately oppressed each other with equal unmercifulness."<sup>50</sup> Alexander Hamilton insisted on a clearly defined separation of powers between the two legislative bodies when he remarked, "It is well known that in the Roman republic the legislative authority in the last resort resided for ages in two different political bodies not as branches of the same legislature but as distinct and independent legislatures, in each of which an opposite interest prevailed; in one the patrician, in the other the plebeian."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 423.

<sup>50</sup> Farrand, *Records*, 1, p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> *The Federalist Papers*, p. 206.

There is no mistaking the intention of the Founding Fathers: the House of Representatives was to represent the masses and the Senate the aristocracy. "Landholders ought to share in the government, to support these invaluable interests and to balance and check the other."<sup>52</sup> They were to be so constituted as to protect this minority interest against the majority. Madison clearly stated that the Senate, representing the rich, should be the "groundwork of aristocracy, and we find it blended into every government, ancient and modern."<sup>53</sup> Proposals were even made during the Convention to guarantee the aristocratic character of the Senate. Charles Pinckney thought that "no salary be allowed."<sup>54</sup> Even Benjamin Franklin insisted that a property qualification be required for the office. Both these suggested practices had parallels in sixth-century Athens' Areopagus Council. Other delegates proposed that Senators hold office for life.

It was envisioned that the main purpose of the Senate would be as in the senates of Sparta, Carthage, and Rome as "anchors against popular fluctuations."<sup>55</sup>

Our survey clearly demonstrates that the records of the Constitutional Convention and the *Federalist Papers* show that the Founding Fathers knew their classics and discussed their political arguments in a classical vocabulary. An example from the notes of Alexander Hamilton could well serve as a summary of the classical influence in constitutional thinking:

(British constitution best form.)

Aristotle-Cicero-Montesquieu.

Society naturally divided into two political divisions—the few and the many, who have distinct interests.

If in the hands of many they will terrorize over the few.

If in the hands of a few, they will terrorize over the many.

It should be in the hands of both and they should be separated and if separated they will need a mutual check.

This check is the monarch.

Each principle should exist in full force or it will not answer its end.

The democracy must be derived immediately from the people.

<sup>52</sup> Farrand, *Records*, 1, p. 431.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, p. 433.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, p. 355.

The aristocracy ought to be entirely separated. . .

There ought to be a principle in government capable of resisting popular current. . .<sup>56</sup>

So in Hamilton we can see the force of the principles of mixed government, separation of powers, the Aristotelian division of society, the democratic basis of the House and the intended aristocratic bent of the Senate. All these were embodied in classical political theory and reach their fulfillment in the U.S. Constitution.\*

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 308-09

\*Note: Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Twelfth Annual Institute of the Classical Association of the Empire State at Binghamton, New York on October 26, 1975 and as a Bicentennial Lecture co-sponsored by the Department of Classics, State University of New York at Albany and the American Philological Association's Committee on the Classical Humanities in the American Republic with assistance of funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities on October 11, 1976.

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## EDUCATION AND LEARNING IN THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH CENTURIES AS VIEWED IN THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS

Both in the Theodosian Code and the *Codex Iustinianus* the teaching profession was highly regarded and carried along with it many privileges.<sup>1</sup> Professors were paid by the state or the municipalities.<sup>2</sup> Procopius, however, tells us in the *Anecdota* that Justinian cancelled the allowances of free maintenance which former emperors had decreed should be allotted physicians and teachers of freeborn children, thus reducing these professions to penury.<sup>3</sup> As a result, neither physicians nor teachers were any longer held in esteem.

Justinian's Code, however, merely reiterates the privileges granted to teachers set forth in the Theodosian Code. Can we, therefore, give credence to Procopius' claim that the emperor had a change of heart, and believe that perhaps, toward the end of his reign, he dropped the teachers and physicians from the State or municipal payroll?

There is one incident recorded in the *Miracula* of SS. Cosmas and Damian which seems to bear out Procopius' contention.<sup>4</sup> A certain pious Christ, a teacher (παιδαγωγός) by profession, came to Constantinople. Quite taken in by the many attractions of the great city, he decided that he would like to make the capital his permanent residence. Baring his hopes to SS. Cosmas and Damian in their church, he prayed to them to help him find work that he might be able to provide for the necessities of life since he himself was destitute. But ere long, having spent the

<sup>1</sup> *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, trans Clyde Pharr (Princeton, 1952) Title 3· Physicians and Professors (De Medicis et Professoribus) 13 3 1, 13 3 3, 13.3 16, pp. 387-88, 390. See also *Codex Iustinianus*, ed Paulus Krueger (Berlin, 1929), vols. 2, 52 (53). 1-11, pp. 422-23

<sup>2</sup> *The Theodosian Code*, 3 1, p 387

<sup>3</sup> *Procopius of Caesarea, The Anecdota*, tr H B Dewing, vol 6 (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p 302.

<sup>4</sup> Ludwig Deubner, *Miracula SS Cosmae et Damiani*, in *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig, 1907), mrr. 18, pp. 144-49

little money he possessed, he found himself in such dire straits that he was forced to sell his clothes. Convinced that he had been mercifully abandoned by the saints to whom he had prayed so fervently, he went to their church and cursed them in unseemly terms and denounced them as impostors.

On his way home he chanced to pass by the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae and, still fuming with anger, he decided to go in and pray. As he left the Church of the Virgin he was met by SS. Cosmas and Damian who miraculously appeared in the guise of clerics. Observing the teacher's profound state of depression, the saints asked: "What will you give us if we fulfill your wish? . . . If you will give us one pound of gold we shall accomplish the task . . . Are you not even willing to offer fifty or thirty or even twenty or ten nomismata for us to heal your sorrow and achieve what you seek?"

Growing angrier by the minute the teacher finally exploded: "Not one obol would I give you nor are you at all able to heal the pain in my soul; you are merely hurling words of ridicule at me." But the disguised saints pressed on saying: "We are not asking you for too much; give us but ten obols' worth of incense and we will heal you of everything."<sup>5</sup> And to further convince the distraught man, they revealed to him that they knew everything about him. "You are a teacher and because of us you would like to live in this city, and you seek means to support yourself and that is why you are so discontented and angry with us. Come, follow us, and we shall show you the place where you will find the man who has need of your services. We shall make known to you both his name and position."

Leading him to the Dark Portico where the large Praetorium of the Praefects was located, they pointed out to him the *Scrinium* or Department of Records where the *scriniarius*, an accountant who needed a teacher for his son, was stationed. They also made known to the teacher the name of the *scriniarius* συναλλακτήης, a sales tax collector, who was to be the intermediary between the two. The saints then said: "Behold!, you are provided for; remember the ten obols' worth of incense, and do not be obstreperous and a blasphemer." And they vanished from sight.

<sup>5</sup> The obol was also called a *folis* and varied from 210 to 180 to the *nomisma*.

The teacher, however, was still unconvinced and in a few days he made arrangements to depart from the city by ship. In the meantime, a message reached him from the *συναλλακτήης* saying: "Hasten to my shop; I wish to discuss something with you." Refusing to be disturbed at the time, as he was eating, he curtly replied: "If you wish, you come to me." The tax official immediately left his shop and came to the teacher and informed him that "a certain *scriniarius* of the Praefecture has a son in need of reading lessons and, learning of you by some providential means, he wishes to have you live in his house. Rise up, therefore, and instruct his son and you will give thanks to the Lord."

This particular anecdote is interesting because of the light it throws on the teaching profession toward the end of the sixth century. Even in the capital a teacher could have a difficult time finding a position to provide for his daily bread. Probably thrown out of work in his home town, this destitute teacher came to Constantinople looking for greater opportunities. Many such visitors to the capital, greatly impressed by the great cosmopolitan center, must have been tempted to make the "queen of cities" their permanent home. It is revealing, too, that it is a government official, a *scriniarius*, who is able to afford a private tutor for his son and that such a position had the added attraction of providing room and board for the teacher. Of some importance is the light cast upon the connection between the two prefectural posts of *scriniarius* and *συναλλακτήης* which has hitherto remained unnoticed. The *scriniarius* was a finance official, an accountant in charge of tax records. The *συναλλακτήης* in this anecdote was directly responsible to the *scriniarius* (ὁ τοῦ σκρυνιαρίου συναλλακτήης) and had his own shop as well. The term *συναλλακτήης*, however, was little used and seems to have been dropped after a brief existence.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Academy in Athens, the center of Neo-Platonism was closed by Justinian in A.D. 529 as part of his program to root out paganism, Greek wisdom was still being taught in centers such as Antioch, Alexandria, Caesarea in Palestine and Gaza; Berytus (Beirut) and Constantinople were the chief centers for the study of Roman law.

The monophysite Severus, whose grandfather had been Bishop of Sozopolis (Apollonia) in northwest Pisidia, received his secondary education in that city; later, he was sent by his father, a senator, together with his two older brothers to Alexan-

<sup>6</sup> For the *scriniarius* see, Ernst Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* 476-565, vol. 2 (Paris, 1949), pp. 74, 194.

dria to study Greek and Latin grammar and rhetoric.<sup>7</sup> While in that city Severus witnessed the baptism of Urbanus, professor of Latin grammar.<sup>8</sup> From Alexandria Severus came to Berytus to study law. There he met his schoolmate and biographer, Zacharias Scholasticus, and together they would spend the entire week, through Saturday morning, studying their law courses. Saturday afternoon and all day Sunday, however, they would devote to the study of Scriptures and the writings of the Church Fathers.<sup>9</sup> In Berytus Severus met Anastasios of Edessa, Philip of Patara in Lycia, and Anatolios of Alexandria, all of whom had already been studying law for four years.<sup>10</sup>

Evagrius, another student of law, was the leader of a devout group who studied law in the daytime and spent their nights praying in the churches.<sup>11</sup> Peter, a young man from Caesarea of Palestine, having studied grammar and rhetoric in his native city, was about to leave for Berytus to further his education when he met Severus and became his disciple instead.<sup>12</sup> Thomas, son of Sqn, governor of a district in Armenia *quarta*, was educated in both Berytus and Antioch where he received "the best possible education in the wisdom of the Greeks . . . He, therefore, was brilliantly instructed, and sagaciously educated, for many years . . ." <sup>13</sup>

The physician also represented the better educated classes of Byzantine society. Sergios, for example, an *archiatros* or chief physician of Rhesiana (ca A.D. 536) is described as "a man of eloquence and practiced in the reading of many books of the Greeks and in the teaching of Origen, while for some time he had been reading commentaries on the Scriptures by other doctors in Alexandria . . . and books of medicine."<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique", Texte Syriaque publié, traduit et annoté par M.A. Kugener, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 11 (1903), p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 55-56.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> "Sévère Patriarche d'Antioche 512-518," Texte Syriaques publiés, traduits et annotés par M.A. Kugener, PO, 2 (1903), p. 230.

<sup>13</sup> John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, trans. E.W. Brooks. PO, 17.21. pp. 284-85.

<sup>14</sup> *The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mytilene*, trans. F.J. Hamilton and E.W. Brooks (London, 1899), 9.19, p. 206. For a bizarre incident providing the physicians of Constantinople with the opportunity to study the human anatomy see, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Carl de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 436. An apostate Christian was ordered seized by Constantine V; his arms and legs were amputated and then he was disemboweled from the pubes to his chest.



Two monks from a monastery near Emesa hotly debated the issue as to why Origen, who had been gifted with so much wisdom and learning, should fall into heresy.<sup>15</sup> The one monk maintained that Origen's learning was not from God but simply a natural attribute; being of clever mind and well versed in Holy Scriptures and the writings of the holy Fathers, Origen sharpened his own mind, and consequently wrote his books. The other monk disagreed saying: "No one can speak such words as a result of a natural attribute as those which he set down in his *Hexapla*;<sup>16</sup> for the Catholic Church to this day considers them necessary." His opponent then countered: "Believe me, there are Greeks (pagans) who possessed more wisdom than he and composed more books than he." Now comes the important comment which reveals the attitude of some religious over against classical learning: "Must we then praise them for their loquacious babblings?" That two monks in the sixth century should be disputing the issue whether superior intelligence was God-given or a natural attribute is indeed fascinating.

Our hagiographic sources provide us with important information on secondary education in the empire. At the age of twelve, St. Eutychios was sent by his parents and his grandfather to Constantinople to receive his secular education (*προφάσει μὲν παιδεύσεως τῆς ἔξω παιδείας*).<sup>17</sup> His hagiographer states that just as Jacob received from Laban, who symbolizes the world, his two daughters, Leia and Rachel, who typify respectively the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Gentiles, in like manner did St. Eutychios receive both a secular as well as a religious education. As he did so he abided by the proverb: "Pluck the rose and avoid the thorns." The boy Eutychios learned to read and write from his grandfather, a priest of the Church in Augustopolis of Phrygia *Salutaris*.<sup>18</sup> Eutychios' early education, however, was not restricted to learning his letters. The grandfather was also responsible for his character moulding and training in the social amenities: how to walk, to dress, to be pleasant company and of cheerful countenance

<sup>15</sup> *Vita S. Symeonis Salt*, in *Acta Sanctorum* (ASS), Iul I, 3d ed., cap. 6, p. 139

<sup>16</sup> Origen produced an elaborate edition of the Old Testament in which the Hebrew text, in Hebrew and Greek characters, and the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachos, the Septuagint, and Theodotion, were arranged in six parallel columns

<sup>17</sup> *Vita S. Eutychii Patriarchae CP*, PG, 86(2) 10, col. 2285

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, col. 2284A.

(τὸ ἡθος, τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ βαδίσματος, τὸν στολισμόν, τὸν τρόπον τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸ ἱλαρὸν τοῦ προσώπου).<sup>19</sup> The aged cleric also instructed his grandson to go daily to the Church baptistry in which St. Eutychios had been baptized and to say the following prayer: "Lord, grant me a good mind that I may learn my letters and surpass my companions." This prayer is so classical in outlook that immediately the Homeric verse comes to mind: αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων (Iliad 6.208).

Every city and town in the empire had its own secondary schools which, however, were restricted to boys. In the *Vita* of St. Symeon the *Salos* or Fool we learn that there was a boys' school near the city gate of Emesa (ἐρχόμενος διὰ τῆς πόρτης, ὅπου πλησίον ἐστὶν τὸ σχολίον τῶν παιδίων).<sup>20</sup> When the schoolboys saw St. Symeon acting in his strange manner, they shouted: "Hey, stupid monk!" and ran after him, pelting him with blows along the way.

When Emesa was struck by an epidemic which took many lives, St. Symeon visited all the schools in the city and kissed and embraced those pupils whom the grace of God had pointed out to him. "Fare-you-well, my good boy," the holy man would say.<sup>21</sup> With the teacher of each school, St. Symeon pleaded: "By God, madman, do not strike the children. I kiss them because they must depart on a long journey." But the teacher, poking fun at the *salos*, would beat him with a strap and encourage the schoolboys to strike the holy man. Once the plague descended upon the city, every single one of the pupils that St. Symeon had embraced succumbed. From this anecdote, therefore, we learn that there were several secondary schools for boys in Emesa. St. Symeon implores the teachers not to beat their pupils, which means, of course, that this must have been a customary practice; the teacher, in fact, beats St. Symeon with his strap which evidently he kept near him in case his pupils needed disciplining.

Learning in Byzantium was not restricted to the large metropolises of the empire. Villages had their grammar schools too. In the *Vita* of St. Theodore of Sykeon we read that a certain

<sup>19</sup> Pulcheria, in almost identical terms, instructed her brother, the Emperor Theodosios II [408-450] not only in the attainments of divine piety and good character but also how to speak, walk, laugh, dress, sit, and stand in imperial fashion. See: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> *St. Symeon Salos*, cap. 5, 135.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 6, 139.

Philoumenos was a παιδοδιδάσκαλος, i.e. a teacher of boys, in the village of Mossyna, otherwise called Epistratos, in Galatia.<sup>22</sup>

On reaching his sixth birthday St. Theodore's mother, Maria, an innkeeper, made ready to send him to Constantinople to be educated in the imperial palace.<sup>23</sup> Maria provided her son with a golden belt and luxurious clothing for the journey; an unfavorable dream, however, convinced her to abandon her ambitious plan.

When St. Theodore turned eight years of age Maria turned him over to the teacher in the village of Sykeon to learn his letters. In Sykeon schoolboys were dismissed at noon for their midday meal.<sup>24</sup> Maria ordered the teacher to force her son to leave the schoolhouse with the other boys so that he could have his lunch. Instead of going to his home, however, for his noonday meal, St. Theodore would climb up the rocky hillside to the *Martyrium* of St. George where he would sit down and study the Holy Scriptures. Returning to school after the noon recess to continue his lessons, he would return home only in the early evening. Scolded by his mother for not coming home to eat his food, the young Theodore, with tongue in cheek, would respond by saying: "As I was unable to recite the lesson I had to remain after school." Thus, in Sykeon school hours lasted from morning until noon and following the noonday meal from early afternoon till evening.

An important development in education during the period under discussion was the establishment of the church school. St. Gregentius was seven years old when his parents sent him to the church school or διδασκαλεῖον located in the village of Bliares on the Avar border near the Black Sea.<sup>25</sup>

When St. Gregorios, future Bishop of Agrigentum in Sicily, turned eight years old, his parents took him from the village of Praetorium and led him to Potamion, Bishop of Agrigentum and

<sup>22</sup> *St. Theodore of Sykeon*, in *Μνημεῖα Ἀγιολογικά*, ed. Theophilos Ioannou (Venice, 1884), cap. 26, pp. 385-86. See also the English translation of the greater part of St. Theodore's *Vita* in E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948), p. 106.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 5, p. 365, *Three Byzantine Saints*, p. 89.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, caps. 6-7, pp. 366-67; *Three Byzantine Saints*, pp. 90-91. This was also true of the school attached to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. See E. Mioni, *Il Pratum Spirituale di Giovanni Mosco*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 17 (Rome, 1951), pp. 93-94.

<sup>25</sup> *Vita S. Gregentii, Ep. Homeritae*, ed. A.A. Vasiliev, *Viz. Vremennik* 14 (1907, ed. 1909), cap. 1, p. 41.

godfather to Gregorios. Bringing the bishop many gifts, they requested that he enroll the boy in the *disaskaleion* to learn sacred letters.<sup>26</sup> Potamion forthwith handed Gregorios over to the personal tutelage of Damian, a famous teacher. In two years the bright lad learned how to count (τούς τε ψήφους), how to compute the feast days of the church calendar (καὶ τοὺς κύκλους τῶν ἑορτῶν ἕως συντελείας κατέλαβεν), and the Psalter.

On reaching his twelfth birthday, Gregorios' parents requested the bishop to make him a lector of the Church. At this point Potamion handed the precocious student over to Donatus, the archdeacon and librarian, and appointed him to instruct St. Gregorios in reading the sacred books and in comprehending their meaning. Years later, when Gregorios reached his eighteenth birthday, he came to Palestine and in the wilderness he came upon an anchorite who befriended him and kept him by his side for four years while he taught him rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, and astronomy.<sup>27</sup>

Attached to the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was a convent which had a school for girls who had taken the monastic habit.<sup>28</sup> The teacher of such an eight year old dumb girl, brought her to St. Theodore of Sykeon, who was visiting in the capital at the time, and thanks to his prayers the child was healed of her infirmity.

Monasteries bordering on villages often provided the only available schooling for village children. The recluses Symeon and Sergius of the village of Kalesh in Armenia *quarta*, "formed a plan and chose for themselves to teach boys, and this they did out of the window, since a seat was placed inside the window, and hours were appointed for the boys to come, that is in the morning and in the evening; and, when they had taught one class to read the Psalms and the Scriptures, and they had withdrawn after being strengthened, another came in of little infants, thirty or forty of them, and they would learn and go to their homes . . ."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Vita S. Gregorii Agrigentini*, PG, 98, cols. 553, 556, 597.

<sup>27</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 368, cites a certain monk, Paul the *Astromer*, from the Monastery of Kallistratos (A.M. 6187).

<sup>28</sup> Ioannou, *St. Theodore of Sykeon*, cap. 148, p. 494; *Three Byzantine Saints*, p. 157.

<sup>29</sup> John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO, 18.44, pp. 661-63.

That the monastery was a center of learning is borne out in the following illustration. When St. Anastasios the Persian was baptized a Christian in Jerusalem, he asked the presbyter Elias to make him a monk.<sup>30</sup> Elias took him to the Monastery of St. Anastasios situated about four miles from the Holy City. The *hegumenos* or abbot of the monastery, Justin by name, handed the convert over to an instructor (ἐπιστάτης) who taught the Persian Greek letters and the Psalter. Eleusios, the hagiographer of St. Theodore of Sykeon, informs us that he was taught to read and write by St. Theodore himself.<sup>31</sup>

Memorization was a very important aspect of Byzantine religious education. The religious learned the Psalter by heart. When St. Theodore of Sykeon reached the age of twelve, he had learned to read well, and he undertook the task of memorizing the Psalter.<sup>32</sup> He did very well until he came to Psalm 17 (Septuagint) which he found impossible to retain. Throwing himself on the floor of the chapel of the Holy Martyr Christophoros, Theodore prayed to God to make him quick of learning in the study of the Psalms.

Praying in front of the icon of the Savior, the boy suddenly felt a sweetness more pleasant than honey pouring into his mouth. Recognizing the grace of God, and giving thanks to Christ, Theodore memorized the entire Psalter in a few days. John Moschos relates that the monk, Theodore the Philosopher, suffering from an ailment of the eyes, memorized the entire Old and New Testaments!<sup>33</sup>

The emphasis on mastering languages, especially Greek, is also of interest for the study of education in this period. We have seen above that St. Anastasios the Persian was taught Greek letters in the Monastery of St. Anastasios outside the city of Jerusalem. John of Ephesos records that Tribunus, an Armenian from the village of Beth Rwmnt' in the district of Sophanene of Armenia *quarta*, was taught to read and write Greek and Syriac at home.<sup>34</sup> When Z'ura the Stylite went to Constantinople to

<sup>30</sup> *Vita S. Anastasii Persae*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας (St. Petersburg, 1897), 4, p. 131.

<sup>31</sup> Ioannou, *St. Theodore of Sykeon*, cap. 148, p. 494; *Three Byzantine Saints*, p. 184.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 13, p. 372; *Three Byzantine Saints*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>33</sup> *Pratum Spirituale*, PG, 87(3), col. 3037.

<sup>34</sup> John of Ephesos, PO, 18, 44, pp. 661-63.

protest against the persecution of the monophysites, he took Tribunus along "in lay attire as an interpreter of the Greek tongue."

St. Symeon the *Salos* and his Syrian compatriot, John, both from well-to-do families, spoke Syriac as their native tongue, but were educated in Greek letters as well (*ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ ἑλληνικὰ εἰς ἄκρον ἐκμαθόντες*).<sup>35</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene makes it a point to say that Sergios, the chief physician of Rhesaina "was skilled in the Syriac tongue, reading and speaking."<sup>36</sup> The prison, too, could be a school of learning. St. Gollinduch was taught to read and write Syriac during the eighteen years she was incarcerated in Persia.<sup>37</sup>

Educated Byzantines were interested in building up private libraries. John of Ephesos cites that Caesaria the Patrician (to whom a large proportion of Severus' extant letters are addressed) owned more than "seven hundred volumes in number of all the Fathers . . ." <sup>38</sup> Alexandria was an important center for book-making and bookselling. Our sources give several references to private libraries in that city. Zachariah of Mitylene informs us that Maro Bar Kustant, the monophysite bishop of Amida, received his education in Greek letters in the Monastery of St. Thomas the Apostle in Seleucia.<sup>39</sup> Exiled from his see to Alexandria, he "formed a library there containing many admirable books." After the bishop's death, his books were all transferred to the treasury of the Church of Amida.

John Moschos relates that he met two wondrous men in Alexandria, the monk Theodore the Philosopher and Zoilos the Lector.<sup>40</sup> Both men owned a few books: Theodore was a private tutor and Zoilos worked in the *scriptoria* of the city, probably as a copyist (*ἐσχόλαξε δὲ εἰς τὰ καλλιγραφία*).<sup>41</sup> In the same city John Moschos also met Kosmas the *Scholastikos*, a teacher who owned more books than any other man in the

<sup>35</sup> St. Symeon *Salos*, cap. 6, p. 122.

<sup>36</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene, 9.29, p. 266.

<sup>37</sup> Vtta S. Gollinduch, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Ανάλεκτα, 4, 156.

<sup>38</sup> John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO, 19.9, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> Zachariah of Mitylene, Bk. 8, Chap. 5, p. 209.

<sup>40</sup> *Pratum Spirituale*, PG, 87, cols. 3037-40.

<sup>41</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 291 (A.M. 6095) cites a certain calligrapher in Alexandria who, as he was returning home from a vigil service in the middle of the night, saw the statues moving from off their pedestals and crying out that Maurice and his sons had been murdered.

city.<sup>42</sup> “In his house,” says Moschos, “one could see nothing but books, a bed and a table.” Kosmas’ house was used as a library: people would come in, ask questions and read his books. Moschos visited the scholar daily and found him either reading or writing treatises against the Jews. Finally, on a journey to Alexandria, Thomas son of Sqn, now a monk “bought many great books of all the fathers, the full amount that he could and was able to obtain, about five large loads . . . ”<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *Pratum Spirituale*, 172, col. 3040.

<sup>43</sup> John of Ephesos, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO, 17.21, pp. 284-85.

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# ETHICS IN THE GREEK ORTHODOX TRADITION

Stanley Harakas

## PRECIS

Greek Orthodox ethical systems did not emerge until the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century several "schools" developed: the Athenian school which takes a rationalistic approach and is philosophically oriented, the Constantinople school which is Christocentric and Evangelical, and the Thessalonian school which is most closely aligned with the Orthodox God concept. The Thessalonian view is the most valid.

Human nature is implanted by God with a natural moral law. However, humans retain free will and can therefore choose to obey the moral law or to rebel. Most people need redemption which Christ fulfills. Christ and the church offer models for humans and society. Each person is challenged to "realize as much as possible the image of God in his or her own life." Finally, we find ourselves in tension between what is and what ought to be. The basic moral end is growth toward the image of Christ individually and socially.

Though most people who have some knowledge of Eastern Orthodox Christianity may have some appreciation for its liturgical tradition, spirituality, dogmatic formulations, or sense of tradition, few have looked to Eastern Orthodoxy as a source of ethical teaching. The earliest centuries of Orthodox theological concern were directed to the understanding and formulation of the church's faith regarding the person of Jesus Christ. Yet, even at later times, the sorts of concerns which are the subject matter of investigation for the modern day ethicist were not often dealt with by Eastern Orthodox writers, at least not in the manner to which we have been accustomed in our times. One will search in vain in the writings of the Church Fathers for systematic treatments of Orthodox Christian ethics.

It was not until after the Greek Revolution in 1821-1828 that some systematic ethical studies began to appear among the Greek Orthodox; yet even these were deficient since they were of practical concern and patterned after Western prototypes, Roman Catholic and Protestant. This pattern was followed subsequently, when formal theological Eastern Orthodox ethics began to be written beginning in the second decade of the twentieth century. It is possible to delineate different "schools" of formal theological ethics. One, which could be called the "Athenian School,"

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dominated by Chrestos Androutsos, sees very close relationships between philosophical and Christian ethics. This "school" takes a quite rational approach to the classic problems of ethics and considers that Christianity serves to give authority and dynamics to the truths of philosophical ethics. A second "school" which may be denoted is the Constantinopolitan School of theological ethics. This group of Orthodox ethicists, whose first spokesperson was Evangelos Antoniadis, treats Orthodox Christian ethics in a strongly Christocentric and evangelical manner. The relationship between philosophy and Christian ethics is not ignored, but it is not held to be crucial. The person of Christ, Christ's example, and the evangelical teaching are primary in this "school."

The most recent "school," which may be called the "Thessalonian" school of Orthodox Christian ethics, bases itself on the neo-patristic theological revival centering in the School of Theology of the University of Thessalonica. The main spokespersons for this "school," now just emerging, are George Mantzarides and Chrestos Giannaras. This "school" sees Orthodox Christian ethics as arising out of the fundamental Orthodox Christian view of God, humanity, and the world. It seeks to determine what human beings ought to do in terms of their understanding of what they are, and what they are intended for, as understood within the framework of the apophatic theological faith of the Orthodox Church. It is my judgment that this approach is the most valid, in that it draws primarily upon Orthodox understandings and sources, maintains close continuity with the church's tradition, speaks the language of the church, is able to relate quite well with contemporary trends in thinking (especially process philosophy), and to meet creatively and flexibly new concerns, problems, and situations. It is in the spirit of this approach that the following description of Orthodox Christian ethics is written.

### *The Pattern of Orthodox Christian Ethics*

*The Heilsgeschichte* as understood in the Orthodox theological perspective is familiar enough, I believe, not to need detailed documentation. Briefly, it can be stated as follows:

The apophatic theological approach first emphasized the complete unknowability of the essence of God, while pointing to the activities or energies of God as they relate to the world. Thus, the absolute character of God is unknown, but God's energies (i.e., God's relatedness to the created world) are in part known. As we know them—in a real, yet far from absolute, sense—we know God.

God created the world freely and without constraint. There are no pre-existing ideal patterns or absolutes according to which God created the world. This is just one possible world brought into being positively and concretely by the *dutexousion* (self-determining will of God). So, also, was

humanity created in the image and likeness of God. Humans had, in the "image," the larger part of a divine-like nature and, in the "likeness," the potential to fulfill and complete their destiny so as to become "divine." But in exercising free will, humans chose not to realize their potential and, in rebelling against the Creator, they henceforth lost the potential and marred and weakened the "image" of God within. But it was not destroyed completely. "The natural precepts which he had from the beginning implanted in mankind" are the basic and necessary pre-suppositions of social and therefore individual life. This natural law is a moral law basic to human beings in society, and it is to be understood as a positive, built-in factor of our human nature, a part of the divine image in us, distorted as that image might be.

The Fathers teach that one of the best statements of this fundamental moral law is to be found in the Decalogue, but the Decalogue is not an absolute form of it, nor is such an absolute form required, since it is written in the hearts of all people. In spite of this basic moral equipment, we can react and respond to it with the same free will as we did previously, either living in harmony with it or rebelling against it. Among those who lived in accordance to it are the personages of all ages known by the Fathers as the "righteous ancients." In spite of these exceptions, the vast majority of people were in need of redemption and restoration. From a moral point of view, Christ's saving work restores to us the "likeness," the potential to fulfill our destiny to become God-like, to become "perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect." And this means nothing less than becoming completely, fully, and totally human. In this sense, most of humankind is in reality less-than-human, less than what it can be and ought to be. The prototype of the kind of human being we ought to be is Christ; the prototype of what society should be is the eschatological church. What is and what ought to be are on a continuum: the minimum for human social and individual existence is the natural law as we have defined it; the maximum is the fullest realization of the Christ-like image in our social and individual existence, i.e., sainthood for the individual and the Reign of God for society. The church in the moral sense exists as the arena where the Holy Spirit forgives, supports, and strengthens the Christian in the struggle for growth into the image of God.

Morally, where does this place us? It places us at a point of tension between anarchical disorder on the one side and eschatological perfection on the other. Morally it requires of each person to realize as much as possible the image of God in his or her own life and in the society in which he or she lives (in the church community especially). The Orthodox concept of morality, then, is dynamic, growing, fulfilling, perfecting. But it is not so in a narrow sectarian way; it knows that the pressures and forces of evil abound, but it has faith and trust that the grace of God abounds even more. So there is need for struggle, for "askesis," for "invisible warfare"

against evil, and for the fulfillment of the Christ-like image. In the struggle for growth there is rejoicing in progress, but there is also always the recognition that we continually fall short and so there is always the liturgical "Lord have mercy" and the Jesus Prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me a sinner." An eighth century Church Father, St. Peter of Damascus, has provided us with this short summary of Christian ethics with which we can conclude our brief overview of the substance of the Orthodox Christian moral code:

The beginning of every good act is the natural knowledge given by God, whether it come by man through the Scriptures, or by angelic communication, or as given through divine baptism. This knowledge is given for the protection of the spiritual life of each faithful Christian and is known as the conscience. It also serves as a reminder of the divine commands of Christ. Through them the grace of the Holy Spirit is kept in the life of the baptized Christian, if he wills to observe them. In addition to the knowledge, there is the need to exercise choice. This is the beginning of salvation; that is, for man to abandon his own willful desires and thoughts, and instead, do the thoughts and will of God. If one is able to do this there will not be found in all of creation any thing, or object, or place able to restrain him from becoming, as God from the beginning intended, God's own image and likeness, a contingent god, by grace.<sup>1</sup>

How does Orthodox Christian ethics function? How does it work? That is the next question we must ask. In the condition in which we find ourselves now as a world, as individuals, as society, we stand in a tension between what is and what ought to be. "Therefore, the nature of morality is not perfection, but the believer's effort and struggle to achieve it. To the extent that the Christian continues his struggle for perfection he is spiritually alive and the Spirit of God continues to quicken the arteries of his spiritual existence,"<sup>2</sup> says the former Archbishop of Athens, Jerome Cotsonis. Conceptually then, what we have are certain levels of experience as we seek to live this tension out in our present existence. In the face of chaos, we will insist on the application of the moral law, but if the natural law is functioning well, we would move to the implementation of the Christ-image wherever possible. The Christ-image presupposes the basic order of life and society, but it does not rest on it. It seeks wherever possible to transform it, to transfigure it, to shoot it through with the uncreated perfect Light of God. Thus it is that the laws, prohibitions, and requirements are not abrogated; they are fulfilled and what they at first

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<sup>1</sup>Peter of Damascus, *Prooimion*. In *Philokalia* (Athens: "Astir," 1960), vol. 3, p. 7, ll. 13-24. Trans. by the author.

<sup>2</sup>"Fundamental Principles of Orthodox Morality," in A. Philippou, ed., *The Orthodox Ethos* (Oxford: Holywell Press, 1964), p. 241.

sought to enforce is now taken for granted and perfected with the infusion of the Christ-image. However, this takes place on many levels and at different places in varying areas of concern. The humanization (i.e., divinization) of the family has come quicker and is more widely spread than the humanization (i.e., divinization) of economic life and international relations. Oftentimes the same event is in actuality on many different levels. War, for instance, in itself is a complete breakdown of moral relationships between the combatants, with only the law of self-preservation and defense functioning. As far as the discipline of the individual armies is concerned, law functions at its most elementary and barbaric level; a breach of discipline means the firing squad. In a particular company, loyalties of the highest aspects of moral law may be present—willing cooperation, honesty, truthfulness, etc. And in some cases, even in the chaos of battle, people may do Christ-like things, such as sparing a town, or giving their lives up freely for their co-combatants.

The idea of growth, the realization of the basic structures of life as expressed in natural law, and the fulfillment of our destinies as the image and likeness of God both as individuals and as society are the high points of the way the Orthodox Church “does” ethics.

#### **Study and Discussion Questions**

1. What are the three basic schools of Greek Orthodox ethics?
2. Which does the author consider to be most valid and why?
3. What is the Orthodox view of morality?
4. What roles do Christ and the church perform in the Orthodox morality?
5. What are considered to be the “high points of the way the Greek church ‘does’ ethics”?
6. Does the author validate his claim that the certain type under description is the most valid form for several reasons?

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## THE CHARISMATA IN THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS

The very subject of this study suggests the idea that the *χαρίσματα* (charismata) of the Holy Spirit did not cease after the apostolic age, but rather continued on into the age of the Apostolic Fathers, indeed as late as the age of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the universal church.

Although it is a basic conviction of Pentecostals that the *χαρίσματα* of the Holy Spirit were intended by the Lord Jesus Christ to be normative in the life of the church, comprising an integral ingredient of the Body, many of them share one view in common with the mainline churches and evangelicals, namely that the charismata of the Holy Spirit no longer were to be found in the church after the last of Christ's twelve disciples departed the church militant. The latter generally believe that the supernatural gifts were withdrawn because they had served their primary purpose: the establishing of the infant church, while the Pentecostals tend to assume that the church fell into an early apostasy, banishing the Holy Spirit with all of the gifts, as if everything after the year A.D. 100 was just one big mistake. There is the inference logically inherent in this attitude that Satan gained control of the church and that God waited until 1901 to restore Pentecost from scratch in Topeka, Kansas and on Azusa Street in 1906.

Pentecostals have been inclined to think that the present, end-time outpouring of God's Holy Spirit with the fresh manifestation of the charismata comes to bridge the gulf of almost 1900 years. Fortunately, neo-pentecostals or charismatics in the last decade are helping to change this attitude. Charismatically renewed believers in the mainline churches are contributing to the correction of this misunderstanding. This unhistorical view is conceding to the recognition of the fact that the pentecostal quality of the church did actually continue following the apostolic age, although not always in its initial intensity.

Although the charismatic element was not always prominent in the witness of the church in subsequent times, it never totally

disappeared. Least of all, were the spiritual gifts prohibited or considered as belonging only to the apostolic age. We have ample evidence in the writings of the church Fathers that not only were they affirmed and reaffirmed over and over again, but wherever they waned in the church the Fathers had only regret and they lamented it.

What is most impressive above all is the fact that the theology especially of the Greek Fathers is Spirit-centered. The idea of divine immanence is fundamental to their thought, namely that the Holy Spirit, like the Divine Logos, indwells man as His permanent abode. Their writings reflect a deep belief in the doctrine of divine indwelling, namely that the Holy Spirit represents God's personal inhabitation of man's soul and body. The Greek Fathers reveal an intense feeling for the truth that man is constitutionally related to God by reason of His indwelling Spirit and Logos.

The significance of this fact is obvious. The Greek Fathers not only preserved the biblical doctrine of the indwelling Spirit but bequeathed to the church of all ages a masterly development and elaboration of the theology of the Holy Spirit.

There is a growing awareness today among charismatic Christians of the need for a theology of the charismatic experience and the Holy Spirit baptism. But we are making it harder than what it really is. We have much to profit by returning to the church Fathers. It is marvellous to see that they provide us with a spiritual heritage that can serve as a theological framework for the charismatic renewal. The understanding of the church's charismatic life requires an adequate theology of the Holy Spirit.

The centrality of the Holy Spirit was an ever-present reality in the church of the Fathers. The lordship of the Logos in the church secured the primacy and infallibility of the Holy Spirit. Jesus Christ was still the head and the church was subject to Him, filled with His redeeming presence and the sanctifying and quickening power of the Holy Spirit.

It is regrettable that Protestant and Catholic teachers in the charismatic renewal continue to ignore the witness of the post-apostolic church and to detach the scriptural teachings on the charismata from the context of the church's life during the patristic age. There is an urgent need to rediscover the true, his-



torical perspective of the church's continuity by transcending the theological fixation stemming from the Reformation. This means recovering the historicity of the church and the unbroken continuity of the redemptive and pentecostal experience from one generation of saints to another. In this study I intend to demonstrate that Pentecost was a real, ongoing experience in the church of the early Fathers.

Christians whose lives have been quickened by God's empowering Spirit are being led into a new understanding of the historical church as the matrix of the New Testament. This is, of course, part of the victory of truth over error, because too long have the heirs of the Reformation unwittingly implied that the New Testament was dropped by God from the sky and that St. Paul passed out New Testaments wherever he journeyed for the gospel of the kingdom.

An increasing number of Spirit-filled teachers are gaining a new awareness of the fact that it was the church of the Fathers that determined the canon of the New Testament. Revelation, for example, was not included officially in the canon as an inspired book until as late as the seventh century. The fact that we can turn to our New Testaments with the assurance of reading God's inspired word can be credited to the Fathers who, of course, were used by the Lord as chosen instruments.

If we were to believe that pentecostal power left the church after the apostolic age, then we would logically be compelled to have serious reservations about the inspiration and authority of all the books in the New Testament. Certainly a church devoid of pentecostal, Holy Spirit power, would not be capable of distinguishing correctly the inspired books from other Christian writings that were circulating in the church (many of which were held in high esteem).

Indeed the Holy Spirit was very much alive in the church which made possible the defining of the authoritative New Testament canon. The charismatic life did not cease. The charismata of the Holy Spirit continued to be manifested. Never did the Fathers, doctors, and other Christian writers express the view that the charismata belonged to an earlier age, were later withdrawn, and were not necessary for the church of subsequent ages. In my studies of patristic literature nowhere have I found the charismata rejected, disparaged or prohibited. On the contrary, the charismatic nature of the church is universally

acknowledged and proclaimed, always with direct references to the word of scripture.

It is revealing that when the Fathers comment on First Corinthians, chapters 12 and 14, they never speak of the supernatural manifestations of the apostolic church as mere history, but rather are unequivocal in their affirmation that the gifts of the Holy Spirit are of the essence of the church and the Body ministry until the end of the age. There is not a shred of evidence that they viewed the charismata as demonic snares designed to lead believers away from the truth. On the contrary, with one clear voice the Fathers call it blasphemy against the Holy Spirit to attribute signs and wonders to the unclean spirit.

I would like to invite you to go back with me to the early period of the church and to examine the written testimony that attests to the survival of the charismatic life subsequent to the New Testament age. First, I wish to observe that such written evidence is not as ample in the second century, as it is in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. This might seem quite strange. Is this proof that the charismata waned immediately after the apostolic age and then revived later?

There is an adequate explanation for this. To begin with, the writings of the apostolic Fathers (second century) are short and not extended and voluminous as those of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. The primary purpose of these earliest writings was to meet certain practical needs that had arisen within the church. They were not formal expositions of faith and practice. They were not exhaustive treatises. They were primarily concerned about correcting certain deviations and problems pertaining to discipline and unity. Obviously, the charismatic aspect of the church's life was not controversial and there was no specific need to even mention the charismata.

In his epistle to the Corinthians, for example, Clement, bishop of Rome (close of the first century) makes no mention of the charismata. His primary concern was to meet the disciplinary needs that had arisen due to dissension in the church of Corinth. Like many of the documents of that early period, this epistle dwells on salvation and focuses on observing the divinely established order in the cause of unity and harmony. Silence on the charismata is no more an argument that the gifts were withdrawn than is the silence of some books of the New Testament on the charismata. We cannot logically expect a teacher or

pastor to include the totality of belief and practice each time he took up the pen to write.

There is reason to believe that the charismata were regarded so much part of the normal life of the church and were accepted as such by the Body that mention of them was simply superfluous. Silence, therefore, can serve as a positive sign of charismatic continuity at this time, indeed of the smooth manifestation of the gifts. Paul, for example, probably would not have even mentioned Communion in his epistles were it not for the fact that abuses began to occur in the Corinthian church. The same could be said regarding the teaching on the gifts of the Holy Spirit he provided in his first epistle to the Corinthians.

The same applies to St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (wrote about A.D. 110) and apostolic Father of the church. In his epistles that have come down to us there is strong emphasis on the authority of the threefold, ordained ministry of deacon, presbyter, and bishop, as being essential to the Body of Christ. While he exhorts God's people to be submissive to the ordained ministers in the church, he speaks of the prophets as being "worthy of love and saints worthy of admiration."

"We love the prophets," he states, "because they also have announced the gospel and are hoping in him and waiting for him, by faith in whom they also obtain salvation, being united with Jesus Christ, for they are worthy of love and saints worthy of admiration, approved by Jesus Christ, and numbered together in the gospel of the common hope."<sup>1</sup>

The lack of explicit mention that the charismata were manifested in the normal function of the church does not necessarily indicate that they had been withdrawn from the church as early as the end of the first century. It is legitimate to believe that they were probably so much part of the church's witness and so self-evident that concrete mention of the gifts was superfluous. Other issues that touched on pastoral leadership demanded more attention because of the perils of false doctrine and disunity. It is easy to assume that even heretics could possibly claim charismata. What was of supreme importance was the need to fence in the Body by setting down directives, exhorting and warning the believers against the threats of false teachers and those who disrupted unity.

<sup>1</sup> *Epistle to the Philadelphians*, 5.

It is interesting to note, however, that in the numerous exhortations there is no suggestion that the believer should seek the charismata of the Holy Spirit for the building up of the Body of Christ. Could it be that the elders and bishops of the church were beginning to attach less importance to the spontaneous life in the Spirit out of practical considerations? Did the cause of law and order begin to devour the freedom in the Spirit as early as the end of the first century?

If we are to suppose that the charismata were soft-pedalled, it does not mean necessarily that they were rejected as suspect, illegitimate, and disruptive to discipline. If the spiritual gifts had been regarded as a source of mischief in the church, Ignatios and other Fathers would hardly have hesitated to mention it clearly and explicitly. In reference to 1 Corinthians 1.7, Ignatios sanctions the spiritual gifts in speaking of the church as having "obtained mercy in every charisma, and is filled with faith and love, and is not lacking in any charisma, most becoming of God and possessing holiness."<sup>2</sup>

The *Didache*, an early second-century document, makes a clear allusion to the ministry of itinerant teachers, apostles and prophets. Believers are exhorted to receive those who exercise these charismatic ministries "as the Lord." In fact the believer is admonished not to despise an authentic prophet lest he fall into the unpardonable sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. "Do not test or examine any prophet who is speaking in the Spirit, for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven. But not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet, except he have the behavior of the Lord. From his behavior, then, the false prophet and the true prophet shall be known . . . Every true prophet who wishes to settle among you is worthy of his food. Likewise a true teacher is himself worthy, like the workman, of his food. They should be paid by first fruits of the winepress and of the threshing floor and of oxen and sheep . . . for they are your high priests."<sup>3</sup>

It is safe to conclude that the *Didache* attaches equal importance to both the ordained ministry and the charismatic ministry. "Appoint therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek men, and not lovers of money, and truthful and approved, for they also minister to you the ministry

<sup>2</sup> *Epistle to the Smyrnaeans*.

<sup>3</sup> *Didache*, 11.7,8.

of the prophets and teachers. Therefore, do not despise them, for they are your honorable men together with the prophets and teachers.”<sup>4</sup>

Justin Martyr († 163-167) makes certain observations in his writings that demonstrate the existence of charismata in the church around the middle of the second century:

God imparts charismata from the grace of His Spirit’s power to those who believe in Him according as He deems each man worthy thereof. I have already said, and do again say, that it had been prophesied that this would be done by Him after His ascension to heaven. It is accordingly said, “He ascended on high, He led captivity captive, He gave gifts unto the sons of men,” and again, in another prophecy it is said: “And it shall come to pass after this, I will pour out my Spirit on all flesh, and on my servants and on my handmaids, and they shall prophesy.”<sup>5</sup>

The outpouring of the Holy Spirit about which Justin Martyr speaks is not a historical event of a past age, but a contemporary reality. The charismatic manifestations were still in evidence in his day: “Now it is possible to see among us women and men who possess gifts of the Spirit of God.”<sup>6</sup>

Nothing could be farther from the truth than to think that the charismata were withdrawn from the church after the close of the apostolic age. On the contrary, they appear to be manifested in power “throughout the whole world,” that is, in the church universal, as Justin Martyr testifies in the following account:

For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world and in your city, many of our Christian men, exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.<sup>7</sup>

It would be useful at this stage of our inquiry to consider what the Montanist controversy has to tell us pertaining to the state of the charismatic life of the church in the latter half of

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 15.1.2.

<sup>5</sup> Joel 2.28ff., *Dialogue with Trypho*, 87.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 88.

<sup>7</sup> *Apology* 2.6.

the second century. Montanism (whose founder was Montanus) emerged sometime between 173 and 180, obviously as an abuse of the prophetic gift. Montanus and his numerous followers were accused by their contemporaries of, among other things, exercising this charisma in a state of frenzy and convulsion. We can go only by what we read in the anti-Montanistic literature that has come down to us from that period. Much that is available to us seems to indicate a rather confused and contradictory understanding of Montanism. On the one hand, its alleged extremes and bizarre expressions of prophecy are condemned. On the other, the Montanists are accused of saying that prophecy is not a permanent part of the Body of Christ.

An early writer by the name of Miltiades (who wrote between 160 and 195) is quoted by Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History* as stating in his condemnation of Montanus the following:

For the apostle [Paul] grants that the prophetic charisma shall be in all the church until the final coming, but this they [the Montanists] could not show, seeing that this is already the fourteenth year from the death of Maximilla [disciple of Montanus].<sup>8</sup>

Irenaeos, bishop of Lyons (born c. 135-140 in Smyrna), likewise writes in defense of the prophetic gift in his refutation of the Montanists:

They set aside the gift of prophecy from the church. We must conclude that these men cannot admit the Apostle Paul. For in his epistle to the Corinthians he speaks expressly of prophetic gifts, and recognizes men and women prophesying in the church. Sinning, therefore, in all these particulars, against the Spirit of God, they fall into the unpardonable sin.<sup>9</sup>

There is reason to believe that many of the bishops in the church who condemned Montanus and his disciples went by hearsay and relied too much on secondary and unreliable sources for their information about his teachings and prophetic practices. In all probability there was considerable exaggeration and distortion of the true Montanus, as reports spread from mouth to mouth. Certainly the Montanists could not have been negatively disposed to prophesy (as their accusers charge them), since it was their very exercising of the prophetic gift that aroused controversy.

<sup>8</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.17.

<sup>9</sup> *Against Heresies*, 3.11.

It is even strange that Montanism should be called a heresy since the Montanists did not teach doctrine as much as manifest prophetic gifts, although Montanus was accused of claiming allegedly that He was the Paraclete that God sent to His church. There is reason to think that this was a fictitious charge. It is strange otherwise that Montanism would have made such an appeal to such a large number of truly consecrated Christians, witnesses, and martyrs of the faith.

Eusebios of the fourth century tells us that Miltiades wrote a refutation of Montanism entitled *That a Prophet Must Not Speak When in Ecstasy* (A.D. 160-195).<sup>10</sup>

Apollinarios of Hierapolis (A.D. 170-175), another anti-Montanist writer, is quoted by Eusebios as describing Montanus in the following terms:

He gave himself access to the adversary, became obsessed and suddenly fell into frenzy and convulsions. He began to be ecstatic and to speak and to talk strangely, prophesying contrary to the custom which belongs to the tradition and succession of the church from the beginning.<sup>11</sup>

Eusebios of Caesaria calls the Montanist ecstasy *παρέκστασις* (parekstasis), that is, a spurious ecstasy. Like the other Fathers, he ascribed the prophecies of Montanus to the spirit of error.<sup>12</sup>

The excesses and fanaticism of Montanism certainly did not contribute to the continuance of the charismatic ministry in the church. It is possible that it accelerated the cessation of the gifts in the Body. Examples in our own day can show us that Montanism fomented a distrust toward prophecy and anything spontaneous in the Spirit.

The emotionalism of the Montanists no doubt speeded the rise of formalism and clericalism in the church. It is unfortunate, but nevertheless true, that many leaders in the church believed that disuse is the cure for abuse.

But this is not to say that the charismata ceased in the church as the result of the church ever-reacting to Montanism. St. Irenaeos who wrote against Montanism toward the end of the second century provides us with a marvellous testimony of gifts being manifested in the church "day by day" even for "the wel-

<sup>10</sup> *Ecclesiastical History*, 5.18.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.18.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.16.

fare of the gentiles”:

And what shall I more say? It is not possible to name the number of the gifts which the church, scattered throughout the world, has received from God, in the name of Jesus Christ who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and which she exerts day by day for the benefit of the gentiles, neither practicing deception upon any, nor taking any reward from them (on account of such miraculous interpositions). For she has received freely from God, freely also does she minister to others.<sup>13</sup>

It is reassuring and wonderful to see charismatic activity reminiscent of apostolic days occurring in the days of Irenaeus, as for example, healings, deliverances and even raising the dead:

Wherefore, also, those who are in truth His disciples, receiving grace from Him, do in His name perform miracles, so as to promote the welfare of other men, according to the gift which each one has received from Him. For some do certainly and truly drive out devils, so that those who have thus been cleansed from evil spirits frequently both believe in Christ and join themselves to the church. Others still heal the sick by laying their hands upon them, and they are made whole. Yea, moreover, as I have said, the dead even have been raised up, and remained among us for many years.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, this Spirit-filled disciple of St. Polycarp of Smyrna (a disciple of the apostle John) informs us that the gift of tongues, as well as prophecy, was still exercised by “many brethren in the church” of his day. St. Irenaeus attests to this fact as follows:

The apostle declares, “We speak wisdom among them that are perfect” (1 Cor 2.6), terming those persons ‘perfect’ who have received the Spirit of God, and who through the Spirit of God do speak in all languages, as he used Himself also to speak. In like manner we do also hear many brethren in the church who possess prophetic gifts, and who through the Spirit speak all kinds of languages, and bring to light for the general benefit the hidden things of men and declare the mysteries of God, whom also the apostles term ‘spiritual,’ they being spiritual because they partake of the Spirit and not because their flesh has been stripped off and taken away, and because they have become purely spiritual.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Against Heresies*, 2.32.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.32.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.6.



Another helpful piece of evidence showing that the gifts of healing and deliverance continued in the church of the third century is provided in his work *Against Celsus*. It is deserving of mention that even mentally deranged and mentally ill people were miraculously healed by the power released through the name of Jesus:

And some give evidence of their having received through their faith a marvellous power by the cures which they perform, invoking no other name over those who need their help than that of the God of all things, and of Jesus, along with a mention of His history. For by these means we too have seen many persons freed from grievous symptoms, ecstasies, madnenses and countless other ills, which could be cured by neither men nor devils.<sup>16</sup>

Michael Harper in his book *As At The Beginning* states that "It is possible that at this early stage the rot was already setting in which led eventually to the temporary cessation of these gifts."<sup>17</sup> But what should impress us, it seems to me, is the abundance of testimony that demonstrates to what an amazing degree the charismatic ministry was still in existence in the church of the early centuries.

As we reach the fourth century, Eusebios, who wrote the first church history, again attracts our attention. He speaks of the charismata as "flashes of light that make the church radiate." He compares the divine powers and operations of the seraphim with the "holy men of God among men who shared in the most excellent charismata, as prophesying future events, healing diseases, raising the dead, and speaking in tongues, and sharing in wisdom and knowledge."<sup>18</sup>

Like so many of the early church Fathers, Eusebios in reference to 1 Corinthians 12.8 reaffirms the diversity of gifts in the church: "Several powers have been established, effectual for various needs by the one and the same Spirit." A partial gift was transmitted by Jesus prior to Pentecost when He breathed on His disciples, saying, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." It was the gift of absolving sins, while after Pentecost they exercised "power and gifts to heal."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Against Celsus*, 3.24.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Harper, *As at the Beginning* (Plainfield, N.J., 1965), p. 19.

<sup>18</sup> *Commentary on Isaiah*, 6.2.

<sup>19</sup> *Fragment from Makarios Chrysokephalos*.

In typical patristic fashion Eusebios speaks of the charismata as lending glory and splendor to the Body of Christ:

The flashes of God's lightning appeared in all the world. What else are His lightnings but the radiances of the charismata of the Holy Spirit which flash throughout the whole inhabited world (*ecumene*). There is a diversity of charismata, but the same Spirit. To some is given a word of wisdom by the Spirit and to another word of knowledge and another faith and so on, which, being excellent charismata of God, flash and bring radiance to His church.<sup>20</sup>

In his *Commentary* on Psalm 104.13 ("He watereth the hills from his chambers, the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works") Eusebios of Caesaria interprets the "hills" as being "Spirit-filled men who are watered from the chambers of God Himself, being filled with the charismata of the Spirit, the word of wisdom and the charismata subsequently listed [by the apostle Paul]."

Eusebios has already introduced us into the Nicene period of the church. It is important now to move on to the examination of the testimony of the Nicene and even post-Nicene Fathers. Ordinarily this period is ignored by Pentecostals most of whom presume that the gifts were withdrawn from the church far earlier than the fourth and fifth centuries. But it is an imposing fact to discern how clearly and unequivocally the Fathers of this later period speak with regard to the charismata.

St. Athanasios, bishop of Alexandria, known as the Father of Orthodoxy (A.D. 296-373) makes mention specifically of at least two charismata, miracles and discernment of spirits, without in the least excluding the other gifts. Indeed he speaks of the charismata "which the Spirit divides to each and bestowed from the Father through the Logos. The Spirit is not outside the Logos, but being in the Logos, through Him is in God. And so the spiritual gifts are given in the Trinity."<sup>21</sup>

In writing to Drakontios and exhorting him to accept the office of bishop in the church, Athanasios states among other things: "We know bishops who work miracles, as well as monks who do not."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Commentary on the Psalms*, 76.16-17.

<sup>21</sup> *Epistle 3.5*.

<sup>22</sup> *Epistle 49.9*.

In his general epistle to the bishops of Egypt, he admonishes as follows: "Wherefore, it is good and needful for us to pray that we may receive the gift of discerning the spirits, so that everyone may know, according to the precept of John, whom he ought to reject and whom he ought to receive as friends and of the same faith."<sup>23</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Lord attested to the witness of Athanasios in council before the Arian leaders with signs and wonders. In an effort to discredit him, they accused him of performing tricks of magic.

St. Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 315-386), also witnesses to the charismatic reality of the church in the Nicene period. In his famous *Mystagogic Lectures* which he delivered before catechumens (believers preparing for baptism) he is quite explicit concerning the gifts in the church, not as something belonging to the past, but as part of the current life in the Body: "Thou receivest now remission of thy sins and the charismata of King's spiritual bounty."<sup>24</sup> "For He employs the tongue of one man for wisdom, the soul of another He enlightens for prophecy; to another gives power to drive out demons."<sup>25</sup>

St. Cyril considers the manner by which the Holy Spirit is administered to believers:

In the days of Moses the Spirit was given by the laying on of hands; and by laying on of hands Peter also gives the Spirit. And on these also who are about to be baptized shall His grace come. Yet, in what manner I say not, for I will not anticipate the proper season.<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore he distinguishes between the first *ekklesia* and the new *ekklesia* (gathering of God's people):

For when the first church [assembled ones of the Old Testament] was cast off, in the second, which is the universal church, God hath set, as Paul says, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues and every sort of virtue.<sup>27</sup>

St. Basil the Great also of the fourth century likewise witnesses

<sup>23</sup> *Epistle* 1.4.

<sup>24</sup> *Mystagogic Lectures*, 13.23.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.12.

<sup>26</sup> *Lecture* 16.26.

<sup>27</sup> *Lecture* 18.23.26.

to the charismatic element in the church. In his homily *On Faith* he states: "We believe therefore and confess one only true and good God . . . and one only Spirit, the Paraclete Who divideth and worketh and charismata that come of God."<sup>28</sup>

In his *Shorter Rules*, St. Basil answers the question: How does a man's spirit pray while his understanding remains without fruit? "This was said concerning those that utter their prayer in a tongue unknown to the hearers."

The verb "utter" is not in the past tense, because St. Basil believed that the charismata were placed in the church by the Lord for believers of all ages. He counsels that they should follow the pattern of worship set down by the apostle Paul:

Rather we should imitate the conventions which are recorded in the gospels of our Lord Jesus Christ, and fulfill what the apostle commands as conducive to the following of such a model . . . When ye come together, each of you hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a tongue, hath an interpretation; but let all things be done unto edifying.<sup>30</sup>

St. Gregory the Theologian, bishop of Nazianzos (A.D. 330-390) teaches that the Holy Spirit is to be received, after water baptism, as a separate gift. The Paraclete, he says, is He "that guides, talks, sends forth, separates, is angry or tempts; that reveals, illumines, quickens, or rather is the very Light of life; that makes temples; that deifies; that perfects so as even to anticipate Baptism, yet after Baptism to be sought as a separate gift."<sup>31</sup>

Elsewhere he speaks of the specific function each member exercises in the Body of Christ, as a vessel of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit is one but the charismata are not the same:

For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom and contemplation; to another the word of knowledge or revelation; to another a steadfast and unwavering faith; to another the working of miracles and of mighty wonders; to another the gifts of healings . . . divers kinds of tongues, interpretation of tongues. The greater and the lesser gifts according to the proportion of one's faith. Let us then, my brethren,

<sup>28</sup> *On Faith*.

<sup>29</sup> *Shorter Rules*, 278.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>31</sup> *Theological Oration*, 5.

respect and keep this order . . . Let the prophets speak two or three and that by course; and let one interpret.<sup>32</sup>

St. Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 335-395), also a Cappadocian Father, is in tune with the doctrine of the other teachers of the church concerning the charismatic ministry. There are many more excerpts from which we can quote that demonstrate this, but suffice it for our purposes to examine the following piece of written evidence:

Why do not these long and ornate speeches bring the same results as that of Peter on the day of Pentecost? Perhaps, one may say that then the miracles done by the apostles were confirming their preaching and therefore their message was trustworthy because of the operation of the charismata. I say myself, too, that the power and the results of the works done do tend to persuade. But what should be supposed of those things which are happening now? Or do not you see the same miracles of faith now? I know the deeds of our fellowmen who walk in the same Spirit and give witness of the power of healing . . . and have great power against the demons . . . And all these worketh the one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as He will.<sup>33</sup>

In the early church believers received charismata the moment they were baptized in the Holy Spirit by means of the laying on of the hands of the bishops, accompanied usually by the anointing with the hallowed oil of holy chrism (unction). Note the words of St. John Chrysostom (A.D. 344-407), bishop of Constantinople: "Well, what did happen then? Whoever was baptized he straightway spoke with tongues."<sup>34</sup>

Members of the congregation asked him why all who were baptized then spoke in other tongues, while now they do not: "I hear this from many continuously and always they seek an answer for it . . . This whole place is very obscure, but the obscurity is produced by our ignorance of the facts referred to and by their cessation such as then used to occur but now no longer take place."<sup>35</sup>

In the fourth century when Emperor Diocletian persecuted

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> *Commentary on Song of Songs*, 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Homily 29 on First Corinthians*.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted from Andrew T. Floris, "Chrysostom and the Charismata" *Paraclete* (1971), p. 17.

the Christians, a deacon named Romanos did his utmost to encourage the believers to persevere in their faith rather than deny Jesus Christ. The emperor commanded that his tongue be plucked out. A marvellous miracle took place when the order was carried out. Although tongueless, he was able to comfort the Christians effectively. In his encomium to the martyr, St. John Chrysostom refers to this miraculous happening as the wonder of the gift of tongues. He quotes 1 Corinthians 12.11 and declares: "Where is now Macedonios who fights the Paraclete who has given [to the martyr] the gift of tongues? Pluck out, O tyrant, the tongue, so that you may learn that He who promises the gift of tongues is true and faithful."<sup>36</sup>

We are led to believe that by the end of the fourth century believers manifested increasingly less and less of the spiritual gifts, not because church leaders were teaching that they were not needed, but because of spreading disobedience and worldliness in the church. Note what St. John Chrysostom remarks with deep sorrow:

What now can be more awful than these things? For in truth the church was a heaven then, the Spirit governing all things . . . But the present church is like a woman who has fallen from her former prosperous days and in many respects retains the symbols only of that ancient prosperity . . . And I say not this in respect of the gifts, for it were nothing marvellous if it were this only, but in respect also of life and virtue.<sup>37</sup>

Despite the progressive cessation of the gifts, the theology of the church Fathers remains basically Spirit-centered and pentecostal. St. Didymos the Blind (A.D. 313-398), who headed the Catechetical School of Alexandria for over fifty years, speaks of the need for the charismata in the church. This holy Father teaches that the Holy Spirit "blows where He wills" and bestows and distributes charismata where He wills.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, he writes: "Let him [Paul] once more be a faithful witness in regard to all these; writing to the Corinthians in his first epistle he says: 'Now there are diversities of gifts.'"<sup>39</sup>

In taking to task the Macedonians who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, St. Didymos observes the following:

<sup>36</sup> "Encomium to Martyr Romanus," PG 50.613.614.

<sup>37</sup> *Homily 26 on 1 Corinthians 14*.

<sup>38</sup> *On the Trinity* 2.8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

And so then you consider that to each one by the Holy Spirit and from the Holy Spirit the aforementioned charismata are given . . . and he who has not obtained them—seeing that they are given from God—is more miserable of the miserables. And he who does not write or speak in this way abides incorrigible, neither profiting himself, nor profiting others, but rather misleading.<sup>40</sup>

In commenting on Psalm 25 he writes:

God becomes all in all men . . . and on the one hand, He becomes all in all those who have drawn near Him; and not in every one, but He gives one or two or three charismata . . . the one has a word of wisdom, another a word of knowledge, the other the charisma of healings. But when someone will become perfect he has no longer the earnest of the Spirit, but the Spirit Himself becomes all in everyone.<sup>41</sup>

Furthermore, St. Didymos teaches that “the Holy Spirit is a torrent of pleasure, so that those who have drunk from it may fare sumptuously, receiving His different charismata.”<sup>42</sup>

Obedience to God’s word and an attitude of seeking and expectation are basic presuppositions to receiving the Baptism of the Holy Spirit with the evidence of the charismata. God gives us only what we expect and claim in faith and trust in His unfailing promises. In the words of St. Didymos:

The Holy Spirit is given to us providing we give occasion to receive Him. For to obey God is optional, as it is to believe. In those who have share in the charismata, the Holy Spirit is given in proportion. In accord with this is ‘He will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask Him!’<sup>43</sup>

St. Epiphanius of Salamis, a contemporary of St. Didymos, demonstrates precisely the same attitude toward the charismatic nature of the church. Similarly he reflects the belief and practice of that period:

The Holy Spirit gives freely and in various ways that which is good. To one is given the spirit of wisdom; to another the spirit of knowledge; to another the spirit of power; to another the spirit of discerning of spirits; to another diverse kinds of tongues; to another interpretations and the rest of the charis-

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> *Commentary on Psalm 25.4.*

<sup>42</sup> *Commentary on Psalm 36.9.*

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

mata . . . dividing to every man severally as He wills.<sup>44</sup>

The following anti-Montanist statement of St. Epiphanius appears to be rather instructive, since it reveals what the Montanists expected from the rest of the church:

They separated from the church and they give heed to the spirit of error and the doctrines of demons saying that we must also accept the charismata. And the Holy Church of God accepts, in like manner, the charismata, but the veritable charismata.<sup>45</sup>

Another testimony from the early church on the charismata is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, whose authorship remains unknown and which dates to the end of the fourth century, probably originating in Syria. After quoting Mark 16.16, the author of this document attributes the following words to the twelve apostles:

These gifts were first bestowed on us, the apostles, when we were about to preach the gospel to every creature, and afterwards were of necessity afforded to those who had by our means believed . . . It is not necessary that everyone of the faithful should cast out demons, or raise the dead, or speak with tongues, but such a one only who is vouchsafed this gift, for some cause which may be advantageous to the salvation of the unbelievers, who are often put to shame, not with the demonstration of the word, but by the power of the signs; that is, such as are worthy of salvation, for all the ungodly are not affected by wonders; and here God Himself is a witness, as when He says in the law: 'With other tongues will I speak to this people, and with other lips, and yet will they by no means believe.'<sup>46</sup>

It appears that beginning with the sixth and seventh centuries the experience of the charismatic life was gradually confined to those who embraced the monastic state. The church was becoming worldly and the standards of the gospel were being watered down. Believers who were seeking a deeper experience of the Holy Spirit found refuge in the monastic communities. This was true especially in the Eastern Church where monasticism was always contemplative and never active, as in the Roman Church.

<sup>44</sup> *Ancoratus*, 72.

<sup>45</sup> *Against Heresies*, 2.

<sup>46</sup> *Apostolic Constitutions*. 8.1.



Consequently, the charismata undoubtedly continued in the church, but were now regarded as blessings bestowed by God on those who advanced in spiritual growth. They were looked upon as achievements of spiritual ascesis. Clericalism never prevailed in the Orthodox Church as a result of the continuity of the charismatic tradition from early times. Lay people until recent times assumed teaching and preaching ministries. In fact they do much of the theological teaching even today in the church seminaries. Simple, unordained monks became recognized and venerated as Spirit-filled, spiritual fathers to whom most believers in the church would go for counsel and direction.

By and large, however, the charismatic ideal was perpetuated in the monastic tradition through the centuries. This message would not be complete without mentioning the name of St. Symeon, surnamed 'the New Theologian' (A.D. 949-1022), in view of the fact that he embodied the best in the charismatic tradition of the still undivided church, that is, as late as the eleventh century.

St. Symeon is probably the most outstanding representative and exponent of the pentecostal experience and theology among all the church Fathers. His thinking and writing are distinctly Spirit-centered. The baptism of the Holy Spirit is a basic presupposition running throughout his works. It is surprising how timely his message is for our own day of pentecostal resurgence. The misunderstanding he endured is reminiscent of the experience of many modern-day charismatics. Although the limitation of this study does not permit us to do justice to St. Symeon the New Theologian, let us sample his writings:

Without the coming down of the Holy Spirit, no one shall see the Lord either in the present world or in the world to come.<sup>47</sup>

He that lacks awareness of his baptism and was baptized in infancy, accepting it only by faith and having effaced it by sins, but refuses the second one—I mean the baptism of the Spirit, given by God in His love to those who seek it in repentance—how can he ever be saved? Not in the least!<sup>48</sup>

If the Holy Spirit is operative within us unknowingly and without our feeling His presence, obviously neither in eternal

<sup>47</sup> *Catechesis*, 9.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

life which follows will we receive the perception of the Holy Spirit, neither will we behold the light of the Holy Spirit, but we will be dead and blind and unconscious, remaining then, as we are now, and thus vain is our hope.<sup>49</sup>

Let us be like those who knock patiently and to whom the Lord opens the doors of His kingdom, according to his promise, and like those who seek and are given the Holy Spirit. It is impossible for a man who seeks with all his soul not to find the Spirit and be enriched by His charismata.<sup>50</sup>

The Lord who grants us those things which are beyond the senses, gives us also another perception through His Spirit in The Lord who grants us those things which are beyond the senses, gives us also another perception through His Spirit in order that we might experience clearly His gifts and charismata mystically by means of all the senses.<sup>51</sup>

Tears work within us the divine fire of contrition. Without tears and constant compunction no man has ever been cleansed or has become holy or has received the Holy Spirit or has seen God or knows that He dwells with him . . . Let no one say it is impossible to weep every day . . . then it is impossible to repent each day. No man should pass through even one single day without tears. If he has no tears, he should ask God for them with all his strength and with all his soul.<sup>52</sup>

Whenever a miracle takes place by the power of the Holy Spirit, or when one observes a divine charisma in one of his brothers—contrition, tears, humbleness, divine knowledge or a word of wisdom from above or some other charisma given by the Holy Spirit to those who love God—he contends that such a thing is of the devil's deception . . . They blaspheme against the Holy Spirit.<sup>53</sup>

Even as late as the fourteenth century the charismata are associated with the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Nicholas Kabasilas bishop of Thessalonike (A.D. 1350) teaches that the sacrament of the seal, called in the Orthodox Church "chrismation," imparts to those anointed with the holy chrism supernatural charismata. He writes:

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>51</sup> *Chapters*, 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Catechesis*, 29.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

In the early times this mystery [sacrament of chrismation] distributed among the baptized ones charismata such as healing, prophecy, and tongues: these were a clear proof to all men of the supreme power of Christ. For they were necessary while Christianity was being consolidated and the faith was still at its beginning.

Of course, even in our own day and in the recent past, some have possessed such charismata and, as an effect of the Unc-tion, they have predicted the future, expelled demons, healed diseases with prayer alone—and not only while they lived, but even their tombs have equal power, because the energy of the Spirit does not abandon the blessed even when they are dead.<sup>54</sup>

We recognize the Holy Spirit in the church only because we perceive the charismata that He apportions to all believers. He is made real in perceptible signs, and these signs of His presence are the charismata. St. Euthymios Zigabenos (A.D. 1122), another Greek, Spirit-filled writer states the following in this regard:

The Spirit, on the one hand, is always present in those who are worthy, and, on the other, He operates according to the need—either in prophecies, or healings or any other workings of powers.

The Spirit is understood as one whole in His distribution according to the apportioning of the charismata. We are all members one of another, having diverse charismata according to God's grace given to us. For this reason the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of you, or again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. But all the charismata together constitute the Body of Christ in the unity of the Spirit, giving to one another the needed profit that comes from the charismata.<sup>55</sup>

But why is it that not all in the church come into the deeper experience of the Holy Spirit? Why do so many members of the church lack the charismata? Here is the answer Nicholas Kabasilas gives us:

Some do not have this because they have not made any preparation and they do not show the necessary fervor. Later, in some of these people, conversion from their sins, tears, and

<sup>54</sup> *Life in Christ*, 3.2.

<sup>55</sup> *Dogmatic Panoply*, 12.

an upright life show that infused grace is present in their souls. For this reason Paul, writing to Timothy, says: 'Do not neglect the charisma which is in you,' as if to say that the gift, although we have received it, does not profit us at all if we are negligent, and that vigils and labor are necessary for anyone who wants his soul to be active with these energies.<sup>56</sup>

As I bring this to a close, I do not want to leave the impression that the Fathers which have been mentioned are the only spokesmen in the church that have spoken of the charismata of the Holy Spirit. They represent but a sampling of what has come down to us from the past, especially as far as the post-Nicene period is concerned.

After acquainting ourselves with the related patristic texts on the charismata, we can safely conclude that it is the general consensus of the Fathers that God intended His church to be built up, His saints perfected, and the work of the ministry discharged chiefly by means of the charismata of the Holy Spirit. The faithful were at the same time prepared to discern the counterfeit gifts from the genuine ones. They proved ever vigilant about cautioning the people of God in the event of spurious, charismatic workings.

Some Fathers were candid and honest enough to acknowledge when the charismata no longer were manifest as a universal phenomenon in the church. Some even bewailed the fact, but none can be found uttering a disparaging word against the charismatic Body ministry. None slighted them or condemned them as being of demonic origin. None contended that the charismata belonged only to the apostolic church and were thereafter withdrawn. The fidelity of the Fathers to scriptural truth is unquestionable in this respect. Their theology was distinctly Spirit-centered, charismatic, and pentecostal. It was rooted in experience, the experience both of Calvary and the Upper Room. They were loyal to the Lord Jesus Christ and obedient to God's word. After all, this is why they have been called Fathers and Doctors of the church.

<sup>56</sup> *Life in Christ*, 3.2.

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## THE FIRST DIDACHE OF KOSMAS AITOLOS

### INTRODUCTION

Kosmas Aitolos is one of the most attractive personalities of the Ottoman period (Tourkokratia) of Greek history. Father Kosmas (Patrokosmas), as he was known among his contemporaries, was considered a saint even during his lifetime, a considerable portion of which he spent preaching among the Orthodox populations of Epiros, Macedonia, Albania, Aitolia, Thessaly, the Kyklades, and Ionian Islands.

Born in Megalo Dendro in the province of Aitolia in 1714, Kosmas received his early education locally. After spending some time teaching, he traveled to Mt. Athos, where he enrolled in the Athonias Academy, then directed by Eugenios Voulgares, one of the most influential Orthodox scholars of the eighteenth century.

In 1759, at the age of forty-five, Kosmas entered the monastery of Philotheou, where he was shortly afterwards ordained a priest. From 1760 to 1779, the year of his martyrdom at the hands of the Ottoman Turks, Kosmas spent his time—with brief interruptions for brief trips to Mt. Athos and Constantinople—preaching.

Kosmas did not personally record his sermons; this was done by his followers. Hence we only have, in addition to some letters and a host of “prophecies,” eight *Didachai* (Teachings) from hundreds of sermons that he preached. But what we do have gives us a good idea of his chief concerns.

Kosmas was primarily interested in education and religion. The former as an aid to the latter. Hence his insistence upon the value of education for even the poorest of his flock. He is credited with founding ten secondary schools (*Hellenika Scholeia*) and over two hundred elementary schools. Kosmas believed in educated Orthodox faithful and his emphasis on learning was crucial in the face of an increasing Islamization of the areas in which he preached.

Despite his formidable education and experience, Kosmas remained a simple man. Those who heard him identified with him and were attracted to him because of the sanctity of his life, the relevance of his preaching, and the sincerity of his message given in a language understood even by the uneducated.

Wherever he traveled—with few exceptions where he was turned away because his message hurt vested interests—he drew large crowds of clergy and laymen, many of whom followed him about for days and even weeks. His preaching had a lasting effect upon many of those who heard him and he was remembered long after he had left a particular area.

Space does not allow for an extensive or critical study of the life of Kosmas—I hope to do this elsewhere later. My purpose here is to introduce him briefly and present in translation—for the first time in English—one of his *Didachai* in honor of my esteemed teacher, the Reverend Dr. George J. Tsoumas, to whom I wish *chronia polla*. In many ways the linking of Father Kosmas and Father George is quite appropriate.

**FIRST DIDACHE**

*“In whatever city you enter,  
say peace to that city.”*

Our Lord and God Jesus Christ, my brethren, the sweetest ruler and master, the creator of angels and of all intelligible and perceptible creation, was moved by the great goodness which he has for our race and granted us and continues to grant us every day, hour, and moment an infinite number of gifts. In addition to these, he condescended and became perfect man by the Holy Spirit and from the purest blood of our Lady, the Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary, so that we might escape from the hands of the devil and become sons and heirs of his kingdom, rejoice forever in paradise together with the angels, and not burn in hell with the impious and the demons.

**The Mission of the Apostles**

Just as a ruler has vineyards and fields and hires workers, so the Lord, who has the entire world as a vineyard took twelve Apostles, gave them his grace and blessing, and sent them to the entire world to teach people how to live well here on earth in peace, with love, and later to go to paradise to rejoice forever. [He sent them to teach people] to repent, to believe, to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, and to have love for God and for their brother. Wherever the Apostles went and were made welcome by people, the Lord instructed them to bless that land, and whatever place they went and were not received, the Lord instructed them to shake off the dust even from their shoes and to depart.

Thus receiving the grace of the Holy Spirit, the holy Apostles, as wise and faithful servants of our Christ, ran as lightning throughout the entire world. With that grace they healed the blind, the deaf, the lepers, and those possessed by demons. And the greatest of all, in the name of our Christ they commanded the dead and they did rise.

In whatever land the holy Apostles went and were received by people, they made them Christians, they ordained bishops and priests, they established churches, and they blessed that



land so that it became an earthly paradise, filled with joy and gladness, a habitation of angels, a dwelling place of our Christ. But in whatever place they went where they were not received by people, he instructed them to shake of the dust from their shoes, and a curse instead of a blessing remained in that land, a residence of the devil and not of our Christ.

### **The Life and Mission of Father Kosmas**

It is meet and proper for a teacher, when he wants to teach, to first know who his audience is, and similarly for them to examine what kind of teacher he is.

I, my brethren, who have been found worthy through the compassion of our Christ to stand in this holy and apostolic place, have first inquired about you, and I've learned that with the grace of our Lord and God, Jesus Christ, that you are not Greeks [i.e., pagans] ; you are not impious, heretics, godless; but that you are pious Orthodox Christians who believe and have been baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit; that you are sons and daughters of our Christ. And not only am I not worthy to teach you, but not even worthy to kiss your feet, for each of you is worth more than the whole world. Your nobility should know about me also. And I know that some people have told you other things, but if you wish to learn the truth, I'll tell it to you.

My false, earthly, and fruitless homeland is the province of Arta, in the district of Apokouro. My father, my mother, my family are pious Orthodox Christians. However, I too am, my brethren, a sinful man worse than anyone. But I'm a servant of our Lord God Jesus Christ who was crucified. Not that I'm worthy to be a servant of Christ, but Christ condescended to have me because of his compassion. Therefore, my brethren, I believe, glorify, and worship our Christ. It is our Christ that I beseech to cleanse me from every spiritual and bodily sin. It is our Christ that I beseech to strengthen me so that I may conquer the three enemies: the world, the flesh, and the devil. I beseech my Christ to find me worthy to spill my blood for his love as he spilled his for my love.

If, my brethren, it were possible for me to climb up into the sky, to be able to shout with a great voice, to preach to the entire world that only our Christ is the Son and Word of God,

true God and the life of all, I would have done it. But because I can't do such a big thing, I do this small thing: I walk from place to place and teach my brethren as I can, not as a teacher but as a brother. Only our Christ is a teacher.

How I was moved to do this, my brethren, I'll tell you. Leaving my homeland fifty years ago, I travelled to many places, forts, towns, villages, and especially to Constantinople. I stayed the longest on the Holy Mountain, seventeen years, where I wept over my sins.

### **The Treasures of the Gospel**

Among the countless gifts which my Lord has granted me, he made me worthy to acquire a little Greek learning and I became a monk. Studying the holy and sacred Gospel, I found in it many and different teachings which are all pearls, diamonds, treasures, riches, joy, gladness—eternal life. Among the other things I also found this teaching which Christ says to us: no Christian, man or woman, should be concerned only with himself, how he can be saved, but must be concerned also with his brethren so that they may not fall into sin.

Hearing this sweetest teaching spoken by our Christ, my brethren, to concern ourselves with our fellows, that teaching gnawed at me inside my heart for many years, just as a worm eats away at wood. Considering my ignorance, what could I do?

I sought the advice of my spiritual fathers: bishops, and patriarchs, and I revealed to them my thinking, and I asked if it was pleasing to God to do such work. Everyone urged me to go ahead, and they told me that such work is good and sacred.

In fact, urged on by his Holiness Patriarch Sophronios—may his blessing be upon us—and receiving his sacred blessing, I abandoned my own advancement, my own good, and went out to walk from place to place to teach my brethren.

### **Grace is Free**

Making a start to teach, a thought occurred to me to ask for money (*aspers*) as I travelled about because I was avaricious and I loved dollars (*grosia*). Yes, and gold coins (*florins*) even more, not like your nobility who scorn money, or don't you?

But studying the holy and sacred Gospels, I found another teaching where our Christ says: "I give you my grace free of

charge, you too must give it the same way to your brethen; teach without charge, counsel without charge, hear confessions without charge, and if you ask and receive any payment for teaching, great or small, or even a penny, I shall put you to death and place you in hell.”

Hearing, my brethren, this sweetest teaching which our Christ spoke, that we should labor among our brethren without charge, it seemed to me in the beginning to be very hard. Later, however, it seemed very sweet, like a honeycomb, and I glorified and glorify my Christ a thousand times because he guarded me from the passion for money. So with the grace of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the crucified one, I have neither purse, nor house, nor chest, nor another cassock from the one I am wearing.

And I still beseech my Lord to never allow me to acquire—until the end of my life—a purse, for if I ever begin to take money, I have immediately lost, my brethren. I cannot serve both; it is either God or the devil.

It is meet and proper, my fellow Christians, as we learn from the holy Gospel and the sacred Scriptures, to begin our teaching with God. And when we finish to thank God, not because I am worthy to utter the name of my God, but because he has permitted it out of his compassion.

So we leave aside, my brethren, the prattling of the impious, the heretics, the atheists, and we speak only of what the Holy Spirit has inspired the holy prophets, apostles, and fathers of our Church to write for us. On the other hand, we shall not speak of all the teachings because it is not possible—we would need years and years—but a few, however, do seem more necessary. And whoever is a lover of learning let him seek to learn the rest.

### **Understanding the Holy Trinity**

The most gracious and merciful God, my brethren, is one, and anyone who says that there are many gods is a devil. He is also a Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—one nature, one glory, one kingdom, one God. He is incomprehensible, an inscrutable Lord, omnipotent, all light, all joy, all compassion, all love. We have no example to compare with the Holy Trinity because there is none in the world. But so that our minds can get some small help, the theologians of the Church give us a few examples.

Among others, they use the sun. We all know that the sun is one as God is one also. And just as the sun illuminates this perceptible world, so does the Holy Trinity, God, illuminate the intelligible world.

We have said, my brethren, that the sun is one, but it is three at the same time. It has rays which come to our eyes like lines, like threads. It also has light which spreads throughout the entire world. We liken the eternal Father with the sun, the co-eternal Son with the rays, and the consubstantial Spirit with the light.

There is still another way in which you can understand the Holy Trinity. How? Confess candidly, receive the holy sacraments with fear and reverence, and then the grace of the Holy Spirit will enlighten you so that you will understand better. It is this Holy Trinity that we pious and Orthodox Christians glorify and worship. He is the true God, and all others, except for the Holy Trinity, who are called god are demons. And it is not only we who believe, glorify, and worship the Holy Trinity, but prophets, apostles, martyrs, ascetics, as numerous as the sand of the sea and the stars of the sky, who have shed their blood for the love of the Holy Trinity and have attained paradise and rejoice forever.

Similarly, men and women have denied the world, have gone off into the deserts, practiced asceticism all their lives and have gone to paradise. In addition, men and women lived in the world with prudence and virginity, with fasting, prayers, alms, and good words, lived well here on earth, and went to paradise to rejoice forever.

There is no place from where God is absent. We pious Christians should consider, when we wish to commit some sin, that God is in our hearts, that he is present everywhere, and that he sees us. We should be ashamed before the angels, the saints, and especially before the angel who guards our soul and observes us. We are embarrassed before a young child when we commit a sin, so how can we not be embarrassed before so many saints and angels?

### **The Names of God**

The most gracious and merciful God, my brethren, has many and various names. He is called light, life, and resurrection. But

God's chief name is, and he is called, love. If we wish to live well here also, to go to paradise, and to call our God love and father, we should have two loves: love for our God and for our brethren. It is natural for us to have these two loves and unnatural not to have them. And just as a swallow needs two wings to fly in the air so do we need these two loves, because without them it is impossible for us to be saved.

### **Our Two Loves**

First, it is our duty to love our God because he has given us such a large earth here to live temporarily: so many thousands of plants, springs, rivers, seas, air, day, night, sky, sun, etc. For whom did he create all of these if not for us? What did he owe us? Nothing. They are all gifts. He made us human beings; he didn't make us animals. He made us pious Orthodox Christians and not impious heretics. Although we sin thousands of times an hour he has compassion for us like a father, and he doesn't put us to death and place us in hell. But he awaits for our repentance with open arms, for the time when we shall repent, when we shall stop committing evil and do good, go to confession, and be restored so that he will embrace us to put us in paradise to rejoice forever. Now, shouldn't we too love this sweetest God and Master? And if there is need, to shed our blood a thousand times for his love as he shed his for our love?

A man invites you to his home and wants to treat you to a glass of wine. For the rest of your life you will respect him and honor him. Shouldn't you honor and respect God who gave you so many good things and who was crucified for your love? What father was ever crucified for his children? But our sweetest Jesus Christ shed his blood and ransomed us from the hands of the devil. Now shouldn't we too love our Christ? But we not only don't love him, but we insult him everyday with the sins that we commit.

But whom do you want us to love, my brethren? Should we love the devil who put us out of paradise and brought us to this accursed world where we suffer so much evil? Moreover, the devil is so disposed that if he could this very minute cause our death and put us into hell, he would do it. Now I ask you, my brethren, to tell me what should we do: to hate the devil, our enemy, or to love our God, our author and creator?

“[God] of course, O saint of God, you speak well.”

May your blessings be upon me. I agree too, but God also needs a couch to rest upon. What is that couch? Love. Let us, therefore, also have love for God and our brethren and then God will come and gladden us and plant in our hearts eternal life. We then shall live well here on earth and we will go to paradise to rejoice forever.

But we not only don't have love but have hatred and malice in our heart and we hate our brethren. The cunning devil comes and makes us bitter and plants death in our soul, and we live badly here on earth and go to hell and burn forever.

### **Love is Natural**

It is natural for us to love our brethren because we are of one nature, we have one baptism, one faith, we receive the same holy sacraments, and we hope to enjoy the same paradise. He who has been found worthy and has received these two loves in his heart, love of God and love for his brethren, is fortunate indeed. Because whoever has God in his heart possesses all that is good and can't bear to commit sin. And whoever doesn't have God in his heart has the devil and always commits evil and every kind of sin.

### **Love and Works**

Even if we perform thousands upon thousands of good works, my brethren: fasts, prayers, almsgiving, even if we shed our blood for our Christ and we don't have these two loves, but on the contrary have hatred and malice toward our brethren, all the good we have done is of the devil and we go to hell.

But, you say, we go to hell despite all the good we do because of that little hatred? Yes, my brethren, because that hatred is the devil's poison, and just as when we put a little yeast in a hundred pounds of flour it has such power that it causes all the dough to rise, so it is with hatred. It transforms all the good we have done into the devil's poison.

### **Love in Action**

How are you getting along here, my brethren? Is there love among you? If by chance you want to be saved, don't ask for anything else in this world except for love. Is there anyone here

among your nobility who has this love for his brethren, let him stand up and tell me so that I may pray for him also and ask all the Christians to forgive him. He'll receive such forgiveness that he couldn't buy it for thousands of gold coins.

"I, O saint of God, love God and my brethren."

"Good, my child, you have my blessing. What is your name?"

"Kostas."

"What is your trade?"

"I tend sheep."

"Do you weigh the cheese you sell?"

"Yes, I do."

"You, my child, have to weigh cheese, and I to weigh love. Is the scale ashamed of its master?"

"No."

"Now I'll weigh your love and if it is true and not false, then I'll pray for you too and I'll ask all the Christians [here] to forgive you. How can I determine, my son, whether or not you love your brethren?"

Now I who walk about and teach in the world can say that I love Mr. Kostas as dearly as I love my own eyes. But you don't believe it. You want to test me first and then you'll believe.

I have bread to eat and you don't. Now if I were to give you some since you have none, this shows that I love you. But if I were to eat all of the bread and you went about hungry, what does that show? It shows that this love I have for you is false.

I have two glasses of wine to drink; you have one. If I were to give you some to drink, then I would show that I love you. But if I don't give you any, then the love is false.

You are sad. Your mother and father have died. If I were to come to console you, then my love would be true. But if while you cried and mourned I ate, drank, and danced, my love would be false.

"Do you love that poor boy?"

"I do."

"If you loved him, you would buy him a shirt because he is naked so that he too will pray for your soul. Then your love will be true, but now it is false."

"Isn't that right, my fellow Christians? We can't go to paradise with false love."

"Now if you want to make your love true as gold, take and clothe the poor children and then I'll ask that you be forgiven. Will you do it?"

“Yes.”

Fellow Christians, Kostas has learned that the love he had up to now was false and he wants to make it true as gold. He will clothe the poor children. And because we have taught him, I beg you to say for Mr. Kostas three times: “May God forgive him and have mercy upon him.”

### **Our Father**

The most gracious and merciful God is and is named love; He is and is named Trinity. Moved by compassion, the Lord first created ten orders of angels. The angels are fiery spirits, immaterial as are our souls. Each order is as numerous as the stars in heaven. What moved God to create them? His compassion. We too, my brethren, if we wish to call our God Father must be compassionate and cause our brethren to rejoice, and then we can call God Father [and say] “Our Father who is in heaven.” If, however, we are merciless, hard-hearted, and we cause our brethren to be poisoned, and we put death in their hearts, we shouldn’t call our God Father but the devil, for the devil and not God wants us to cause our brethren to be poisoned.

### **The Devil**

And so my brethren, the first order of angels of which we spoke earlier, fell because of pride and sought to be glorified equally with God. From a luminous and most brilliant being, the angel became the darkest devil and the enemy of people. He is in hell where he burns forever. When we hear the word devil, it is he who was once the first among angels; it is he who enters into a dead person, causing him to appear living so we call him a ghost. [Finally,] it is he who enters a living person, who takes on the image of Christ, of the Panagia, or some saint, and running up and down like a person possessed, says he performs miracles. It is the devil who enters into a person and causes him to become an epileptic and demoniac. But may God be glorified, for he’s given us three weapons with which to fight him.

If there are some here who are possessed and wish to learn the cure, it is easy: confession, fasting, and prayer. The more a person goes to confession, fasts, and prays, the more the devil burns and flees.



### **Pride and Humility**

When the first order of angelic glory fell away and became demons, the other nine orders humbled themselves and fell prostrate, and worshipped the All-Holy Trinity, and stood in their place to rejoice forever. We too, my brethren, should reflect on what a great evil pride is; it brought down the devil from angelic glory and caused him to be in hell where he burns forever. Humility kept the angels in heaven to rejoice forever in the glory of the Holy Trinity.

We should reflect further that the most gracious God hates the proud and loves the humble, and not only God, but we too. When we see a humble person, we see him as an angel. He makes us want to open our heart and put him inside, but when we see someone proud, we look upon him as a devil, and we turn our face away so as not to look at him.

Let us then avoid pride, my brethren, because it is the eldest daughter of the devil; it is the road which leads us to hell. Let us have humility because it is angelic and the road which takes us to paradise.

“How are things here? Do you love pride or humility? Whoever loves humility let him stand up and tell me so that I can pray for him.”

“I love humility, O holy one of God.”

“Take off your clothes, put on some poor clothes and walk through the market place. You won’t do it, you’re ashamed? Do something else. Cut off half of your mustache and go to the bazaar. You won’t do this either? I’m not saying this to you only, but in order that others will hear as well, so that you won’t say that you are humble.”

Do you see me with this beard? It is filled with pride, and may God uproot it from our hearts. A Christian needs two wings to fly and to go to paradise: humility and love.

### **The Eggs of Easter**

When the first order of angels fell and became demons, the most gracious God commanded and this world came into being. And it is 7288 years from the time that the world was created. This world is like an egg. And just as the egg white surrounds the yolk, so does the air the earth. And just as the shell encloses

everything, so does the sky the earth. The sun, the moon, and the stars are attached to the sky. The earth is round and wherever the sun goes it becomes day; night is the shadow of the earth.

Here it is night, somewhere else dawn. And just as there are people here on earth, there are some under the earth. This is why the holy Fathers have ruled that we should color our eggs red for Easter: because the egg means the world, while the red color the blood of our Christ which he spilled on the Cross, and by which he sanctified the whole world. We too should rejoice and be glad a thousand times, because Christ has spilled his blood and purchased us from the hands of the devil. But we should also weep and mourn because our sins crucified the Son of God, our Christ.

### **The Sabbath**

God commanded and seven days were created. The first was the Lord's Day, which he kept for himself. The other six he gave to us to work for our false and earthly [needs]. On Sunday we are to rest and to go to church, to glorify God, to stand with reverence, and to hear the Holy Gospel and the other books of our Church.

What does our Christ instruct us to do? Meditate on our sins, on death, on hell, on paradise, and on our soul, which is more precious than the entire world. We are to eat and drink moderately, similarly, to clothe ourselves moderately, and to use the remaining time for our soul—to make it a bride for our Christ. And then we can call ourselves human beings and earthly angels. But if we concern ourselves with what we shall eat and what we shall drink, how we shall commit sin, how to dress up this stinking body which tomorrow will be eaten by worms, and not concern ourselves about our soul which is eternal, then we can't be called human beings, but animals. So make your body a servant of the soul, and then you can call yourselves human beings.

### **Creation**

On the first day God commanded and light was made. On Monday, the sky, the earth, the wind, etc. On Tuesday, the grasses and plants. On Wednesday, the sun, moon, and the stars. On Thursday, the sea, fish, and birds. On Friday, he com-

manded the earth to bring forth all the animals.

There was no man or woman on earth. God took dirt from the earth and formed a man like us and breathed into him and gave him an eternal soul. And just as we human beings take flour and water, knead dough, and make a loaf of bread, so did God. We too must reflect on what is the body and what the soul. The body is dirt and tomorrow will be eaten by worms. It is necessary for the soul to rejoice forever in paradise if it does good, but to burn in hell, if it does bad. This body which you see, my brethren, is the garment of the soul. The soul is man. It is the soul which sees, hears, talks, walks, learns sciences, gives life to the body, and doesn't allow it to stink. But when the soul comes out, then the body stinks and becomes wormy.

The body has eyes but doesn't see, it has ears but doesn't hear; it is the same with the other senses of the body. They are all activated by the soul.

### **Mourning the Dead**

"Do you mourn the dead?"

"We do."

"It seems you feel pain for them. How many days do you keep the dead?"

"Two, three hours."

"Is that how much love you have for the unfortunate man?"

From today on, don't bury him, but keep him for twenty-four hours. Gather yourselves together, young and old, and reflect upon him well because there is no better teacher than death. And don't mourn for the dead because you do injury to yourself and to them. And you ladies who have on dirty kerchiefs [because of mourning] throw them away.

### **God Created Women Equal to Men**

When God made man, he took a rib from him and made woman and he gave her to him as a companion. God created her equal with man and not inferior.

"How do you regard your women here?"

"Inferior."

"My brothers, if you want to be better than women, you must do better works than they, otherwise what does it profit us if women do better works and go to paradise while we go to hell?"

We are men and we act worse. I see that wherever I travel and teach and speak a word about women, they immediately listen to me and discard their earrings and rings as superfluous. I see them rush to confession.

### **Men and Beards**

I also have a word for men. It is natural for a man who is going on fifty years to wear a beard. But here I see old men who are sixty and eighty years old and still shave. Aren't you ashamed to shave?

Doesn't God who gave us beards know better? Just as it is unseemly for an old woman to deck herself out and put on cosmetics, so it is for an old man to shave.

"When wheat grows and becomes white what does it signify?"

"Harvest."

"The same with man. When he grows up and becomes white, what does this signify?"

"Death."

"Is there anyone here who wishes to let his beard grow? Let him stand up and tell me so we can become brothers, and I shall pray for him and ask all the Christians to forgive him."

"I, Teacher."

"Good, you have my blessing. Pray to God for me a sinner so that I will pray for you too for as long as I live. Will you do it?"

"I will, O saint of God."

"I beg you, my fellow Christians, say for all those who let their beards grow three times: 'May God forgive and have mercy upon them.' "

Let your nobility also ask for forgiveness. And may God enlighten you to let go of your sins as you let your beard grow. You, young men, honor those with beards. And if there is a man of thirty with a beard and one of fifty, or sixty, or a hundred who shaves, place the one with the beard above the one who shaves, in church as well as at the table.

On the other hand, I don't say that a beard will get you to heaven, but good works will. And your dress should be modest, as well as your food and your drink. Your whole conduct should be Christian so that you will be a good example for others.

### **Eve's Debt Paid by the Theotokos**

Man, my brethren, gave birth to woman from his side without the aid of a woman and remained whole afterwards. Woman borrowed that side from man and owed for it. Many women were born, as many as the stars in the heaven, but none was found worthy to give birth to a man to pay back that side which she owed except for the Lady Theotokos. She was found worthy because of her purity to give birth to our sweetest Jesus, by the Holy Spirit, without man; a virgin who remained a virgin and who paid for that side.

### **The Treatment of Wives**

Listen, my brethren, what joyful mysteries our holy Church has. But she has them covered and they need uncovering. That is why you must all get some education, so you will understand where you walk. And you, man, don't treat your wife like a slave because she is God's creature as you are. God was crucified for you as he was for her. You call God Father; she calls him Father too. You have one faith, one baptism. God does not consider her inferior. This is why he made her from man's middle, so man would be like the head and woman the body. But he didn't make her from the head, so she wouldn't have contempt for man. Similarly, he didn't make her from the feet, so that man wouldn't have contempt for woman.

### **Adam, Eve, and the Devil**

God named man Adam and woman Eve. He created a paradise in the area of the East full of joy and gladness. There was neither hunger, nor thirst, nor illness, nor anything sad. He adorned them with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and placed them in paradise to rejoice as angels.

God said to Adam and Eve: "I, who have created you human beings brighter than the sun, have placed you in paradise to enjoy all the good things of paradise. But so that you will know that God is your author and creator, I give you one commandment. From this fig tree alone don't eat. But know this too, if you transgress my commandment and you do eat, you will die. And so God left them in paradise and they rejoiced like angels. For this reason God adorned them with shame which would protect them from every sin, and especially the woman. This is why, my fellow Christians and daughters of Christ, be covered

with shame as much as possible and you will look like gold.

And so, my brethren, the devil who hates all beautiful things, seeing the great glory which Adam and Eve received from God, envied them. What does he do, this evil spirit who is the devil? Knowing that it would be easier to deceive woman than man, he thought to himself: "If I deceive the woman, then through her I'll easily deceive the man." So he entered a serpent and went to Eve and told her: "What did God tell you to do here in paradise?"

Eve replied: "God told us to eat from all the good things in paradise, but not to eat from one fig tree, because the day we transgress his commandment, we'll die."

The devil answered her and said: "You won't die, but if you eat you'll become like God. This is why he has prohibited you. So take, you eat first, and urge your husband to eat so you'll become gods."

The woman took and ate. She induced her husband to eat also. And as they ate, they immediately were stripped of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and they acquired foolishness and fear.

A person who keeps God's commandments, my brethren, becomes wise and isn't afraid of anything in the world. But he who doesn't keep the commandments of God becomes foolish, and is afraid of his shadow even if he's a king and rules over the entire world. Take care, my dear Christian women, keep God's commandments as much as possible and don't do the will of the devil.

And if you as human beings happen to commit some evil, don't induce your husbands to do as Eve did. Similarly, men too shouldn't listen to the advice of women as Adam did.

Wishing to forgive them and to allow them to remain in paradise, God pretended he didn't know what happened, and said to Adam: "Adam, where are you? Why are you hidden? Where is the glory that you had before, when you were like an angel? Now you have become like a foolish child?"

Adam answered and said: "Here I am Lord: I heard you coming and became afraid and hid."

God said to him: "Why were you afraid and hidden? Am I perhaps fear? Perhaps you ate from the figs which I told you not to eat?"

Adam answered with pride: "Yes, Lord, I ate, but it isn't my fault. The woman you gave me deceived me and I ate."

God said to Adam: "I gave her to you as a companion and not for her to deceive you. I told you not to eat because you would die. You should have obeyed my word and not your wife's. Well, all right, you ate. You were deceived. [But] why is it difficult to say, 'I did wrong, my God, I have sinned, my Creator,' [and] I would have forgiven you, and allowed you into paradise again, but by blaming woman, you blamed me because I made woman."

Do you hear, my brethren, what an evil thing it is to blame someone else? So if we want to be saved, we should always blame ourselves and not throw the blame on someone else.

Then the gracious God said to Eve: "Why did you eat the figs which I told you not to?"

She replied with pride and said: "Yes, Lord, I ate them, but it isn't my fault. The serpent deceived me."

Seeing their pride, God expelled them from paradise and cursed Adam to work the earth, to eat his bread with the sweat of his brow, and to weep without consolation so that God might have compassion upon him and put him back into paradise. This is why, my brothers, you should rejoice, all of you who earn your bread with your labor, because that bread is blessed. And if you want, give a little of that bread to a poor man so that thereby, you gain paradise. Again, in the same way, weep and mourn with heavy tears, all of you who live by stealing and injustice. God will put you to death and will place you into hell.

How are you getting along here, my fellow Christians? Do you all live by your labor or by injustices? If you are Christians, you should live by your labor. God blesses that, but curses that which is gained through injustice.

Woman was also cursed to be subject to her husband and to give birth to her children with labor, pain, and tears, and to weep without consolation so that God would have compassion on her and restore her to paradise. You can see plainly how when animals give birth, they don't suffer the pains which a woman does when she gives birth, for they don't have the woman's curse.

### **The Loss of Paradise**

God cursed Adam and Eve and exiled them from paradise. They lived nine hundred and thirty years with dark and bitter tears, and gave birth to children, and their children to other children. And the whole earth was filled. All human beings are from one father and from one mother. This is why all human beings are brothers. It is our faith which separates us.

Adam and Eve died and they went to hell and burned for five-and-a-half thousand years because of one sin. But what about us who commit so many, and especially me? What is to happen to us? God is compassionate but also just. He also has an iron rod, and as he punished Adam and Eve, he will punish us too if we don't do good.

Adam and Eve transgressed God's commandment and were exiled from paradise. Now what are we doing, my fellow Christians? Know that in those five-and-a-half thousand years all who died went to hell. But the Lord had compassion upon the race of humans and came and became perfect man from the Holy Spirit and the purest blood of our Lady, the Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary, and took us out of the hands of the devil.

Know that the Annunciation of the Theotokos took place on the Lord's Day. Christ was born on the Lord's Day and revealed to us the holy faith, the holy baptism, and the holy sacraments. He was cursed beaten, crucified in his human nature. He arose on the third day and went to hell and brought out Adam and Eve and their race. There was joy in heaven, in Hades, and in the entire world. For the Jews and for the devil it was poison and a double-edged sword. He ascended into heaven and sat on the right hand of the Father to rule with him forever and be worshipped by the angels. Know that today, tomorrow, we expect the end of the world. You are prudent and wise, you understand by yourselves what is good for you and do it.

### **Father Kosmas' Compensation**

Now what seems reasonable to you for us to do? I have two thoughts. One tells me: "You've said enough to the Christians here, and tomorrow morning get up and go to another place to teach." The other tells me: "Don't go. Stay and tell them the rest, and you can leave on the next day. What do you say? Shall I leave or stay?"

"Stay, O saint of God."



Good, my children, I shall stay. But is it good for a man to work in a vineyard or to tend sheep and not to eat from the products? Now is it right for you not to give me, who have come here and have labored for you, some consolation, some payment? And what kind of payment do I want? Money? What would I do with it? Through the grace of God I have neither a purse, nor a house, nor another cassock, and the bench that I have to stand on and teach is yours. It represents my grave. This grave has the authority to teach kings, patriarchs, bishops, priests, men and women, young and old, and the entire world.

If I were to travel about for money, I would be crazy and foolish. But what is my payment? It is for you to sit in groups of five or ten and discuss the divine teachings, to put them inside of your heart so that they may bring you eternal life. The words I spoke to you, my brethren, are not my own, but those of the Holy Spirit from the Holy Scriptures. What I have told you is the same as if God Himself came down and told them to you. Now if you were to do these things and put them in your mind, my labor would seem to me to be nothing. But if you don't do them, I shall leave saddened with tears in my eyes.

### **The Importance of Schooling**

"Do you have a school here, here in your village to teach your children?"

"We don't, O saint of God."

You must all get together and establish a good school. Appoint a committee to govern it, to appoint a teacher to teach all the children, rich and poor. Because it is in school that we learn who God is, who is the Holy Trinity, who are the angels, demons, and what is paradise, hell, virtue, evil, what is the soul, body, etc. Without a school we walk in darkness. The school leads to the monastery. If there were no school, how would I have learned to teach you?

I studied about priests and about unbelievers, heretics, and atheists. I searched the depths of wisdom, but all the faiths are false. I learned this to be true, that only the faith of the Orthodox Christians is food and is sacred: to believe and to be baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

In conclusion, I tell you this. Rejoice that you are Orthodox Christians and weep for the impious and heretics who walk in darkness.

### **The Time for Repentance is Now**

What are we, my fellow Christians, just or sinners? If we're just, we're of good fortune and thrice-blessed; if we're sinners, now is the time to repent, to cease from doing evil and do what is good, because hell waits for us.

When will we repent? Not tomorrow or the day after, but today, because we don't know what will happen to us by tomorrow. Take care my brethren, don't be infected with pride, don't commit murder, don't fornicate, don't swear, don't lie, don't slander, don't betray another, don't deck out our body because it will be eaten by worms. But adorn the soul which is worth more than the whole world. Pray, fast, give alms, keep death before you. And hope for the time when you'll leave this false world and go to that eternal one.

Listen my brethren, just as a rich man has ten servants and when one makes a mistake, he dismisses and replaces him, so with our Lord. When the first order of angels fell, God commanded and the world was made and He made us human beings to put us in the place of the angels.

### **Our True Home**

We, my fellow Christians, have no home here on earth. This is why God made us with an upright head and put our brain on the upper part of our body, so that we can always reflect the heavenly kingdom, our true home. So, my brethren, I'll teach and counsel you, and I'll dare again to beg the sweetest Jesus Christ to send his grace and blessing from on high to this village and to all the Christians, men, women, young and old, and to bless the work of your hands.

First of all, my brethren, may God have compassion on you and forgive you your sins, and may he find you worthy to live well here and in peace in this fruitless life, and after death in paradise which is our true homeland, to rejoice forever, to glorify and worship the Holy Trinity to the ages of ages. Amen.

I beg you, my brethren, to say for me too, the sinner, three times: "Forgive me and may God forgive you." Forgive one another too.

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ARTHUR E. JOHN GONZALEZ

**FURTHER COMMENTARY ON THE  
BYZANTINE IMPERIAL PROTOTYPE  
AND EASTERN LITURGICAL VESTURE\***

In an earlier article we dealt at length with the different directions taken in the development of Eastern and Western liturgical garb, citing ecclesiastical vestments and accessories unique to the Eastern Church as exemplary of this divergence. It was proposed that a simple theory of parallelism in the development of Eastern and Western vesture ignored the influence of Byzantine court dress on the distinctiveness of Eastern Church dress. In the present essay, we concentrate, not on those vestments having no counterparts in the West, but on Byzantine and Latin vestments of common origin. In so doing, there is no suggestion that these instances of common origin constitute an exception to the case for divergent development; rather, the purpose is to demonstrate that even vestmental pieces sharing common origins are, in the Greek usage, influenced by the imperial prototype.

**The Sticharion**

The *sticharion* is in essence identical to the Western alb. It is the garment common to all ranks of the clergy, from bishop to deacon. Certainly there is little disagreement among scholars concerning the origin of the alb, since it was also the common dress of most Roman citizens in the first few Christian centuries. The Theodosian Code of 12 January 382, in fact,

\* A treatment of the Byzantine imperial prototype and its relationship to the development of liturgical vestments and accessories distinctive to the Byzantines appeared in the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 17 (1972), 255-67.

The author is indebted to Profs. Manfred P. Fleischer and Stylianos Spyridakis, of the University of California, Davis, for their helpful comments and kind review of this essay and related materials.

specifically enumerated the garments to be worn in Rome proper.<sup>1</sup> Among those garments named was the *colobium*, which was worn as everyday dress by the Roman citizen. It was the *tunica talaris*, or long tunic the innermost piece of clothing. The tunic was placed over the head and reached to the feet or ankles (hence, *talaris*), and was usually bound by a girdle. The tunics of the senators and *equites* were distinguished by purple stripes from the neck of the garment to the hem. The stripes of the senators' tunics were wide (*lati clavi*), while those on the tunics of the *equites* were narrow (*augusti clavi*). These stripes survive today as part of the Roman dalmatic.

The *colobium* would correspond exactly to the ecclesiastical alb, except that it has no sleeves. Properly speaking, there were two forms of the tunic, the sleeveless *colobium* and the *tunica manicata* or *tunica dalmatica*, a tunic with sleeves which eventually replaced the older *colobium*.<sup>2</sup> It is the *tunica dalmatica* which formed the ecclesiastical alb (or *sticharion*), though further refinements produced yet another vestment, the dalmatic (*sakkos*), which must not, on account of the confusing terminology, be identified with the *tunica dalmatica* after which the alb was patterned. Macalister contends that the *tunica dalmatica* was certainly widely in use by the third century and that the *colobium* had fallen into disuse. He demonstrates this by noting that St. Cyprian was led to his martyrdom in 258 clothed in a *tunica dalmatica*.<sup>3</sup> He points out that, contrary to some speculations, it is very unlikely that Cyprian was dressed in anything but everyday wear. Moreover, the thought that the *tunica dalmatica* was a mere luxurious garment (the emperors Commodus and Elagabalus wore very ornate versions of the vestment) is impugned by the fact that Cyprian wore it to martyrdom. The thought is ludicrous that he would have made such a display on so solemn an occasion.

The use of the *tunica dalmatica* in the sense of the alb is first advised by the Roman Bishop, Sylvester (253-57). He decrees, "ut diaconi Dalmatica uterentur in ecclesia et pallio linostimo

<sup>1</sup> It should be incidentally noted that Theodosios was not, as many scholars wrongly maintain, a great codifier of the laws, as such. Almost identical codes and pronouncements had been made earlier by the Emperor Gratian.

<sup>2</sup> The *colobium* undoubtedly derives its name from the Greek adjective *kolobos* (shortened, curtailed), referring to the short sleeves of the garment. The *tunica dalmatica* must have originated in the province of Dalmatia.

<sup>3</sup> R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments; Their Development and History* (London, 1896), p. 33. See Migne, PL 3:1504 for this incident.

laeva eorum tegetetur.”<sup>4</sup> Returning to an essentially outmoded view of the development of liturgical vesture (the so-called ‘ritualistic’ school), many observers have used the foregoing phrase, not only to establish the use of the *tunica dalmatica* instead of the *colobium* in the early Church, but to suggest that distinct liturgical vesture was in use. There is absolutely nothing to support such an assumption, and the decree is so worded as to propose nothing more than tidiness or uniformity in clerical dress. The important point is that the alb (or *sticharion*) derives from the sleeved form of the tunic.

Macalister is alone, among the scholars who trace the alb to the *tunica dalmatica*, in his attempt to find a transitional garment between the Roman secular tunic and the alb as it is found in definite ecclesiastical use.<sup>5</sup> He points out that the *tunica dalmatica* was a flowing garment with very wide sleeves. The alb, on the other hand, is a tighter-fitting article with rather narrow sleeves. The transition took place, he contends, because the *tunica dalmatica* was cumbersome to the priest in the performance of liturgical duties (e.g., baptism).<sup>6</sup> Macalister’s theory is highly speculative and somewhat lacking in scientific parsimony. Firstly, it is quite natural to assume that, if the ecclesiastical alb was adapted from the secular tunic, it would have corresponding variations in cut and style. As for the specific invention of such a garment, the chances are slight. Secondly, it is unclear from the pontifical cited by Macalister in support of his contention<sup>7</sup> that the tunics are tight fitting or whether they are cinched both at the waist and at the sleeves. Moreover, clerics and observers alike wear the same garments.

*Sticharion* is essentially nothing more than the Greek word for the *tunica dalmatica*. The etymology of the word is widely debated. Some sources derive the word from the Greek *stichos*, alluding to the long, flowing sweep of the garment. Others affirm that the word comes from *stichion*, simply meaning ‘tunic.’ It is quite possible that the word derives from some form of the adjective *stichidon* (i.e., in rows), referring to the

<sup>4</sup> Migne, PL 127:1514.

<sup>5</sup> In this respect, Duchesne, whose treatment of the development of vestments from secular wear is as complete as any might be, assumes that the *tunica dalmatica* became the ecclesiastical alb by natural process, differing essentially only in name. See L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution* (London, 1903), pp. 379-81.

<sup>6</sup> Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> A ninth-century pontifical at the St. Minerva Library in Rome. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

*clavi (loria)*, or stripes, on the *tunica dalmatica*. That the word was used originally to refer to a secular garment is obvious from the charges made against St. Athanasios, Bishop of Alexandria (d. 373), that he required the Egyptians to furnish silk *sticharia*.<sup>8</sup> The secular use of the term is once again affirmed in the will of St. Gregory Nazianzos, in which he bequeaths to the Deacon Evagrius some articles of everyday clothing, including a *sticharion*. Certainly the tunic bequeathed had no ecclesiastical significance or it more than likely would not have been left to a deacon. A last reference to the *sticharion* as an everyday piece of vesture is in the writings of Palladios, Bishop of Helenopolis (ca. 368 - ca. 430), in which Athanasios is described as assuming the garment as the dress appropriate to night travel.<sup>9</sup>

The first use of the *sticharion* as a purely liturgical vestment is recorded in the writings of St. John Chrysostom. St. John describes a garment which in every respect is the *sticharion*, but he uses the word *chitoniskos* to identify it.<sup>10</sup> From the comments of Chrysostom and later detailed descriptions by Germanos of Constantinople, we can assume that the vestment was almost always white and that it had stripes running across the sleeves and body.<sup>11</sup> Again, the bands or stripes (*loria*) correspond to the *clavi* on the *tunica dalmatica*. With the course of the centuries, the *sticharion* became somewhat more ornate, probably because of the imperial prototype which influenced so unquestionably the development of Byzantine liturgical garb. The color came to be varied and the material used in making the garment a matter of taste. Nevertheless, it was very early in the history of the Church a definite liturgical garment set aside for use in the worship service. Its derivation from the secular usage (and especially from aristocratic use) undoubtedly standardized its form much more in Byzantium than in Rome, imperial power in Rome having begun to wane.

### The Orarion and Epitrachelion

The *orarion* (deacon's stole) and *epitrachelion* or *peritrachelion* (priest's stole) correspond to the Latin stole. While the two vestments are quite different in form in the Greek Church, their common origin with the stole is undisputed.

<sup>8</sup> Migne, PG 25:357.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 34:1035.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 58:745.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 98:393.

Indeed, in the case of these two vestmental pieces, as in that of the Roman stole, there is but one liturgical use for the garments. Like the alb, the stole can, both in the East and in the West, be called the 'universal vestment'.<sup>12</sup> If scholars are fairly certain that the ecclesiastical stoles of the Greeks and Latins are of common origin, they are equally uncertain as to the source of the garment. The theories concerning that source are as divergent in content as they are numerous, and no single theory commends itself to a complete incorporation of the facts.

Many scholars have used the stole (or *orarium*, as it seems to be known until the ninth century in the West)<sup>13</sup> to argue that the Jewish prototype for Christian liturgical vesture was a certain one. To them the closeness of the word *orarium* to the word *orare* demonstrates that the garment was modelled after the prayer stole of the Jews. The argument is a highly doubtful one, since no Christian Father of the early Church, when such an arrangement would have been extremely obvious, mentions the *orarium* as a prayer stole. Once more, the source seems to be Roman secular dress. By no means, however, is the secular source of the garment an easy one to trace. Some scholars have noted that the source of the word *orarium* (*orarion* in Greek) can refer to the Greek *ora*, or hour, since the vestment is differently worn, at least by the deacon, at different 'times' in the liturgy; that it might derive from the Greek *orao*, in that it *distinguishes, by sight*, the deacon from the priest,<sup>14</sup> and that it receives its name from the Latin *ora*, since the *oraria* granted to the Romans as favors by Aurelian (according to his life by Flavius Vopiscus) later came to be used as cloths to wipe the face. Only one of these sources seems a plausible one, that of the evolution of the *orarium* from the secular scarf.

A wholly divergent theory concerning the origin of the stole bears investigation at this point. As we pointed out above, the word *stola* was not used in the West to describe the stole until the Carolingian period, when Rabanus Maurus used both the words *orarium* and *stola*. Somewhat later Amalarius spoke of the ornament only as the *stola*, as if the colloquial expression

<sup>12</sup> J. Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Darmstadt, 1964), p. 602.

<sup>13</sup> See one of the first instances of the use of the word in Migne, PL 107:307, by Rabanus Maurus.

<sup>14</sup> This supposition is cited by Macalister, *Vestments*, p. 38. Its absurdity is obvious from the fact that, by the time separate liturgical vestments were in use, the Priest was distinguished from the Deacon by other garments as well.



had gained wide usage.<sup>15</sup> That it was colloquial is evidenced by a passage from the tenth or eleventh century, where *orarium* is used in a technical sense and *stola* as a common synonym: "orarium, id est stola."<sup>16</sup> Ignoring this development in the name used to designate the stole, some observers have sought to find the prototype for the ecclesiastical stole in the ancient Roman garment known as the *stola*. The supposition is that the bands sewed on the garment (originally worn by Roman ladies) became separated from the main garment and survived as the stole. As Lesage comments, "The question arises as to how the *stola*, which had disappeared after the sixth century, could have given its name to these bands which decorated it and which have become detached from it."<sup>17</sup>

There is no doubt that the theory suggesting that the *stola* was the ancient source of the ecclesiastical stole is an untenable one. However, the problem still remains concerning the gradual assumption of the word *stola* to refer to the *orarium*. Most scholars have been content to view the process as one of natural etymological development. Marriott contends that the word *stola* in the Vulgate became somehow associated with the concept of a priestly robe or vestment and lost its purely secular meaning. Because the *orarium* constituted the most obvious piece of liturgical wear, it acquired the name *stola*.<sup>18</sup> Many authorities have doubted Marriott's logic, questioning both the theory that the Latin Vulgate *stola* carried with it any connections with the priestly and the assumption that the *orarium* was the single most important liturgical garment. While these objections have some merit (in that the alb was more than likely the approximation to a *stola*), no explanation better than Marriott's has been offered and we are of necessity forced to be content with his hypothesis.

We can conclude with fair certainty, in view of the weaknesses of all other theories, that our original source for the *orarium*, the scarves granted by Aurelian, is the true one. The only weakness in our theory is that we can cite no evidence that the scarf became a mere handkerchief. However, on the grounds that most ornamental wear becomes somehow functional, most authorities assume some such purpose for the

<sup>15</sup> Migne, PL 105:1096.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 131:17.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Lesage, *Vestments and Church Furniture* (New York, 1963), p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> Wharton Booth Marriott, *Vestiarum Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of the Holy Ministry in the Church* (London, 1968), p. 215.

garment. The original use of the scarf, to wave approval at the theatre or circus (perhaps instead of waving the toga), certainly would not have warranted its continued everyday use. And yet such use is convincingly established by Marriott in his rather exhaustive coverage of the subject.<sup>19</sup> In effect, the scarves must have assumed a ceremonial as well as practical use, an assumption which was later closely followed in the differentiation of the styles of the stole in ecclesiastical usage.

The ecclesiastical writers referring to the *orarium* also originally cited it as a secular piece. In this respect, St. Ambrose uses the term to describe a napkin or cloth which bound the face of Lazaros.<sup>20</sup> The most unusual use of the word is that of Augustine, who refers to the *orarium* being used as a bandage to cover a wounded eye.<sup>21</sup> These allusions would lead us to believe that the word very generally applied to any object which acted as a bandage or a handkerchief. The fact that the scarves awarded by Aurelian were called *oraria* certainly leads one to believe that their use as a functional piece was not inconsistent with their use in the theatre or circus. This loose usage by ecclesiastical writers was in no one way restricted to early use. As late as the times of St. Gregory the Great, the *orarium* seems to be nothing more than a handkerchief. This meaning is obvious in Gregory's gift of four *oraria* and two *camisiae* to Constantinople.<sup>22</sup>

While allusions by ecclesiastical writers to the *orarium* as a secular piece are not restricted to very early times, as we mentioned, some allusions to the piece as a garment peculiar to the clergy are likewise not limited to later periods. As early as 363, in the twenty-second and twenty-third canons of the Council of Laodicea, anyone below the rank of deacon is ordered not to wear the stole.<sup>23</sup> In the same period, Isidore of Pelusion speaks of a vestment, the *othone*, which was undoubtedly the stole.<sup>24</sup> We have already covered the gradual develop-

<sup>19</sup> See in Marriott, *Vestiarum*, a sculpture from the Arch of Constantine, in which the Emperor's attendants are wearing large bands of cloth over their left shoulders (Plate 4).

<sup>20</sup> Migne, PL 16:1396.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 41, 765.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 77:887.

<sup>23</sup> Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, 1:1500.

<sup>24</sup> Migne, PG 78:271. The attempt to identify this *othone* with the Roman maniple, rather than with the *orarium* of the Diaconate, is ludicrous. Such attempts overlook the fact that a vestmental piece such as the maniple never came into use in the Eastern Church, and they amazingly overlook the fact that the *othone* is designated as a garment worn over the shoulder exclusively.

ment of the *orarium* into the distinct *orarion* and *epitrachelion* in our earlier treatment of vestments unique to the Byzantine Church. What must be stressed is that this separation in styles between the diaconate and priesthood in the East followed models offered by the imperial court.

### The Zone

There remains little argument concerning the origin of the *zone*, the Byzantine counterpart of the Roman girdle. Like the modern belt, the *zone* grew out of a simple waistband used to hold the clothing in position or to prevent it from flowing freely. Whether the liturgical garb of the early Church was fashioned after the garb of the Jewish Levitical priesthood or the everyday wear of the Roman imperials is here of little interest. The vestment used by the Jews, the Romans, and the Christians is such a simple and universal one that it would be impossible to differentiate between styles. A belt, a girdle, a cincture, and indeed, the *zone* are all basically the same garment, serving the same essential purpose. Nonetheless, if we are to continue in our assumption that ecclesiastical vestments have their origins in that dress, it remains to investigate the use of the girdle in the secular dress of the first few Christian centuries. Duchesne notes that when the Roman *officiales* placed a garment over their tunics they confined the tunic at the middle with a girdle.<sup>25</sup> There seems to be little question that the same practice would have been kept by the Christians in their use of the *phelonion* over the *sticharion*.

### The Phelonion

If any piece of vesture vies with the stole as the *sine qua non* of liturgical garb, it is the *phelonion*, the Eastern correspondent of the Western chasuble. The vestment undoubtedly originates in the garment which, in Rome, began to replace the toga as the outer garment in formal wear, during the third and fourth centuries. There is disagreement concerning the garb which replaced the toga. Lesage asserts that the toga was discarded from the second century for the *paenula*, 'a large winter and travelling cloak.'<sup>26</sup> This large outer garment, he continues, was known in the fourth century also as the *planeta*, the same garment called the *casula* (or 'little house' – from the diminutive

<sup>25</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 379.

<sup>26</sup> Lesage, *Vestments and Church*, p. 120.

of *casa*) in the seventh century. Unfortunately, this explanation is documented with the least possible care. Other authorities take quite divergent views.

Citing numerous allusions in classical Latin writers to the vestments, Macalister contends that the toga was replaced in the second and third centuries by three distinct garments, the *paenula*, *casula*, and *planeta*. He traces all three articles to a piece of clothing worn in the early days of the Republic by Roman slaves. The *casula*, he maintains in opposition to Lesage, was a cheaper and lesser form of the *paenula*. As the latter became the dress of the senators and emperors, the former came into use by the poorer classes. In keeping with this reasoning, the *casula* was probably made of cheaper material than the *paenula* and of more frugal cut. As for the *planeta*, Macalister conceives of it as having been a very ornate and costly *paenula*, thus accounting for the frequently indiscriminate interchange of the term in the Latin.<sup>27</sup>

Duchesne devotes very little time to his discussion of the *phelonion*, dismissing it as a garment, under the Greek name, identical to the *planeta* or *casula*, which he assumes to be one in the same garment.<sup>28</sup> Like that of Lesage, Duchesne's view fails to substantiate its simplicity. This is not to argue, surely, that the theories put forth by Lesage and Duchesne are less possible than Macalister's position, in terms of the available evidence; Macalister's arguments, however, are at least minimally documented and they do lend themselves to one plausible explanation of the different courses taken in the development of ecclesiastical vesture from these early Roman garments in the Latin and Byzantine Churches. These courses are closely tied to the derivation of the Greek *phelonion* from the Latin *paenula*, thereby accentuating the distinctions between the vestments.

The closeness of the Greek word *phelonion* to the Latin word *paenula* is noted by all authorities. The earliest use of the word usually cited is the reference by St. Paul to his *phelonion* in 2 Timothy 4:13. The consensus of opinion by most scholars is that the term was used in its absolute secular sense. In fact, the reference is often repeated to cite the use of the Latin word *paenula* in the New Testament, further suggesting that the Greek *phelonion* refers to the Roman garment of similar name.

<sup>27</sup> Macalister, *Vestments*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>28</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 381.

One can but assume that the Greek name for the vestment betrays the modelling of the Greek piece after the *paenula* and not the *casula*, if the differentiation according to Macalister is to be followed.

The *chasuble*, obviously taking its name from the secular vestment of the same name (i.e., the *casula*), must have originally have been a simple vestment, perhaps finding its truly liturgical appearance in the imitation of Jewish Levitical garments during the Carolingian period. The *phelonion*, on the other hand, might well exemplify the imperial prototype for Byzantine liturgical garments. According to the differentiation offered by Macalister, it is the *paenula* which answers etymologically to the Greek *phelonion*, the former having been the form of the garment adopted by senators and emperors in the first few centuries of the Christian era in the Roman Empire.<sup>29</sup> The proverbial majesty of liturgical dress in the Byzantine Church is substantially evidenced by the fact that the Roman chasuble seems never to have become the ornate and elaborate vestment that did the Greek *phelonion*.

Ecclesiastical uses of the word *phelonion* are somewhat rare before the time of Germanos of Constantinople. Assuming, however, that Byzantine liturgical vesture very early took a standardized form, we might here cite certain art works which suggest the use of liturgical garb in the Byzantine Church at a date much earlier than in the West. The foremost among these works are the mosaics of the vault of the Church of St. George in Thessalonike. The mosaics are purported to date to the era of St. Constantine the Great. In them are depicted the Martyr-Bishop Phillip and a Presbyter, Romanos, clad in purple *phelonias*. Also pictured are several martyrs, among them the two physician brothers, Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, clothed in different garb of different color. The fact that Germanos refers to the *phelonion* as the counterpart, symbolically, of the purple robe placed on Christ before the crucifixion seems to suggest that the former was of the same color. This would lead one to assume that the clerics represented in the Thessalonian mosaics in question were somehow specially dressed. This is not to suggest that, if the vestments were special, they were special in any sense except color. Nonetheless, it would suggest a certain discrimination in the use of clothing liturgically.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The origin of the *phelonion* in the Latin *paenula* is argued passim in Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, p. 246.

<sup>30</sup> These figures are reproduced in Marriott, *Vestiarum*, Plates 18-21, they can do no justice to the vivid contrast in the mosaics themselves.

Certainly our proposed imperial prototype would have capitalized on any sense of uniformity in the early development of the Church and disposed it toward the adoption of standardized garb.

### The Omophorion

The *omophorion* is the outer stole used by all Eastern bishops (outer, since the *epitrachelion* is also worn, but under the *sakkos*). It has no parallel in the episcopal wear of the Roman Church, since it has there traditionally been the vestment of the Papacy, except among metropolitans of high rank. Even in this latter case, the metropolitan is not allowed to wear the vestment outside his own province. If his province is changed, he must request a new garment (*pallium* or pall in the Latin Church). This is not to say, however, that in the very early Church the pall was reserved in Rome only for the Pope. Duchesne again affirms, the pall must have been, by the fifth century, more or less confined to papal regalia, since its use by other bishops was granted only under special circumstances.<sup>31</sup> As for the Eastern Church, we shall establish that no such discrimination in use was the case, since the vestment was from the beginning assumed by all bishops alike.

The source of the *pallium* in Roman secular dress is by no means easy to trace. Macalister, usually the most exhaustive of the authorities on ecclesiastical vesture, simply lays propositions before the reader and confesses his own inability to deal concretely with the matter.<sup>32</sup> Duchesne, the only other writer to treat the vestment in any detail, suggests that it is an "ecclesiastical insignia (*sic*) properly so called."<sup>33</sup> He asserts that the garment was originally an imperial gift, citing the opinion of the forger of the 'Donation of Constantine' to that effect. The evidence in support of this supposition is overwhelming. Moreover, it lends itself to our hypothesis that the Greek *omophorion* represents the influence of imperial garb.

Certainly Duchesne's assumption is borne out by consular diptychs of the sixth century. One of the finest of these is one issued by Magnus (ca. 518).<sup>34</sup> The pall worn by the consul is

<sup>31</sup> See, for these contentions, Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 384-85.

<sup>32</sup> Macalister, *Vestments*, pp. 49-51.

<sup>33</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 384.

<sup>34</sup> An excellent reproduction is to be found in John Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* (London, 1961), p. 36.

in every sense identical with that of the contemporary Orthodox bishop (though the papal *pallium* has undergone some changes and bears less resemblance). Duchesne points out that these were the same pieces designated as the *discolora pallia* in the Theodosian Code.<sup>35</sup> The fact that they were bestowed on consuls and ecclesiastical dignitaries as well would suggest that the bishops of these early centuries bore a very high mark of distinction. The point is that the *omophorion* or *pallium* was a mark of *imperial* distinction. Its adoption by all Eastern bishops and only by the Bishop of Rome (and his several highest associates) in the West excellently exemplifies the closeness of the Byzantine Church to the imperial prototype and the distinct and exclusive course of the Roman See.

If the use of the *omophorion* by Eastern bishops represented an adherence to the imperial prototype, it seems logical that the Church of Rome, having suffered rupture from the imperial favors since about 484, when the barbarian princes had substantially entrenched Rome, would look elsewhere for the vestment's power. And so it did. From the earliest dates of Christian art, the representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd was a favorite one. Undoubtedly the common use of the wool pall, both in the East and West, followed the symbolism of the shepherd with his sheep thrown across the shoulders. But the Roman Bishop took the symbolism one step farther and made the vestment appropriate to his jurisdiction, a sign of participation, as Duchene notes, "in the *Pasce ova meas*."<sup>36</sup> In due time, the pall came to refer to the mantle of St. Peter, thus strengthening the tenets of the Petrine doctrine.<sup>37</sup>

The *omophorion* seems to have had significance as a liturgical vestment very early in the Eastern ecclesiastical writings. Thus St. Isidore of Pelusion, writing early in the sixth century, describes the pall as a symbolic representation of the lost sheep borne on the shoulder of the Good Shepherd. He also alludes to a practice still held in the Eastern Church; viz., the practice of the bishop removing his pall when the Gospels are opened, as if in the presence of the chief Shepherd Himself. Not only does the *omophorion* appear to have a liturgical function but also a symbolic significance.<sup>38</sup> We can already agree with Duchesne's

<sup>35</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 386.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 385. This point is especially interesting in terms of the claim made by Duchesne that in early times, before its bestowal, the pall was placed overnight on the tomb of St. Peter.

<sup>38</sup> Migne, PG 78:272.

reasoning, that, given the symbolic meaning attached to the pall by St. Isidore, it must have been in existence for some time.<sup>39</sup> Its use in this respect was certainly established by the time of Germanos, who practically quotes the words of St. Isidore *verbatim*.<sup>40</sup> The importance of the *omophorion* as the insignia of the episcopacy is recorded in the eighth *actio* of the third Council of Constantinople (680), in which the heretical Bishop of Antioch, Makarios, was relieved of his *omophorion* as a sign of deposition.<sup>41</sup>

The early use of the *omophorion* by all Eastern bishops has been from time to time argued by supporters of the Petrine doctrine of Roman episcopal pre-eminence. According to these arguments, even the Patriarch of Constantinople could not claim the *omophorion* with papal approval. The classical representative of this view is Luitprand, who purports to uncover the bribery involved in the usurpation of the vestment by the bishops of the Eastern Church generally.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the entire matter seems to be egregiously polemical and the disputation of the early use of the *omophorion* in the East a spurious one. One need only refer to the remarkable mosaics in the Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (dating from the sixth century), where fourth-century bishops are depicted in their *omophoria*, to establish the early development of ecclesiastical wear among the Eastern bishops. Not only was the use of the *omophorion* not contingent on papal approval, but in Constantinople its very existence was an imperial favor, not a gift of the Roman See.

### The Sakkos

The *sakkos* is the Greek form of the Latin dalmatic, a large tunic worn, in Rome, by the Pope and his deacons on festivals and now, in the East, by all bishops. It traces to an outer tunic worn in Rome by dignitaries as early as the second century.<sup>43</sup> The dalmatic was worn over a first tunic and the toga over both. As early as the end of the fifth century, Duchesne establishes, the dalmatic was no longer a part of ordinary fashion and had become unique to the Roman Pope and his deacons.<sup>44</sup> By the

<sup>39</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 389.

<sup>40</sup> Migne, PG 98:369.

<sup>41</sup> Labbe, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, 6:759.

<sup>42</sup> Migne, PL 136:934.

<sup>43</sup> Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, p. 299.

<sup>44</sup> Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 382.



sixth century the garment had become a mark of distinction bestowed on bishops for their service. We have, to affirm this fact, the record of St. Gregory's gift to the Bishop of Gap, (599), a dalmatic of special cut.<sup>45</sup> As well, the sixth-century mosaics in Ravenna show the bishops and deacons in the dalmatic, doubtless some sign of distinction.

Most authorities presume that the *sakkos* was worn fairly early by the Patriarch at Constantinople. There is, however, nothing more than conjecture to establish this. The artistic representations of the Eastern bishops in the *sakkos* are absent until the eleventh century.<sup>46</sup> Until that time, the bishops are represented in the *phelonion* and *omophorion*; afterwards, the *phelonion* has been replaced by the *sakkos*. (Fortescue, assuming that the *sakkos* was previously worn only by the Patriarch and metropolitans, dates its use by the bishops in general to the fall of Constantinople.)<sup>47</sup> One can but extend this conjecture to account for the sudden use of the *sakkos* by the episcopacy. If it was used by the Patriarch of Constantinople solely, it might have represented a challenge to papal supremacy. In that case, the sudden extension of its use to the bishops in general in the eleventh century, when the subject of papal dominance was reaching immense proportions, seems unlikely.

It seems sensible to assume, rather, that the *sakkos* was used in imitation of the imperial garb. The artistic representations once again fail us. But we might logically follow Fortescue's contention that the garment fell into general use by the Eastern bishops at the fall of Constantinople and conclude that, with the curtailment of imperial influence, the vestment lost its general majesty and was appropriated for use by the bishops at large. It would, likewise, seem plausible that, if the garment was heretofore limited to use by the Patriarch of Constantinople, it would have been modelled after the vestment of the Byzantine emperor. Indeed, the identification between the emperor and the Patriarch, as co-heads of the Byzantine church-state hegemony, would be in keeping with such an arrangement.<sup>48</sup> Though as conjectural as the aforementioned theory, this latter assertion is in keeping with the unique relationship of liturgical garb in the Eastern Church to the imperial clothing and commends itself to us as the more tenable explanation.

<sup>45</sup> Migne, PL 67:1016.

<sup>46</sup> See Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung*, p. 302.

<sup>47</sup> Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (New York, 1967), p. 406.

<sup>48</sup> See Speros Vryonis, *Byzantium and Europe* (New York, 1967), p. 36, in which he states the formula that determined the rank and importance of a bishopric in the imperial administration. By simple extension of this contention, that the size and territory of the see determined those elements, the Patriarch of Constantinople easily held administrative rank equal to that of the emperor.

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# GREEK ORTHODOX—JEWISH RELATIONS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Demetrios J. Constantelos

## PRECIS

The task of this article is to examine the relationship between Jews and Greeks in the Medieval period. In recent times many views concerning the treatment of Jews in the Greek empire have been revised. In general, the relations between Greeks and Jews and other minorities were tolerant especially because of the multi-sectarian and multi-racial nature of Byzantium.

Specifically, the Jews fared better than many other religious minorities did. Anti-Jewish legislation was primarily social in nature and some legislation protective of Jews existed. Sometimes persecution reflected greater influence and activity of Jews, and it was even provoked by some of the actions of Jews themselves at times. The Jews differed only religiously; otherwise they were Hellenized. Much of the anti-Semitic church writings were mere rhetoric and were not carried over into the day-to-day experiences between Jews and other Greeks. The relations between them, then, were tolerant if not friendly.

The tolerance toward Jews during the Medieval period in the Greek empire has continued in the modern Greek nation.

In 1935 a state university in the American Northwest was searching for a historian to teach ancient history and the history of the American West. When the History Department of the University of Wisconsin submitted the name of a young Greek-American scholar as a qualified candidate, the answer came that "the position was closed to anyone of Greek or Jewish origins."<sup>1</sup> This incident illustrates that the Jews have drunk from the same cup of prejudice and indeed of persecution. Of course, the Greek and the Jewish names have been linked together numerous times in the history of Western civilization, whether for good or for evil. Athens and Jerusalem or, if you please, Jerusalem and Athens, together with a late arrival, Rome, have made up a tripod upon which the structure of Western culture has rested for many centuries. Even Christianity, one of the major institutions of Western civilization, is a fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas and

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<sup>1</sup>Peter Charanis, "The Progress of Byzantine Studies in the United States," typescript, p. 8. Used by permission of the author.

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traditions. It is a triptych with a Jewish soul, a Greek mind, and a Roman body.

While the Jews and the Greeks have met persecution and prejudice in common, the question before us is: what have the relations been between the two peoples on the religious level? My task is to examine how the Jews fared in the Greek Orthodox society in the Middle Ages.

I propose to examine the following topics which have an immediate bearing on Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations. First, an examination of the religious nature of the Medieval Greek Orthodox state is of great importance if we are to understand the place of Judaism in it. Together with the question of whether Byzantium was a tolerant or an intolerant state, we ought to look into the religious background of what may be characterized as anti-Semitic ecclesiastical legislation. On the basis of this background we shall be able to appreciate Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations. In general we believe that relations between the two ethnic and religious entities, with some exceptions, have been tolerant and peacefully coexistent, if they have not been friendly. This is the conclusion of several historical studies. And there is agreement that the conflict of Judaism with the Hellenistic monarchy of the Seleucids in the second century B.C. was an exception rather than the rule. It is interesting to remember that the Maccabees who rose against Antiochos IV have been classified among the saints of the Greek Orthodox Church. The attitude toward the Jewish religion of all Hellenistic kings since Alexander—save Antiochos IV—was one of tolerance.

Our assessment of Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations in the Middle Ages and beyond has changed appreciably since the first quarter of this century. Samuel Krauss' views representing the Jewish viewpoint, that there was much toleration in the Byzantine Empire toward the Jews, opened up new horizons and were supported by other scholars including Andre Andreades who did a great deal of research on the Greek side. When Joshua Starr published his monograph in 1939 about the Jews in the Byzantine Empire, he attempted to modify Krauss' views stressing the intolerance of certain Byzantine periods. But not all Byzantine scholars accepted his conclusions. The distinguished Belgian historian Henri Gregoire called for a revision of Starr's book which focused on the coercive edicts of Heraklios, Leo III, Basil I, and John Tsimiskes. Those acts have been examined now under a new light by Andrew Sharf of the Bar-Ilan University in Israel, who has written a good monograph on the subject. But our views today of Greco-Jewish relations are more balanced as a result also of a reexamination of the Byzantine state's political, social, and religious character.

To be sure, the Byzantine Empire was a commonwealth, a multi-racial and multi-sectarian state. But it was a Greek commonwealth—its language was Greek, its *paideia* or educational foundations and philosophy were Greek, its institutions were of Hellenic or Hellenistic origins, its religion

was a synthesis of Jewish and Greek elements, and the majority of its people were Greek while the rest were Hellenized or greatly Hellenized. Even though the language, religion, nationality, and major educational and cultural institutions were Greek, there were several non-Greek minorities and many religious creeds. A pluralistic state cannot survive long without some basic principles binding its people into a harmonious society. And the Byzantine Empire must have achieved a balance in its social structure because it survived for eleven centuries.

Notwithstanding the dominant position of the Orthodox Church, the Greek Empire was a multi-sectarian state. We know by name some thirty-five religious minorities which existed in the Age of Justinian. In the first quarter of the eighth century, in a correspondence between Emperor Leo III and Caliph Omar II, we are told that there might have been as many as seventy religious creeds. A multi-racial and multi-sectarian state cannot afford to be biased and prejudiced against segments of its population, depending of course on the size and strength of those minorities individually or collectively. Bigotry and bias beget friction and civil war leading to the decline of the state. In spite of its several minorities and religious sects, the Greek Empire had very few racial conflicts in the course of eleven centuries.

There were tolerance and commercial and cultural relationships between the minorities. With the exception of the persecution of the Samaritans under Justinian and of the Paulician-Bogomils under Alexios Comnenos, there was no significant persecution against major minorities. Joshua Starr writes that from 641 to 1204 the Jews suffered only three general persecutions.<sup>2</sup> Starr stressed, however, that the anti-Jewish measures introduced by Leo III were especially severe. But other historians pointed out Starr's errors. First of all, Leo's anti-Jewish policy is not certain. In his review of Starr's book Henri Gregoire wrote that if Starr's conclusion "is ever revised, it will be in favor of the thesis of absolute toleration." In a paper concerning the Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the first Paleologi, Professor Peter Charanis writes that the Jews enjoyed a "remarkable degree of toleration."<sup>3</sup>

Even the old view that the Jews and non-Orthodox Christians were confined in ghettos has been revised. We now know that heretics, such as the Paulicians and Bogomils, as well as people of other religious creeds, were present in all classes of people and resided in many cities and towns.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Samuel Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1914); A. Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi en to Vyzantino Kratei," *Epeteris Etaireias Vyzantinon Spoudon*, 6 (1929): 23-43; Joshua Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens, 1939).

<sup>3</sup>Henri Gregoire, *Renaissance*, 2-3 (1945): 481; Peter Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Palaeologi," *Speculum*, 22 (1947): 75.

<sup>4</sup>See Nina G. Garsoian, "Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 25 (1971): 85-113.

The Jews alone could not have been confined in isolated ghettos even though we find Jewish neighborhoods in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The belief that religious minorities were alienated and harassed in confined ghettos was based on answers given by hierarchs concerning religious minorities. For example, John Bishop of Citrus (end of twelfth century) wrote a letter to Constantine Cabasilas, archbishop of Dyrachion (Durazzo), who had asked whether Armenians were freely allowed to build churches of their own in the cities where they lived. John answered: "People of alien tongues and alien beliefs, such as Jews, Armenians, Ismaelites, Hagarites and other such as these were permitted from of old to dwell in Christian countries and cities, except that they had to live separately and not together with the Christians. For this reason quarters located either within or without the cities are set apart for each one of these groups that they may be restricted to these quarters and may not extend their residence beyond them."<sup>5</sup>

Once again we must observe that John's reply referred to the practice of the past and it did not necessarily correspond to contemporary reality. On occasions church leaders protested the state's tolerance of heretical groups or non-Orthodox minorities. For example the very strict Patriarch Athanasios (thirteenth century) wrote a letter of protest to Andronikos II because of the Emperor's tolerance toward the Jews, the Armenians, the Turks, and other non-Christian or Christian sects who were permitted to build temples and houses of worship among the Orthodox Christians. Athanasios accused a state official named Kokalas who gave the Jews "great power."<sup>6</sup> But in contrast to Athanasios, there were other patriarchs who protected the rights of the Jews and exerted every effort to avert any persecution. For example, when the Jews of Crete complained to the patriarch against the Orthodox Christians who molested them there, the ecumenical Patriarch Metrophanes in 1568 wrote an encyclical urging the inhabitants of Crete to abstain from insulting the Jews or accusing them unjustly. In fact, the patriarch stated that those who raised hands against the Jews or insulted them be anathematized, excommunicated, and condemned to eternal punishment.<sup>7</sup>

To be sure, canons had been issued against the Jews and other religious minorities. But we must remember that the canons arose out of pragmatic community needs and reflect existing conditions. The canons were not preconceived theological or religious notions, although when issued they were based on beliefs and doctrines of the church, and were not directed against what one did. Thus the association of Christians with Jews must have been very common to the extent that the church was alarmed lest the

<sup>5</sup>G. Rhalles-M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron Kananon* (Athens, 1855), V, p. 415.

<sup>6</sup>F. Miklosich-J. Muller, *Acta et Diplomata Graeca* (Vienna, 1887), V, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup>M. Gedeon, *Kanonikes Diataxeis*, II, pp. 70-71.

Jews adversely influence the Christian flock. It was for the same reason that the church had issued canons in the Synod in Trullo against practices of ancient Greek origin. The Jews themselves might have instigated or caused the issuance of anti-Semitic canons and laws, for they were not passive citizens but exerted influence on trade, business, politics, learning, and religion. At times there was a great deal of interest in Judaism. In fact, around 1066, Andreas, the Archbishop of Bari, became so much interested in Judaism that he eventually left the priesthood and converted to Judaism. And there was more than one conversion from Christianity to Judaism and vice-versa.<sup>8</sup>

Jewish exporters and merchants prospered and economic opportunities for the Jewish smallholder were equally available.

The lot of the Jews in Byzantium was much better than the lot of the Samaritans, Manichaeans, Montanists, Tascodrougites, Borborites, Ophites, Paulicians, and Bogomils, and several other religious minorities. Most of the ecclesiastical legislation referring to the Jews dealt with social issues. No Jew, for example, could acquire a Christian as a household servant. Any Jew attempting to circumcise a Christian would suffer property confiscation and exile.<sup>9</sup> Intermarriage between Jews and Christians was forbidden. Except for these restrictions, the Jews enjoyed all the liberties that were available to the rest of the citizens and their faith was guarded by legislation.

Violation of the Jewish synagogues was punishable. For example, Justinian retained a previously-issued law which protected the inviolability of the synagogue.<sup>10</sup> The Jews could adhere to and practice their faith. It was forbidden to molest them on the Sabbath, to violate their ceremonies, or to compel them to appear in court on the Sabbath day.<sup>11</sup> When legislation prohibited them from serving in public offices and the army, it was not because there was discrimination exclusively against them. This legislation was directed against all religious minorities for security purposes. In fact, when compared to other creeds, Judaism was in a much more privileged position.

It is interesting to note that the Greeks were, in theory at least, more severe against Christian heretics and schismatics whom they considered apostates than against followers of non-Christian creeds. Sometimes, when persecution occurred, it was the result of Jewish activity against either the state or the church. For example, the persecution of 634 was caused because of the cooperation that the Jews had given to the Persians who, upon the capture of Jerusalem in 614, had put to death some

<sup>8</sup>Andrew Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry* (New York, 1971), p. 124.

<sup>9</sup>Justinian, Codes, Bk. I, 10, *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Ed., P. Krueger, Berlin, 1929), I, p. 62; cf. Codex I. 9, *ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>10</sup>Justinian, Codex I.9, p. 61.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

60,000-90,000 Christians. The state came to distrust them because of this. Many Jews had participated in the assassinations of Christians.<sup>12</sup> Several years earlier the Jews of Naples supported the Ostrogoths when Belisarios laid siege to the city (536) when the Byzantine armies took Naples by storm; they met stubborn resistance from Jewish soldiers who guarded one section of the wall. This Jewish resistance affected Justinian's policy toward religious dissidents.

But these are two of many illustrations which tell us that the Jews themselves, either because of their own political agitation or for other reasons, caused anti-Semitic feelings and brought persecution upon themselves. George Ostrogorsky explains the anti-Semitic policies of Leo III, in the eighth century, on the basis of Judaism's role at the time. He writes: "The persecution of the Jews under Leo III, one of the relatively rare persecutions in Byzantine history, should be regarded rather as evidence of an increase in Jewish influence at the time."<sup>13</sup>

Likewise, the anti-Semitism of Alexios Comnenos was provoked by Jews. Alexios ordered drastic measures against the Jews at Cherson, because one or many Jews there had crucified a slave, the monk Eustratios, as well as the local eparch, a convert from Judaism, and because the Jews had violated state and church legislation and possessed Christian slaves.<sup>14</sup>

Gregoire's views of "absolute toleration" may not be accepted at their face value, for we know that there was sporadic persecution and anti-Semitic legislation and action. There were other reasons which contributed to anti-Semitism. We all know that the early church was Jewish but soon the church encountered two major adversaries, the Jewish synagogue and the Greek temple. From as early as the Apostolic Age the synagogue was condemned by Christian writers. In fact, the condemnation of Judaism by the Early and the Medieval Church was based upon Old Testament prophesy and interpretation. Church fathers and Christian apologists found the Old Testament prophetic denunciations of the Jewish nation which had paid heed to mere externalism in religion, limiting itself to the observance of feast, ceremonies, and externals.<sup>15</sup> The exclusiveness of the Jews was also viewed as misanthropic and antisocial or as hostile to non-Jews.

To be sure, there was anti-Semitism in the writings of church fathers, as in John Chrysostom and Photios, and there were anti-Semitic canons. But we must remember that canon law had not singled out the Jews; it was directed against Jews and "Hellenes" (Greek pagans) and against heretics and schismatics. For example, the fourteenth canon of the Synod of Chalcedon forbade mixed marriages between pagans or Hellenes and

<sup>12</sup>Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. by G. de Boor, I, p. 301.

<sup>13</sup>George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, 1970), p. 161.

<sup>14</sup>Starr, *Jews*, p. 9.

<sup>15</sup>Mt. 27:25.



Christians unless there was a concrete promise that the non-Christian would be baptized.<sup>16</sup>

The eighth canon of the Seventh Ecumenial Synod indicates that there were half-hearted Jewish converts to Christianity (perhaps as a result of Leo III's coercive legislation). The canon was not issued to discriminate against the Jews but against the hypocrisy of some people. They had to be either Christians or Hebrews.<sup>17</sup>

The eleventh canon of the *Penthekte* or the Synod in Trullo is severe indeed against Jews of the medical profession. But it remained a dead letter, for we know that Jewish physicians practiced their profession without difficulty. There is no evidence that laity were excommunicated or that clergy were defrocked because they bathed or associated with Jews. The canons reveal what was actually practiced and the desire of the church to put an end to what seemed to church fathers unlawful practices. But the Greek East has not known the concept of *auctoritas*. Canons were frequently violated, and there is ample evidence corroborating the opinion that canon law was one of the least popular disciplines in the life of the Orthodox Church. As a rule, the Jews had adapted themselves in the Empire which they considered their home and their country. They lived a normal life participating in the politics, the prosperity, and the revolts of the population. The persecution which they suffered was rather sporadic, and with few exceptions they enjoyed undisturbed toleration, at least until the Fourth Crusade which initiated a period of vicissitudes for Greeks and Jews alike. Even Joshua Starr admits that ninety percent of the period from 641 to 1204 was free from general and serious persecution.

But even the persecutions of Heraclios, Leo III, and Basil I were not directed only against the Jews. They treated other dissident groups, such as the Manichaeans, Samaritans, Paulicians, Athiganoi, etc., with an equal if not greater degree of harshness.<sup>18</sup> But as a whole all minorities enjoyed a great degree of toleration and even prosperity. For example, the Jewish Karaite had founded several prosperous and intellectually creative centers in the Greek Orthodox state of Byzantium. While they prospered there, they never succeeded in establishing any centers under Western Christendom. Even though "the unparalleled growth of Karaism" in tenth-century Byzantium may be attributed to external forces as Professor Ankori indicates, we should observe that the growth and the prosperity of a minority in any given state requires favorable internal conditions and propitious circumstances for growth and diffusion.<sup>19</sup> Tolerance and acceptance on the part of the state and the citizens are basic elements for the development of a minority.

<sup>16</sup>A. H. Alivizatos, *Hoi Hieroi Kanones* (Athens, 1950), p. 54.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup>Starr, *Jews*, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup>Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium* (New York, 1959), p. 85.

Furthermore, the very fact that in the early years of the eleventh century there was an influx of Jews from Moslem Egypt because of the persecution there under the Caliph al-Hakim (and another "enthusiastic influx" of Jews in the twelfth century) indicates that the Greek Empire enjoyed a reputation for stability, tolerance, and opportunity.<sup>20</sup> It was not the first time that the Empire had served as a haven for dissidents and religious minorities.

It is true that Benjamin of Tudela, who visited several Greek cities in 1168, writes that in his travels he found hatred against the Jews. Even though hatred and violence hardly require justification, the change of the Greek attitude toward the Jew in the twelfth century and later has been attributed to the changes and the influences of the Crusaders upon Greek tolerance. The Greeks were forced to hate everything foreign, an attitude which resulted in the persecution of 1182 against all foreigners, including the Jews.<sup>21</sup>

But official persecutions or decrees against non-Christians of Leo VI or Romanos Lecaperos had little effect on the everyday affairs between Jews and Greeks whose relations were peaceful, if not friendly.<sup>22</sup>

There were many Jewish communities in the Medieval Greek Empire, in cities such as Constantinople, Nicea, Abydos, Amorium, Ephesos, Synnada, Chonae, Seleucia, Thessalonike, Kastoria, Thebes, Corinth, Sparta, in Greek Italy (Siponto, Bari, Oria, Ottranto, Rossano, Tarento, and Venosa), in smaller towns, and in islands, such as Patras, Naupaktos, Kerkyra, Chios, and Samos.

The total Jewish population in the Empire's historical heights (early eleventh century), diffused in some 1,000 communities, has been estimated by the late Professor A. Andreades to have been 15,000 to 20,000. His study is based on the account of Benjamin of Tudela and other medieval travelers.<sup>23</sup> Others, including Professor Ankori, have raised the number to somewhere between 45,000 and 85,000 people.

Apart from theoretical anti-Semitism of church canons or legislation, there were no mob action, systematic persecution, confiscations, or massive deportation. The anti-Semitic canons and decrees must be seen from a religious viewpoint. Both the church and the emperor, as vice-regent of God on earth, were concerned with the salvation of their subjects' souls. Thus when they acted against religious minorities they claimed to act in the name of love and concern for their subjects' salvation.

On the popular level, the people often refused to abide by the legislation of either the church or the imperial court. For example, the church had forbidden the faithful to visit Jewish physicians, but the canon went un-

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 167; cf. note 307a.

<sup>21</sup>Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 157.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>23</sup>Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi," p. 27.

heeded. There were even emperors or members of the imperial family who were attended by Jewish physicians, such as the Emperor Justin II.<sup>24</sup> When the famous missionary Nikon the Repentant in the tenth century asked for the expulsion of the Jews from Sparta as a condition for his visit there, the Spartans refused to accept Nikon's terms. We learn that there was real sympathy and friendliness between Spartans and Jews in Laconia.<sup>25</sup>

There were emperors who reversed the anti-Semitic policies of their predecessors. Constantine V had been accused as "*joudaiophron*," and Michael II (Travlos) as a friend of the Jews because he was favorably disposed toward the Jews and was tolerant of all heresies (Athinganoi, the Sabbatians, and others).<sup>26</sup> Later in the thirteenth century, Michael Paleologos became a friend of the Semites while his son Andronikos II forbade any distinction to be made between Christians and Jews. He ordered, for example, that the Jews of Yannina be as free and undisturbed as the rest of the inhabitants.<sup>27</sup>

That the Jews enjoyed freedom in the Byzantine Empire was testified to by non-Greek writers. Thus, Elisa of Nisibis was greatly amazed at the freedom the Jews enjoyed in the Empire. He writes: "The Romans (Greeks) tolerate many Jews living in their lands, protect them, allow them to officially conduct their religious ceremonies and to build synagogues. In this state the Jews can freely state: 'I am a Jew.' Each one of them is free to follow his religion and to pray even in the public without any fear of any obstacle in his way."<sup>28</sup>

The Jews differed only in religion from the rest of the people, for they had been totally Hellenized. Many had adopted Greek names, including names of Greek antiquity such as Herakles. Krauss writes: "Nowhere in Europe, including Spain and Italy, did the Jews feel so much at home with the native language and civilization as they did in Byzantium. No other land has left so many deep impressions upon the language, the poetry, the liturgy of the Rabbinical literature as Medieval Constantinople did."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Vita S. Symeon Stylites, 208, Ed. Paul van den Ven, *La Vie Ancienne de S. Symeon Stylite le Jeune* (Brussels, 1962), I, p. 179.

<sup>25</sup>N. Bees, "Hoi Hevraioi tes Lakedaimonos kai tou Mystra," *Noumas*, 3 (1905): 166; Andreades, "Hoi Hevraioi," pp. 25-32.

<sup>26</sup>Theophanes, *Chronographia*, I, p. 404; Theophanes Continuatus, 48; Michael Syros, 72.

<sup>27</sup>S. Lampros, "Chrysovoullon Andronikou I Palaialogou hyper tes Ekklesias Ioanninon," *Neos Hellenomnemon*, 12 (1915): 38-40.

<sup>28</sup>Elisa of Nisibis, *Demonstration of the Truth of the Faith*, p. 42; cf. S. Liebermann, "The Martyrs of Caesarea," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 7 (1939-1944): 395-445, esp. 428.

<sup>29</sup>Krauss, *Studien*, p. 99.

*Conclusion*

It is a fact that there is anti-Semitism in the writings of certain church fathers and in liturgical books, and there were laws and canons discriminatory to the Jews. And, occasionally, Jews became scapegoats when the Christian population tried to explain an epidemic or a natural catastrophe. But much of patristic or liturgical anti-Semitism was rhetoric and neither church nor state ever emphasized what had been legislated by Heraclios, by the Council in Trullo, or by other emperors. The Jews were an integral part of the population and had identified themselves with the empire.<sup>30</sup> When decrees or canons were issued against religious minorities, including the Jews, they were issued in order to safeguard the security of the empire and to reinforce imperial authority by eliminating the dangers of religious dissent. Thus anti-Semitic decrees were seldom enforced and their application and consequences were extremely limited. When the Jews suffered because of occasional outbursts, usually they suffered "for their participation in some general movement against the authorities."<sup>31</sup>

As a rule, explosions of *misalodoxy* (hostility to foreign beliefs) were paroxysms rather than the normal behavior of the Greeks. Sometimes their intolerance was a retaliation, as was Heraclios's policy against the Jews who cooperated with the Persians or with the Arabs in the eighth century. For obvious reasons, the Jews at home were distrusted and suffered the general consequences. It is interesting to note that there were some parallels between the policies of Antiochos IV, Heraclios, Leo III, and Basil I. The policy of Hellenization or forced baptism which they had adopted was a means to make their subject population more homogeneous and more actively loyal.<sup>32</sup>

Contact between Jew and Greek Orthodox was close if not necessarily friendly; business with Jews was normal, if not welcomed. The Jews were not isolated from the issues which concerned the interests of the state or even the church, and they enjoyed the same freedom of movement that all citizens enjoyed within the empire. A Jew in any Greek city could say without any fear, "I am a Jew."<sup>33</sup> The Jews fared much better in the Greek Christian East than in Western Europe and enjoyed better conditions there.

The tolerant policies of the Medieval Greek state were continued by the modern Greek nation. The Greek constitution guarantees the personal as well as the collective rights of Greek Jewry. It is beyond our present scope to demonstrate the concern of the Greek Orthodox for the survival of the

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<sup>30</sup>Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 74.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 44-45, 48, 53-56.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. M. Cary, *History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.* (London, 1959), pp. 227-228.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, pp. 117-118.

Jews in the 1940's who were persecuted by "civilized neo-barbarians" of Western Europe.<sup>34</sup>

In the spirit of these broad and tolerant Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations, I conclude that the past belongs to the past and cannot be brought back to correct its evils and its faults. But we must look forward because both Greeks and Jews are heirs of eternal values and a heritage which can enrich modern humankind. If modern Greeks and Jews cannot love each other from the heart (*extenos*), as a Christian Jew wrote in the first century of our era (1 Pet. 1:22), they should "tolerate each other in love," as a distinguished Hellenized Jew wrote in the first century to the congregation of the Greek city of Ephesos in Asia Minor (Eph. 4:2). A genuine and searching understanding between Greek Orthodox and Jewish theologians can set the pace for other Christian and non-Christian theological discussions. Nothing is more important in modern history than a sincere and thoughtful dialogue.

#### Study and Discussion Questions

1. What is the thesis of the article?
2. How has the perspective on the history of Greek-Jewish relations changed in recent years, and what accounts for this change?
3. What was the context of the Greek-Jewish relationship?
4. What was the significance of the multi-racial, multi-sectarian nature of the Greek empire?
5. What was the nature of the persecution that did exist?
6. What did periods of persecution show about the Jewish minority?
7. The author claims that sometimes persecutions were brought upon the Jews by their own activities; explain and evaluate this assertion.
8. What was the distinction between official ecclesiastical proclamations and the daily living reality of the attitude toward Jews?
9. What is the ecumenical significance of this study on Greek-Jewish relations? Can parallels be delineated in the relations between other disparate religious traditions?

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<sup>34</sup>Jeanne Tsatsos, *The Sword's Fierce Edge*, trans. by Jean Demos (Nashville, 1969), p. 56.

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## GREGORY II OF CYPRUS AND MARK'S REPORT AGAIN

In the second half of the thirteenth century the creative mainstream of Byzantine theology, too often viewed in terms of repetition, was neither languishing nor inarticulate. The constellation of humanists and theologians who crowd the closing decades of this century is in fact impressive. One of the most articulate—possibly the major Orthodox Byzantine theologian of the period—was Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289).

As the author of the dogmatic decisions embodied in the *Tomos* of the Council of Blachernae (1285), Gregory II repudiated the Union of Lyons and the theology of the unionist Patriarch John Bekkos. Although Orthodoxy had been restored in 1283 and Bekkos had been deposed, the Church had not yet given any doctrinal justification of its position on the Second Council of Lyons (1274), whose interpretation of the *Filioque* Bekkos had adopted. The synodal *Tomos* of 1285 was that justification, for it settled by a lawfully summoned synod and sealed by imperial decree (the Emperor Andronikos II was a signatory) the official Orthodox doctrine about the procession. Its significance needs no emphasis. It belongs supremely in the history and tradition of the Church.

Yet even so the Patriarch shortly afterwards became the storm-center of a theological controversy. This offensive launched by his enemies eventually cost the Patriarch his throne. The publication of a commentary on the *Tomos*, written by the monk Mark, the Patriarch's disciple and a member of his following, greatly aided the attack on Gregory. Mark was not much of a theologian and his commentary confused Gregory's fundamental distinctions and conceptual clarity. To be sure, the Patriarch disowned his disciple whose commentary the synod proceeded to condemn. The Patriarch then resigned, that is, once his orthodoxy had been publicly acknowledged.

In a recent article dealing with these theological tussles in Gregory's patriarchate, the present writer published a *Report* which in all probability was written by the monk Mark.<sup>1</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Aristeides Papadakis, "Gregory II of Cyprus and an unpublished report to the Synod," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 16, no. 2 (1975), 227-239.

was then pointed out that both Mark's ideas and his role in the controversy were not unknown, although his modest theological *oeuvre* in defense of the Patriarch's *Tomos* has not survived.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the above-mentioned text was shown to be Mark's and is in a sense his own personal defense, his own words, his only surviving work, gives the document added significance. Since it is directly connected with the circumstances and debates generated by the publication of Gregory's *Tomos* (these have yet to be exhaustively sifted or scrutinized), its importance needs no demonstration.<sup>3</sup>

More to the point, however, the text adds a new dimension to Mark's own personality since repeated, and closer, scrutiny reveals that Mark had made a *volte-face* and indeed rejected his previous theological attempts in defense of the *Tomos* (a fact hitherto not quite clear). In short, he turned against his teacher and patriarch, Gregory II, in order to save his own skin. This is the key to understanding the text.<sup>4</sup> In this document—an address to the bishops of the synod—he labors to shield himself and place the blame for his own confusion on the Patriarch's *Tomos*. He even quotes a passage from the *Tomos* to illustrate the origin and inspiration of his now lost commentary. It is this maneuver (it was only briefly touched on in our introduction to the text), to which I now return by way of a more detailed analysis and translation of Mark's *Report*.

The Patriarch's former disciple begins (par. 1-2) by explaining the content and purpose of his now lost commentary on the *Tomos* and how he came to write it. Its content, it seems, was an attempt to analyze a key passage of the *Tomos* in which the Patriarch had explained what the church fathers meant whenever they employed the phrase "procession through the Son."<sup>5</sup> Mark emphasizes that it was not alone a question of the meaning of "through the Son," however, but of the meaning of the word procession (*ἐκπόρευσις*); the latter he labelled "ambiguous"

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 231f.

<sup>3</sup> The author is presently engaged in analyzing these uses and debates of which Gregory II was a storm-center.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to professor Ihor Ševčenko of Harvard University for drawing my attention to the fact that in the first paragraph of his *Report* Mark quotes from the *Tomos* of Gregory (cf. n. 18 below); he offered to read the Greek text and made a number of valuable philological and paleographical suggestions. Any criticism, however, should be aimed at the author alone since he assumes full responsibility for both errors and omissions.

<sup>5</sup> *Tomos*, PG 142:241A.



(ὁμῶνυμος) since it seemed to him to be susceptible of double interpretation. Put briefly, Mark clearly thought the term procession could be used to signify not only the hypostatic character of the Holy Spirit (ἐκπόρευσις=πρόοδος) but its eternal manifestation as well (ἐκπόρευσις=ἐκφανσις).

Even so, the intention of all this was of course to elaborate on the *Tomos* and to agree with the patriarchal posture rather than to create some alien doctrinal novelty. The commentary was therefore brought to the Patriarch, who received it and permitted its showing to others. Mark ends his introduction by stating his concurrence with the synodal proscription of his commentary. The synod, in other words, requested not only the retraction of the commentary but “proof,” as the author says, of its rejection. The *Report* is this proof.

What the author of the *Report* has had to say thus far is not without interest. First, it serves to show how ill-equipped he was as a theologian, since the patristic term denoting the relation between the Holy Spirit and the Father was by way of his device of “homonymy” stripped of its original and indeed fundamental sense.<sup>6</sup> Secondly, it explains why it was so easy for the Patriarch’s adversaries to place the blame wholly on the Patriarch. For how could such a simple unseasoned theologian as Mark have tried to mislead others; obviously it was the artfully unscrupulous ruse of the Patriarch to promote his doctrine. Finally, a comparison of the passage Mark had seen fit to “seize upon” (to borrow the Patriarch’s phrase)<sup>7</sup> and his interpretation reveals that he had in fact inferred things which were not in the passage. For the Patriarch’s meaning is luminously clear: when the fathers speak of procession through the Son “the phrase through the Son here (ἐνταῦθα) denotes the eternal manifestation.” Briefly, it was not a question of the existence of the Holy Spirit itself but of the energies that it manifests. As the Patriarch states, it was solely a question of the meaning of the phrase “through the Son” and the rebuttal of Bekkos’ interpretation of this, not a redefinition of the traditional term “procession.”<sup>8</sup> In a letter to the Emperor Andronikos II the

<sup>6</sup> Patriarch Gregory describes the commentary as “the labor of an uncultured non-professional,” see his Ὁμολογία in PG 14:250A.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 250A.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 250A.

Patriarch asked to be placed under anathema if it could be shown that his intention was ever to write that the term procession was susceptible to double interpretation.<sup>9</sup> He added that not even a "shadow of resemblance" existed between Mark's commentary and his writings, published before or after the *Tomos*.<sup>10</sup> Significantly, Mark omits telling us if the Patriarch had actually made any corrections when the commentary was brought to him. The only person offering this information (clearly less informed than Mark and the Patriarch) is the historian Pachymeres.<sup>11</sup> The Patriarch also does not say that he had "improved" certain passages.<sup>12</sup>

Mark then proceeds (par. 3-4) to point out why his "homonymy," his equivocal definition of the term 'procession,' was in fact an error. That is to say, he follows the synodal decision and no doubt the objections raised by the Bishop of Ephesos John Chilas and others,<sup>13</sup> and explains why the adjective "ambiguous" cannot be assigned to the term "procession"; for the latter implies uniqueness and cannot thus be used ambiguously. Procession denotes the hypostasis or mode of existence of the Holy Spirit. If this were not so and it meant the eternal manifestation, then Macedonios, who denied the Spirit's mode of existence, would be resurrected. Gregory the Theologian, who argued for the distinction of the three hypostases in the one nature (against Macedonios), is then predictably quoted. A parenthesis is next added that if procession could be termed ambiguous so could generation; but of course this could not be since Son and Spirit are causalities (*αἰτιατά*), each possessing their own proper manner of divine existence.

Mark then concludes (par. 5) this elaboration of the traditional orthodox formula, that God in his substance is one of three hypostases, by quoting from Patriarch Tarasios' *Epistola ad Summos Sacerdotes* and Maximos the Confessor's *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*. Both of these quotations contain the phrase "through the Son."

<sup>9</sup> Πιπτάκιον in PG 142 268C

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 268D, the exact same phrase is again used by the Patriarch in his *Ὁμολογία*, ibid., 250D (οὐδ' ἂν σκιάν εὐρήσει τις ὁμοιότητος)

<sup>11</sup> George Pachymeres, *De Andronico Palaeologo*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 (Bonn 1835), 118.

<sup>12</sup> As is believed by V. Laurent, *Les registres des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I *Les actes des Patriarches*, fasc. 4 *Les registres de 1208 à 1309* (Paris 1971), no. 1514 (esp. p. 309).

<sup>13</sup> See Papadakis, (above n. 1) 232.

The choice of quotations is deliberate, to be sure, for in the next paragraph (6) Mark turns to Patriarch Gregory and asks him whether these two fathers in using the disputed phrase were referring to the hypostasis or the manifesting emanation. Here Mark completely ignores the distinctions introduced by the Patriarch and proceeds to argue that "if what proceeds is the manifesting emanation and brightness *through* the Son, it is also *from* the Son. It follows that in your view procession through the Son is procession from the Son—which is where Bekkos' evil and falsehood finds its strength." None of the fathers ever said that "through the Son" denotes the eternal manifestation. Therefore such "useless explanations" should be abandoned since they end not by refuting but by confirming Bekkian belief.

The author then concludes by affirming his own "true refutation of Bekkos' falsehood." This paragraph (7) is addressed to Bekkos. He argues that since no one of the fathers said procession "through" also meant procession "from" his explanation is a vain deception. Equally deceiving is the notion that "through" is equivalent to the phrase "the Father through the Son is Projector (προβολεύς) of the Holy Spirit."<sup>14</sup> For this would make the Father (Projector) and the Son into two causes. The meaning of the phrase "through the Son," and here Mark is answering both Gregory and Bekkos, is that the two, Son and Spirit (Caused) proceed in unity and equality from the Father (Cause).

It is of significance that Mark tries to link Gregory with Bekkos. For it shows clearly that Gregory was in fact addressing himself to the issue and was attempting to enter into genuine dialogue with Latin theology, to go beyond the impasse occasioned by the long-drawn-out controversy of the *filioque*. Admittedly he had the Council of 1285 solemnly disown the *filioque*, yet even so he saw the need to explore the unionist platform and take up Bekkos' challenge. For in 1285 Bekkos

<sup>14</sup> A reference to a phrase by John of Damascus, PG 94:848D, in which he used the term *προβολεύς*; its meaning was the subject of a great deal of discussion between Bekkos and Gregory at the Council of Blachernae, 1285. For Gregory's interpretation see the *Tomos*, PG 142:240A-B. According to Pachym. 2.31; "The *ne plus ultra* of his [Bekkos] daring was to discover that the theologically profound [John] of Damascus, in the thirteenth of his theological chapters said, '[the Father] is the projector through the Word of the illuminating Spirit' and to take the word 'projector' to mean 'cause' to the exclusion of any other possible interpretation."

had in fact issued a challenge to Gregory and the entire assembly—once they had refused to accept his interpretation of the disputed phrase “through the Son”—and proposed to renounce his theological stand were the synod to reject in its turn all those patristic affirmations of procession “through the Son.”<sup>15</sup> Gregory took up the challenge in his *Tomos*—not, however, by renouncing the authentic and orthodox formula of the fathers but by exploring and developing its meaning.

Briefly then, Mark not only rejected his initial position but ended, when cowed by the opposition to Gregory II, by denying the validity of the Patriarch's own formulations, whose foundations lay deep in patristic soil. To say as Gregory did that the Holy Spirit takes its subsistence, its being as divine person in proceeding from the Father, but yet is manifested by and with the Son for it is the Spirit of the Son, was patently suspect. Mark's “antirrhetic” against Gregory, or Bekkos for that matter, is little more than a reversion to the traditional position on the question of the procession. For any deviation from the patristic pronouncements was not to be trusted. It is, to put it bluntly, a theological rigorism, a deliberate rejection and disregard of that patristic phrase “through the Son” which Gregory had so impressively explored in the *Tomos*.

Mark thus is representative of that same mentality, that same school that opposed the redirection of Byzantine theology. With his defection he joined the company of such kindred spirits as John Chilas, Moschabar, but also of Akindynos and Gregoras, the later adversaries of another “innovator” Palamas. For it is well enough known that the Cypriot did in fact prepare the way for the formulations of Palamas. The claim has of course been made that it was Gregory's narrow, ungenerous personality and particularly his theology that brought about his fall; that it was concerned with theology, not personalities.<sup>16</sup> On the contrary. It was the politics of the opposition and their manipulation of Mark to further their cause that forced Gregory to relinquish his throne. Mark's ill-timed commentary served them well.

<sup>15</sup> Pachym. 2.100-01.

<sup>16</sup> Most recently by F. Gill, “Notes on the De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis of George Pachymeres,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 68(1975), 296 (“... the ‘tomos’ in the end brought about the downfall of its author, who had to abdicate.”); D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453* (London, 1972), 104.

The following additions to the apparatus of the already edited Greek text of the *Report*<sup>17</sup> are being suggested toward its greater clarification and understanding. The translation that follows is based on the revised text.

- paragraph 1, line 4 λέγει cod: read λέγει <ν>
- paragraph 1, line 6 ὑπεν[ ]: read ὑπενόουν
- paragraph 1, line 8 εἰς cod: read εἰ
- paragraph 1, line 13 σημαίνει: read {σημαίνει}
- paragraph 1, line 16 τὸ cod: read τοῦ
- paragraph 2, line 3 πρὸς: read {πρὸς}
- paragraph 2, line 11 βούλεσθαι cod: read βούλεσθε
- paragraph 3, line 2 ὥς: read καὶ with the cod.
- paragraph 3, line 6, τότε cod: read τῷ τε
- paragraph 4, line 17 ἡ cod: read εἰ
- paragraph 5, line 2 παρὰ πάντων: read παραπαίων with the cod.
- paragraph 6, line 7 ἡμᾶς cod: read ὑμᾶς
- paragraph 6, line 9 τοῖς: read γὰρ with the cod.
- paragraph 5, line 13 σημαίνει cod: read σημαίνει <ν>
- paragraph 7, line 6 ὅλ[ ]σε: read ὅλως [ἔφη]σε
- paragraph 7, line 14 τὸ: read τῷ

### Mark's Report to the Synod

1. Your Lordships: on reading a certain passage of the Patriarch's *Tomos*, it seemed to me that he had made a distinction in the term procession (ἐκπορεύεσθαι) between the eternal manifestation (ἐκφανσις αἰδώς) and the procession (πρόδος) pure and simple of the Holy Spirit as it emerges into being. And I understood him to say that in some of the writings of the saints its eternal manifestation through the Son is indicated by the word "procession" while the procession pure and simple is not so indicated.<sup>18</sup> Because I assumed a double meaning here in the

<sup>17</sup> *Report*, in Papadakis, (above n. 1) 236-39.

<sup>18</sup> *Tomos*, PG 142:241A, "If in fact it is also said by some of the saints that the Spirit proceeds 'through the Son,' what is meant here is the eternal manifestation of the Spirit by the Son, not the procession of the Spirit pure and simple, which has its existence from the Father." (εἰ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τοῦ Τιοῦ παρά τισι τῶν ἀγίων ἐκπορεύεσθαι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἴρηται, τὴν εἰς αἰδῶν ἐκφανσιν ἢ δι' Τιοῦ λέξεις ἐνταῦθα, οὐ τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι καθαρῶς σημαίνεω βούλεται πρόδον τοῦ ἐκ Πατρὸς τὴν ὑπαρξῶ ἔχοντος Πνεύματος . . .).

word "procession" I called the term "ambiguous" (*ἄμωνυμον*), as my own commentary indicates. And if he said, as he is now saying, that the phrase "through the Son" denotes the eternal manifestation apart from the term "procession," why did he add the word "here"? For where else does the phrase "through the Son" alone and without the term "procession" denote the existence of the Holy Spirit, so that one can say that even if in others the phrase "through the Son" denotes the existence of the Holy Spirit "here" nevertheless it denotes what he called the manifestation.<sup>19</sup> His concern was not (I repeat not) with the phrase "through the Son" alone, but with the term "procession," which he said means "here" the eternal manifestation through the Son, the word "here" indicating that elsewhere the word "procession" denotes a process by which the Holy Spirit emerges into being even though "here" it denotes the eternal manifestation. For otherwise what is the meaning of the term "here," put in the middle?

2. Having understood thus the meaning of this phrase, I wrote as on pious foundation my previously read commentary; and I accepted, or so I thought, the [*Tomos*] of the Patriarch and his celebrated literary style as an indisputable witness that I had not strayed from the correct path. Nor was my previously written commentary composed as some kind of novelty nor as an attempt to lead people astray to an alien doctrine (God forbid!), but as an attempt supposedly at agreement with the patriarchal *Tomos*. For this reason I brought the commentary to the Patriarch, who deigned to receive it, and thus by his permission it was eventually shown to some others. But since the divine and holy Synod has proscribed the commentary, I am first to reject it with all my heart and will give such proof of my rejection as you wish it to have.

3. If the procession of the all-Holy Spirit is susceptible to double interpretation (*ἄμωνυμος*) [then] this does not mean its [hypostatic] characteristic and its mode of existence; but if the procession is the [hypostatic] characteristic and mode of existence of the all-Holy Spirit, which it is in fact, then its procession is not ambiguous at all. For a characteristic always and uniquely belongs to that thing of which it is a characteristic,

<sup>19</sup> The text here is not clear; the translation is based on the deletion of *σημαίνει*.

whereas the term “ambiguous” is the general name of many and different things both by definition and general description; thus the two are mismatched and incompatible. For the characteristic of something is not ambiguous while that which is ambiguous in nature is not a characteristic at all.

4. Who of the holy fathers ever said anywhere that the procession of the all-Holy Spirit denotes wholly the manifesting emanation, the shining forth, and energy, and not the hypostasis and mode of existence of the all-Holy Spirit? If this is so, then Macedonios is again free to speak and deny the all-Holy Spirit’s mode of existence; to whom Gregory the Theologian said, “Tell me, what position will you assign to that which proceeds, which has appeared between the two terms of your division, and is introduced by a better theologian than you, our Saviour himself? Or perhaps you have taken that word out of your gospels according to your third Testament, ‘the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father;’<sup>20</sup> which, inasmuch as it proceeds from that source, is no creature; and inasmuch as it is not generated is no Son; and inasmuch as it is between the unbegotten and the begotten is God. And thus escaping the dangers of your syllogisms, it has manifested itself as God, stronger than your divisions.”<sup>21</sup> And again, “The very fact of being unbegotten, and begotten, and proceeding, has given the name of Father to the first, of the Son to the second, and to the third of which we are speaking, of the Holy Spirit, that the distinction of the three hypostases may be preserved in the one nature and dignity of the godhead.”<sup>22</sup> For if the procession of the all-Holy Spirit is ambiguous, and it is identical in meaning to the Son’s generation, surely the latter, too, would have an ambiguous meaning and hence Arius would be revived. If on the other hand the Son’s generation is not ambiguous in meaning neither is the procession of the all-Holy Spirit; for causalities—as a result of their initial and natural cause—are identical each according to its own hypostatic characteristic and mode of existence, the Son by generation, the Holy Spirit by procession.

5. Who among Orthodox Christians (let alone those who have

<sup>20</sup> John 15.26.

<sup>21</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto* (Oratio 5), ed. A.J. Mason, *The Five Theological Orations of Gregory Nazianzos* (Cambridge 1899), 154-55 (PG 36:141A-B).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 156 (PG 36:141D-44A).

been bred on ecclesiastical and divine doctrine—have uttered the insane notion that the generation of the Son and the procession of the all-Holy Spirit is not from the Father or that the Son and the Holy Spirit do not proceed or are generated together? The holy Tarasios, theologizing boldly, confesses thus at the great and holy Seventh Council, “I believe in one God, the Father almighty, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God and our God, begotten of his Father timelessly and eternally; and in the Holy Spirit, the lord and giver of life, who proceeds from the Father through the Son, which, too, is and is acknowledged God; Trinity consubstantial equal in honor, co-equal, eternal, uncreated, creator of all things created, one principle, one godhead and dominion, one kingdom and power and authority in three hypostases, divided indivisibly and conjoined dividedly; ‘not as from three imperfect [principles] one perfect, but as from three perfect [principles] one supremely perfect and beyond perfection,’ as the great Dionysios said.”<sup>23</sup> So that from the point of view of the persons’ [hypostatic] characteristic there are three who are worshipped, while from the point of view of the common essence it is one God.”<sup>24</sup> The holy Maximos exclaims, “Just as the Holy Spirit in its essence subsists naturally of God the Father, so in its essence it is naturally of the Son, for in terms of essence it proceeds ineffably from the Father through the begotten Son.”<sup>25</sup>

6. What do you [Gregory] say? Do the holy fathers here [i.e. in the passages just quoted] confess the hypostasis of the all-Holy Spirit when they say that the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son, or do they denote the Spirit’s manifesting emanation, brightness and energy? Speak on this in the name of truth itself and don’t hide the truth! For if what proceeds is the manifesting emanation and brightness *through* the Son, it is also *from* the Son. It follows that in your view procession *through* the Son is procession *from* the Son—which is where Bekkos’ evil and falsehood finds its strength. For he obstinately affirms that what proceeds “through the Son” is the equivalent

<sup>23</sup> *Locus incognitus* but cf. *De Divinis Nominibus* 2 10 ἀτελής δὲ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ὡς ὑπερτελής καὶ προτέλειος, in S. Lilla “Il testo tachimigrafico del ‘De Divinis Nominibus,’” *Studi e Testi* 263 (1970), 65 (PG 3 648C).

<sup>24</sup> Tarasios, *Epistola ad Summos Sacerdotes*, in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 12 (Florence 1756), 1122 (PG 98 1461C-D).

<sup>25</sup> Maximos Confessor, *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, PG 90 672C.



of proceeding "from the Son" bringing the discussion to a question of existence. Clearly, he accepts procession from the Son and your statement strongly confirms what we wish to abolish. Who among the holy fathers known from their piety ever said anywhere that the procession of the Holy Spirit "through the Son" does not denote the personal procession of the all-Holy Spirit as it emerges into being but its manifesting brightness and energy? If one of the holy fathers said this, show or prove it and we will accept it. If on the other hand none of the holy fathers said this anywhere, then you should abandon such useless explanations. For nowise does it contradict Bekkos' most abominable profession; on the contrary, it confirms it.

7. As for a true refutation of Bekkos, it is this: if those who contend that the Holy Spirit proceeds "through" the Son or any one else among the holy fathers had said that it also proceeds "from" the Son, then perhaps you would be justified in saying and professing that "through the Son" is equivalent to "from the Son." But since absolutely no one of the holy fathers said this, you vainly deceive yourself saying "the phrase, 'the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son' is the equivalent of 'from the Son.'" Also those who say that "the Father through the Son is Projector of the Holy Spirit" is equivalent to the phrase "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" should know that this is not true. For the phrase "the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son" plainly denoted the unity (conjoining) and equality of the Son and the Holy Spirit, the two causalities. But if someone said the Father's being Projector of the Holy Spirit through the Son is equivalent to procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father through the Son, he would clearly teach that the unity and equality of the Son and Projector amounts to two causes. For if "through the Son" is added to the causality, that is, the Holy Spirit, it clearly represents the unity and equality of the two causalities;<sup>25</sup> if, however, it is added to the cause, that is, the Projector, it teaches clearly the unity and equality of the Son and the Projector as being two causes which would be absurd. For the phrase "the Holy Spirit proceeds through the Son" denotes that it proceeds in unity and in equality with the Son. The phrase "the Father through the Son is the Projector . . ."

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Athanasios, *Quaestiones Aliae*, PG 28:784C λοιπόν γίνωσκε, ὅτι ὁ Πατήρ μόνος ἐστὶν αἴτιος· ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν αἴτιος, ἀλλ' αἰτιατός· ὥστε μὲν αἴτιός ἐστι μόνος ὁ Πατήρ· τὰ δὲ αἰτιατὰ δύο, ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα.

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Ἡ εἴσοδος εἰς τόν Κληῆρον κατὰ τοὺς πέντε πρώτους αἰῶνας.  
By Elias J. Patsavos, Athens: 1973. Pp. 270.

The aim of Prof. Patsavos' work is to present the 'ideal' prototypes for the priesthood. He tries to find these prototypes in early patristic literature, in the writings of Clement of Rome, St. Ignatios of Antioch, St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and great men like Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasios the Great, and the Cappadocians.

He also examines the anonymous collection of canons, or canonical material of the early Christian centuries, such as the *Didaskalia of the Apostles*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, etc. He finds plenty of material in the local and Ecumenical Councils and finally discusses all the problems associated with entering the priesthood, including the problem of marriage before and after ordination, education, moral standing, approval and consent of the people, and the physical wholesomeness of candidates for the priesthood. The age of the candidate is discussed properly too. It is interesting to note that the author of the *Didaskalia* does not consider youthfulness an impediment for ordination. The candidate should be quite without any trace of injustice, malice, or wickedness. Prof. Patsavos writes that during the period of the first five centuries, there is not a definite decision concerning the age of candidates for the priesthood. Only in the Council of Neocaesarea (A.D. 315) is it decided that the presbyter should be thirty years old upon his ordination (canon 11). This probably is because the Lord began his public ministry at the age of thirty. Maturity is a prerequisite for the offices of presbyter and bishop. The Church always paid special attention to the faith of the candidates, to their spiritual integrity, and to their education—education comprised not of secular knowledge, but of the sacred knowledge of the Scriptures, liturgical acts and ceremonies, and the Holy Tradition of the Church. High moral standards are required and an upstanding character was indispensable for entering the priesthood.

Dr. Patsavos' book is written carefully and covers all of the aspects concerning the presuppositions for the making of a

good clergyman. The clergyman should know how to preach, how to console the bereaved, how to comfort the sick, how to perform the sacraments, how to love both the wicked people and the good, how to become everything for everyone. Love for God and love for the sinners are important virtues with which a clergyman should endow himself. Also important is his absolute surrender to the will of God. As St. Basil writes, the clergyman should prefer nothing else and none but God. In humility and purity of heart, body, and mind, the clergyman should be an example to his people.

The style of the book is smooth and the author leaves no doubt that he has thoroughly studied all of the existing sources. Careful, exact, and systematic, the author has provided a useful book which should be read by every candidate for the priesthood.

An English translation of the book will be most beneficial not only to the Orthodox candidates, but also to the non-Orthodox. We recommend such a translation.

George S. Bebis  
*Holy Cross Greek Orthodox  
School of Theology*

### BOOK NOTES

*Confessions in Dialogue. A Survey of Bilateral Conversations Among World Confessional Families, 1959-1974.* Third, revised and enlarged edition. Geneva: The World Council of Churches. 1975. Pp. 266.

The present edition of this work is a historic and systematic-theological survey of bilateral conversations among World Confessional Families (1959-1974). In the present edition there are 100 additional pages and various changes in the material, the table of contents, the ideas, and the language used.

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## **HISTORICAL AND ESCHATOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE NEW TESTAMENT**

### **I. Introduction**

Some comments on two issues, one hermeneutical and the other methodological, are necessary before dealing with our topic.

The first issue concerns the place of Scripture in the Orthodox Church. According to Orthodox theology, the life of the Church is the center of all theological considerations. Neither the Holy Bible, nor Sacred Tradition,<sup>1</sup> may be isolated. The one should not arbitrarily be viewed as having a higher authority or a greater value than the other. It is true that Holy Scripture has received an explicit authority as a Canon. It is also true that the Bible has played a key role in the theology of the Fathers. In addition, Holy Scripture has occupied a prominent place in the liturgical tradition of the Church as symbolized by the placement of the Gospel Book on the Holy Altar. On the other hand, Sacred Tradition has always played a hermeneutical function in the use of Scripture in the life of the Church. By its very nature Scripture needs interpretation. Without interpretive use in the Church, the Bible would remain a collection of historical documents. The canonization of Scripture itself is an ecclesiological development and part of Tradition. Thus, Scripture and Tradition belong together. Both are derived from the one and same source, which is the life of the Church guided by the Holy Spirit. Of course, this same life of the Church, both past and present, is the source from which Orthodox theology also draws its rich material and decisive criteria in the service of the Church.

Yet there is more to be said. The above statements could suggest that all is therefore well and that no problems exist, or if they do exist they are mostly false problems. Not infrequently one reads a theological article or a theological book

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1. By Tradition is here generally designated the whole life of the Church outside of the canonical Scriptures and not the primary elements of that life.

and is afterwards tempted to ask: "What does it matter?" "What or where is the problem?" With respect to the hermeneutical inter-relationship of Scripture and Tradition it is one thing to affirm that Scripture and Tradition are of equal authority according to Orthodox theology and quite another to raise the question of whether in fact the massive impact of Tradition has minimized the authentic witness of the Scriptures, both the Old and New Testaments, in the actual life of the Church.<sup>2</sup> It is one thing to say that Tradition has always played a hermeneutical function with respect to the use of Scripture in the Church and quite another to inquire into the nature of this function in view of the fact that Tradition, too, needs interpretation. We cannot, of course, enter into these questions here.<sup>3</sup> Suffice it to say that both Scripture and Tradition are as such precious records of the Church's past. The crucial hermeneutical role is played by the ongoing consciousness of the Church. At any point in history, it is the ongoing life of the Church—bishops, clergy, thinkers, other leaders, and all of the faithful working together—which appropriates both the biblical and historical past, celebrates, proclaims, and in many other ways uses it for the nourishment and growth of the Church. It is also in this process that modification and changes occur and new elements are added to the life of the Church in various ways and forms through liturgical practice, Church order, administration, customs, teaching, theological language and methodology.<sup>4</sup> An important task of Orthodox theology is to reflect upon this complex and

2. I think that this is the case. The fullness of the witness of Scripture is not wholly taken into account by Orthodox theology and the life of the Church today. The use of Scripture is extensive in the liturgical tradition of the Church, but the average Orthodox Christian is hardly exposed to the complete cycle of services. Even in preaching, which often starts with a biblical passage, one finds that the preacher soon moves to other subjects and the full message of the Scripture is not proclaimed. Both the impact of Tradition and also a kind of lingering idea that only Protestants deal directly with Scripture are probably responsible for this state of affairs.

3. Some of the problems related to the hermeneutical issue were raised and discussed in the First International Conference of Orthodox Theologians in America during September 7-11, 1970, in Brookline, Massachusetts, U.S.A. See the papers on "Biblical Studies in Orthodox Theology" by Savvas Agourides, Veselin Kesich and Theodore Stylianopoulos, *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 17 (1972), 51-85.

4. For example, in biblical interpretation allegory was dominant in the early centuries of the Church. Later great Fathers such as John Chrysostom insisted on a closer faithfulness to the first meaning of the text. Today biblical study is chal-

dynamic process, to clarify issues and options, and to suggest directions which should be followed for the upbuilding of the Church.

It is in this perspective that the present paper attempts to make some suggestions about the life of the Church from the standpoint of the New Testament. Our topic necessarily leads to a concentration on the New Testament, but it should not also lead to the erroneous inference that the study of the life of the Church in the New Testament deserves any more, or less, for that matter, attention than that of the life of the Church in Tradition. Both Scripture and Tradition have their own riches to offer to the ongoing Church. The one set of riches should not be played against the other. Yet it is not unjustified for a biblical student today to urge that Scripture should be given not more but as much attention as Tradition. For the life of the Church this would mean greater utilization of Scripture in meditative reading, in the life of prayer, in preaching and in instruction. For theology it would mean a deeper look at Scripture, relating Scripture to all of theology, and reflecting on how, why, and by what means the message of Scripture can and should be a vital source of spiritual sustenance for the life of the Church.<sup>5</sup> Such a task would be worthy of the great Fathers, who utilized the wealth of both Scripture and Tradition for the guidance and edification of the Church.

The methodological issue is how to limit the topic of this paper. Everything in the Church is either 'historical' or 'eschatological'! Similarly, in the New Testament Christ, Pentecost, the Gospel, the Church, Christian existence, prayer, worship, mission, Church order, and even the hope of future

lenced by the science of biblical criticism. Another example is the use of theological language which is in some ways different in New Testament, patristic and modern times. All this does not suggest that the past of the Church has no authority, because it certainly does, but only that the authority of the past must always be re-affirmed, examined, applied, and lived by the ongoing life of the Church and in the light of new conditions.

5. The wide influence of the term 'eschatological' on current Protestant, Roman Catholic and Orthodox theology is an example of the transforming impact that biblical studies have on the thought and life of the Church. "Christianity is eschatology," writes Jurgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, trans. James Leitch (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 16, who in this book reflects as a systematic theologian on the meaning of the eschatological dimension for all theology and the life of the Church.



things anticipated to occur in history, all have their eschatological and historical dimensions. To concentrate on any one of these particular topics would be too limiting for the purposes of this Conference. To attempt to deal with them all would be impossible. Therefore I will attempt to isolate several aspects of the eschatological and historical existence of the Church which may touch on many of the above topics. This procedure will hopefully yield material which may be helpful for our thinking about the life of the Church today.

There is no question at all here about an exhaustive description of all the eschatological and historical features of the life of the Church. The main purpose of this paper is to try to define the basic aspects of the eschatological and historical character of the Church and to discuss their inter-relationship. 'Eschatological' may generally be defined as the saving action of God which is both future and present. But the saving action of God never exists in pure form. It always exists as 'historical,' that is, as always involving the human response to God's saving action and always related to concrete human beings, human situations, actions, purposes, language and other forms. The various eschatological and historical aspects are below first separately examined for convenience and clarity. But they are closely related. That there is history makes possible an eschatology. On the other hand, without eschatology history is meaningless.<sup>6</sup> The greatest convergence of history and eschatology is Jesus Christ, who is both historical and eschatological, earthly and heavenly, human and divine. In the life of the Church both of these dimensions exist together, although a certain rhythm or fluctuation between the two may be observed. The Church should properly strive for a harmony between the historical and eschatological elements based on the model of the perfect unity of Jesus Christ. However, the Church in its historical existence is not perfect but always striving for perfection. In its struggle for perfection it is crucial for the Church to have an understanding of the inter-relationship of the eschatological

6. A profoundly stimulating book on the problem of history and eschatology is by Rudolf Bultmann, *History and Eschatology The Presence of Eternity* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962). For the New Testament, see Μάρκου Α. Σιώρου, *ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1953), and for the Johannine writings, Σάββα Χ. Ἀγουρίδου, *ΧΡΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΩΝΙΟΤΗΣ* (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1964).

and historical aspects of its life and to know why and when the relationship between these two dimensions is harmonious, strained, or even disrupted.

## II. Eschatological Aspects

One aspect of the Church's eschatological existence in the New Testament is *salvation-consciousness*. The Church knows itself to be the community of the redeemed through the eschatological saving event of Jesus Christ. The redemptive events of the death and resurrection of Jesus, preceded by His redemptive ministry, begin the New Age in which the powers of God's Kingdom enter history and transform the human condition. Especially the resurrection of Jesus and the gift of the Holy Spirit signal this New Age. To be sure, the old age continues because history goes on. The future dimension of salvation is therefore not collapsed. The New Testament knows of a 'final day' when God will end history and bring about the consummation of His plans.<sup>7</sup> However, the marvelous reality is that the *ἔσχατα* have already been decisively inaugurated<sup>8</sup> in Jesus Christ! The New Testament is 'new' precisely because it proclaims the occurrence of the awaited salvation-event and the new incursion of divine power in history. The fullness of time has come (Gal. 4:4). God's Spirit has been poured out (Acts 2:1ff., 17). The day of salvation is here (II Cor. 6:2). Perhaps no other verse of the New Testament captures so well the experiential faith of the first Christians than the following by Paul: *εἴ τις ἐν Χριστῷ, καινὴ κτίσις· τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν, ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καιρὸς* (II Cor. 5:17).<sup>9</sup>

What we have here is the fundamental soteriological experience of the life of the Church. In the New Testament this soteriological experience can be described in many ways as salvation, redemption, reconciliation, righteousness, forgiveness, sonship, freedom, newness, new creation and the like. It is not perceived as a 'subjective' or 'emotional' experience but rather as the redeeming, forgiving, healing, renewing and sanctifying

7. See for example Jn. 6:44; 12:48; Rom. 2:5-6; Jam. 5:3; I Pet. 1:5, and many others. In the Pauline Epistles and the Book of Revelation the final events are imminently awaited.

8. I use here the well-chosen word of Georges Florovsky.

9. The Koine textual tradition adds *τὰ πάντα*, which probably unconsciously exaggerates the point in a gnosticizing direction. Marcion read *καινὰ τὰ πάντα*!

eschatological action of God. It is the essence of the Christian tradition: a dynamic reality present in preaching, worship, sacrament and Christian conduct (yet at the same time transcending them). The New Testament is not merely a book or a formal covenant, but a new eschatological reality which by God's power confronts human beings, judges their sinfulness, calls for their repentance, and transforms them into new creatures. It is in time and space the new life in Christ, and the new life in the Holy Spirit, because finally what is encountered here is not some anonymous power but Christ Himself in the presence of the Spirit (Gal. 2:20; 3:27; 4:19; I Cor. 3:16; II Cor. 3:18; 13:5b).

This salvation-consciousness of the Church is articulated in different ways in the various writings of the New Testament. We do not at all find everywhere in the New Testament the same degree of awareness of the presence or future of salvation, nor the same eschatological excitement. Paul is different from John. The Epistle to the Hebrews is different from the Book of Revelation. The First Epistle of Peter is different from the Epistle of James. Yet all of them share the understanding that salvation is now a present reality because of the saving work of Christ which is already accomplished, and none of them collapse the future expectation of salvation as do some heretical teachers (II Tim. 2:18). The crucial difference is one of degree. The Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle of James presuppose, without much eschatological awareness, the saving event of Christ and conceive of the present reality of salvation in terms of ethical conduct, correct teaching, and good order in the community. The First Epistle of Peter is more distinctively aware of the newness of Christian existence and speaks of Christian life in the world eschatologically as a time of exile. The Gospel of John as well as the First Epistle of John conceive of salvation with both depth and immediacy but little eschatological fervor (I John 2:18; 4:1). The Apostle Paul, on the other hand, maintains with a high degree of eschatological awareness both the presence and future of salvation in a conscious relationship (e.g. Phil. 3:10-14; I Cor. 13:9-12). The most significant statement of Pauline understanding of the presence and future of salvation is Romans 8, where the Holy Spirit is the present power which redeems believers from sin

and death and at the same time it is the pledge of the final glory in which the whole cosmos will participate.

But the decisive matter here is that everywhere in the New Testament the Church is a salvation-conscious community. Moreover, it understands itself as sharing in salvation as a present reality. The eschatological saving action of God is for the Church no longer simply a future promise as it is with Judaism but a wonderful fact in that the New Covenant of salvation is already established. The powers of the Kingdom of God are active in the Church. The community of believers already joyfully shares in salvation and they are therefore called ἄγιοι,<sup>10</sup> ἡγιασμένοι,<sup>11</sup> κλητοί,<sup>12</sup> ἐκλεκτοί,<sup>13</sup> σωζόμενοι,<sup>14</sup> υἱοὶ φωτός,<sup>15</sup> φωτισθέντες,<sup>16</sup> and by other eschatological designations.<sup>17</sup> This consciousness of the Church should be defined as 'eschatological' because it is determined by the saving event of Jesus Christ. Quite apart from the element of intensity of eschatological fervor and the degree of awareness of the presence or imminent future of salvation, the salvation-consciousness of the Church is intrinsically eschatological. The Church is the community which bears and proclaims the saving event of Jesus Christ. Its salvation-consciousness grows out of the death and resurrection of Christ and is thus 'eschatological' by virtue of its being rooted in the decisive saving act of God in history.

A second aspect of the Church's eschatological consciousness is a *fundamental openness to God*. Whether one consults the Book of Acts, or the Pauline Epistles, or the First Epistle of Peter or of John, or the Book of Revelation, he finds that Christians are determined by the primacy of divine reality. St. Peter says to the high priest: *πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις* (Acts 5:29). St. Paul declares that the Gospel is the power of God (Rom. 1:16). At a moment of extreme per-

10. E.g., Acts 9:13, 32, 41; Rom. 1:7; 8:27; 15:25-26, 31; Heb. 6:10; I Tim. 5:10; I Pet. 1:16; 2:5, 9; Jude 3; Rev. 13:7, 10.

11. Jn. 17:19; Acts 20:32; 26:18; I Cor. 1:2; Heb. 10:10.

12. Rom. 1:6-7; 8:28; I Cor. 1:2, 24; Jude 1; Rev. 17:14.

13. Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12; Tit. 1:1; I Pet. 1:1; 2:9; Rev. 17:14.

14. Acts 2:47; I Cor. 1:18; II Cor. 2:15; Cf. Eph. 2:5, 8.

15. I Thess. 5:5; Eph. 5:8. Cf. Jn. 12:36.

16. Heb. 6:4; 10:32. Cf. Eph. 1:18.

17. See the definition of the eschatological people of God in I Pet. 2:9-10.

secution St. Paul learns to rely not on himself but on God, who raises the dead (II Cor. 1:9). The First Epistle of Peter describes the Christians as servants of God in the world (I Pet. 2:16). The Book of Revelation entrusts the faith and destiny of Christians wholly to God. Accordingly in the New Testament, although in varying degrees of immediacy and depth, there is a fundamental openness to divine transcendence, a complete trust in and dependence on God. This means that the Church knows itself not to be a human phenomenon, built on human considerations and guided by human designs, but a community which is created by God and is utterly dependent on Him for its total life. God is not simply a presupposition of the Church's life nor merely an ultimate goal. He is a present reality which encounters the ongoing life of the Church. The Church is marked by a God-centeredness, a Christ-centeredness, and a Spirit-centeredness. The Father, Son and Holy Spirit determine the present life of the Church in prayer, worship, preaching, mission, administration, conduct among the believers, and relationship to the world.

The primacy of the Church's orientation to divine reality is expressed by three ecclesiological concepts, the Church as the Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ,<sup>18</sup> σῶμα Χριστοῦ,<sup>19</sup> and ναὸς Πνεύματος.<sup>20</sup> The first concept contains the self-understanding of the Christian

18. See among others 'I. Καραβιδοπούλου, "Ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἐν τῇ Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ," in ΤΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ Ἡ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, ΣΕΜΙΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΩΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ 3 (Θεσσαλονίκη, 1968), pp. 25-44; O. Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neuen Forschung* (1932); K.L. Schmidt, "Ἐκκλησία" in *ThW III* (1938), 502-39; and R. Schnackenburg, *The Church in the New Testament*, trans. W.J. O'Hara (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965). K. Stendhal in *RGG<sup>3</sup> III*, 1297-1304, argues that, although this title in the New Testament carries no explicit theological reflection associated with the people of God in the Old Testament, it is a *terminus technicus* for the Church by which the early Christians consciously raised the claim of being the true people of God in the end-time.

19. See V. Ioannides, "The Unity of the Church According to St. Paul," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 9 (1963), 47-66; Schnackenburg, pp. 165ff., and others. Other images of the Church centered on Christ are the vine and the branches (Jn. 15:1-8), the spiritual house built on the cornerstone of Christ (I Pet. 2:4f.; cf. οἶκος Θεοῦ, Heb. 3:6), and the Church as the Bride of the Lamb (Rev. 12:2, 9; 22:17).

20. This expression occurs only in I Cor. 6:19 and is there applied to the individual believer. For the collective application, where ναὸς Θεοῦ is used, see I Cor. 3:16; II Cor. 6:16. That God's Spirit is poured out and dwells in the Church is a prominent idea in the New Testament, especially in Luke and Paul (Acts 2; 4:31; 10:44; I Cor. 12:14; Rom. 8; Gal. 3:2-5; 4:6). See among others R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, trans. K. Grobel (1959), 153-64, and Schnackenburg, 15ff., 123ff., and 158ff.

believers that they constitute the eschatological congregation of the end-time, the true Israel, summoned by God through the Christ and owing its existence wholly to God. The second concept emphasizes the unity of the Church (I Cor. 12:12-13, 27; Rom. 12:5), a unity grounded in the Eucharist (I Cor. 10:16-17), and suggests an identity of Christ and the Church.<sup>21</sup> The Church's being 'in Christ' in Pauline terms is further developed in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians where the Church is presented as a cosmic and eschatological reality wholly dependent on Christ, united with Him, deriving its life from Him, and directed toward Him.<sup>22</sup> The third concept expresses the most fundamental eschatological feature of the life of the Church, the outpouring of the Spirit, which is the source of the eschatological gifts in the life of the Church (I Cor. 12-14; Gal. 5:22). The presence of the Spirit is the epiphanic presence of divine reality in the life of the Church by which Christian believers experience the first fruits of salvation and have the pledge of final redemption (Rom. 8:23; II Cor. 1:22; 5:5). These three concepts of the Church all express the eschatological God-centeredness of the Church as a community established by God, united with Christ, and living by the Holy Spirit.<sup>23</sup>

A third eschatological aspect of the life and consciousness of the Church is *otherworldiness*. The Church is the community of the new eon. It does not belong to the world but to God, who through the sacrifice of Christ rescues the believers *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦ ἐνεστώτος πονηροῦ* (Gal. 1:4). The Church, by virtue of the eschatological act of God in Christ, transcends history and is raised above the realm of social order and of human possibilities. According to the Gospel of John, just as Christ is in the world but not of the world, so also the believers are in the world but not of the world (John 15:18-19; 17:14-16). They belong to the Father (John 17:6, 9). In the Book of Acts Peter proclaims to his fellow Jews: *σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης* (Acts 2:40). St. Paul writes to the Philip-

21. A most remarkable identity of Christ with the Corinthians is made in I Cor. 12:12, admittedly difficult to exegete, where Paul should have written *οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς*, but instead writes *οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός*! Cf. II Cor. 13:5.

22. Schnackenburg, p. 176.

23. For a triadic expression of the Church's centeredness and dependence on God see I Cor. 12:4-6.

prians: ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει (Phil. 3:20). In the Epistle of James and the First Epistle of Peter Christians are addressed as the people of God who are dispersed in the world. They are not permanent inhabitants of the world but live in it as resident aliens and exiles (Jam. 1:1; I Pet. 1:1; 2:11). For the Epistle to the Hebrews the people of God are a pilgrim people who have no abiding city on earth but seek the city which is to come (Heb. 13:14).

The fact that the Church is a reality which is rooted not in the world but in the Kingdom of God has immediate consequences for the conduct of Christians in the world. As the community of the redeemed the Church is marked by eschatological holiness and a qualified separation from the world. Christians are the *νέον φύραμα* (I Cor. 5:7). They have been born anew (I Pet. 1:3,23) and are called to be holy as God is holy (I Pet. 1:15-16; 2:5,9). They live in the world but they are redeemed from their former lives in the flesh (I Pet. 4: 2-4; I Thess. 1-9). They are not to tolerate in their midst anyone who bears the name of Christian but is guilty of immorality, greed, idolatry or other sins because such a one compromises the eschatological holiness of the congregation (I Cor. 5:11-13). But they are also to hold a certain separation from the world by not appealing to human courts (I Cor. 6:1 ff.) and by not attending pagan banquets which smack of idolatry (I Cor. 10:14-22). The Christians are described as 'insiders' (οἱ ἔσω) whereas the non-believers at large are described as 'outsiders' (οἱ ἔξω).<sup>24</sup> In all these and other ways as well the Church in the New Testament articulates another important aspect of its eschatological consciousness, namely, that it is an entity in history which is essentially supra-historical and otherworldly.

A fourth eschatological dimension of the life of the Church is *kerygma and mission*. The risen Lord commissioned His apostles to "make disciples of all nations" (Mt. 28:19). Immediately following Pentecost Peter began to preach about Jesus of Nazareth (Acts 2:14ff). In Ephesus under persecution, Paul does not think about his own safety but about Mission: (θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέφωγεν μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής, (I Cor. 16:8; Cf. Phil. 1:12-18). Mission in the early Church was not an exception but the rule, not one of many tasks of the Church but a central

24. See I Cor. 5:12-13; Col. 4:5; I Thess. 4:12.

task.<sup>25</sup> The early Church was by definition a missionary Church. Think of Peter, Stephen and Philip in Acts and the mission in Jerusalem, Samaria and western Palestine, followed by the breakthrough in Antioch which then became a great missionary center (Acts 11:20; 13:1ff.). Think of the greatest missionary of all, the Apostle Paul, and his co-workers Timothy, Silas and many others who together carried on their magnificent mission in the eastern Mediterranean and then Paul's venturing out to Spain to preach Christ where the Name had not yet been heard.<sup>26</sup> To speak of the early Church is to speak of mission!

Mission is an eschatological aspect which defines the life of the Church because it inwardly arises from the eschatological event of salvation. With the resurrection of Christ and the gift of the Spirit, the dawn of the eschatological hour is at hand! Salvation must be preached to all people both Jews and gentiles.<sup>27</sup> Encounter with the eschatological event naturally leads to *μαρτυρία* (Acts 1:8; 2:32; 4:33; Gal. 1:16) and *μαρτυρία* necessarily leads to proclamation and mission. The early Church was a missionary Church not by strategic considerations to gain more members, but by inner divine urging to proclaim God's eschatological salvation. The early Christian missionaries were prompted by an inner necessity, an *ἀνάγκη* rooted in the divine commission (I Cor. 9:16; Rom. 1:1, 14; Acts 4:20; 5:29) and finally in God "Who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (I Tim. 2:4). Thus mission is also universalistic and a permanent dimension of the life of the Church. Christian missionaries set out to preach the gospel to all nations (Mk. 13:10 and parallels; Rom. 1:5; Col. 1:23).

A final eschatological aspect of the Church is the *expecta-*

25. See F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament*, trans. Frank Clarke (London: SCM Press, 1965).

26. For Paul's soul-winning thrusts into the gentile world from Jerusalem to Illyricum, his missionary principle "to preach the gospel not where Christ had already been named," as well as his plan to go to Spain, see Rom. 15:15-24. J. Munck's emphasis on Paul as a missionary is well-placed, although some of Munck's theories about it are exaggerated. See his *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, trans. Frank Clarke (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1959).

27. That the great gentile mission of the early Church was a positive outcome of the dawn of the messianic age and not simply a result of the failure of the mission to the Jews, see J. Schoeps, *Paul*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 229ff. For Paul, writes Schoeps, the mission was "not a question of sour grapes, but of the necessary consequences of his eschatological conviction" (p. 230).



*tion of the imminent Parousia and the consummation of all things.* The degree of eschatological fervor with which this expectation is held is different in the various writings of the New Testament. It is strong in the Gospel of Matthew, which proclaims an imminent return of the Son of Man, but weak in the Gospel of John, which rather emphasizes the present revelation of God the Father in the Son. It is present in the traditions of the earlier chapters of Acts (Acts 3:20), but absent from those of the later chapters. It is a distinctive feature of the thought of St. Paul, who shapes his pastoral answers in view of the imminent passing away of this world (I Cor. 7:17ff, 25ff., 29: 31-32) and prays: *μαρὰν θά* (I Cor. 16:23)! He writes to the Philippians that the Lord is near (Phil. 4:5) and to the Romans that the day is at hand because salvation is nearer now than when Christians first believed (Rom. 13:11-12). In the Pastoral Epistles the eschatological expectation of the imminent end is absent. In the Epistle of James, the First Epistle of Peter and the First Epistle of John it is present (Jam. 5:8; I Pet. 4:7; I John 2:18), but especially in James and John it hardly plays any role. In the Book of Revelation it is all-pervasive. This Book ends the New Testament Canon on the highest eschatological note: *ναί, ἔρχομαι ταχύ. Ἀμήν, ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ* (Rev. 22:20)!

The eschatological expectation of the end which is part of the faith of the Church of the New Testament deserves consideration for several reasons. First, this expectation is not the only 'eschatological' aspect of the life of the Church as shown above and not the most important. Secondly, it did not historically prove correct because the first generations of Christians died and history continued. Yet one should not make too much of this. Indications are that the ancient Church suffered no trauma by the failure of the imminent Parousia and easily held to the expectation of the Parousia as an ultimate hope. More importantly it must be stated that, as W.C. van Unnik has written,<sup>28</sup> the faith of the early Christians is not dependent upon a date but upon the work of Christ. Thirdly, the expectation of the imminent eschatological end, although incorrect as far as the date is concerned, expresses the total orientation of the

28. In his essay on Luke-Acts in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 28.

Church toward God, an orientation which can be retained without necessary reference to a date. Finally, in the New Testament the eschatological consciousness of the Church is associated not with the future salvation alone, but above all with salvation as a present reality. Consider for example the eschatological fervor of the Corinthians and their fascination with the present gifts of the Spirit. This is true as much of John as it is of Paul. It is true in various ways also of all the New Testament because the Church in it as the bearer and proclaimer of the eschatological event of Christ knows itself both in the present and the future to be determined by the saving event of Christ.

We have examined above five eschatological aspects of the life of the early Church: salvation-consciousness, God-centeredness, otherworldliness, mission, and the expectation of the imminent Parousia. To these others should be added, such as particularly the liturgical life of the Church in which through prayer, Baptism and the Lord's Supper the eschatological event of Christ is lived and proclaimed by the power of the Spirit.<sup>29</sup> All of these aspects, which are found in varying degrees in the New Testament, define interrelated dimensions of the life of the Church which may be called 'eschatological' inasmuch as they are related to, determined by, and express the eschatological act of God in Christ. However, they are also 'historical' insofar as they occur in history, involve human beings, and are articulated by particular forms. The 'eschatological' and the 'historical' are, as has been noted, inextricably related in the life of the Church. If the above aspects are called 'eschatological' it is not because they are not also historical but because their primary reference is in God and not in history. In these aspects we find a heightened consciousness of God's eschatological saving action, whether present or awaited in the future. Above all we find God's eschatological action experienced as a present reality in the life of the Church. It is on the basis of the present character of God's saving action, that is, on the

29. I did not think that it was necessary to focus at all on this aspect because other papers given at this Conference are wholly devoted to the worship of the Church. See F. Hahn, *The Worship of the Early Church*, trans. David E. Green (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973), who stresses that the worship of the early Church was based on the eschatological event of Christ and also that in worship the up-building (*οικοδομή*) of the community of faith as a new creation concretely takes place (p. 105).

basis of what God has already accomplished in Christ and what He is doing in His Spirit within the believing community, that the future action of God is awaited.

### III. Historical Aspects

We now turn to the historical aspects of the life and consciousness of the Church. How should the 'historical' aspects of the Church be defined? History is the realm of human existence and the field of human purposes, motivations, actions, and conditions: the center of history is man.<sup>30</sup> 'Historical' means to be involved with the given, the relative, the changing, the multiple, the merely human, the weak, the selfish, the corrupt, the false, the rebellious, and even the sinful.

When we turn to the Church of the New Testament we find a redeemed community which, if we may use the words of St. Paul, struggles "to possess that by which it is possessed" (Phil. 3:12). It encounters the outside world with the concern of mission. It encounters itself with the concern of the upbuilding of the Church. It can exalt itself as the spotless Bride of Christ (Eph. 5:27) and the pillar of truth of the living God (I Tim 3:15), but it has at the same time to struggle to be what by God's gift it is. We can here only touch upon some basic aspects of the Church's struggle for God's truth within its own historical existence and in the wider world of human affairs. First, let us distinguish several levels of the Church's historical life, that is, its life as an historical reality qualified by human intentions, actions, and conditions.

The first level may be called the *fullness of redeemed existence*. This includes the ideal life of the Church within historical reality paralleling the harmony of the historical and eschatological unity of Christ. Here a real struggle is involved, and not merely a hypothetical ideal situation, because what is envisioned is the concrete Church which, just as its historical Lord, is open to testing, trials, temptations, and even persecution. Here one should also include the normal struggle for growth, adaptation, development, proper administration and good order. The crucial

30. But the goal of God's saving action is also man. See Bultmann, *History and Eschatology*, pp. 90-91, 139.

thing, however, is that at this level the Church distinctly maintains and nourishes its life in Christ, and any misunderstandings, conflicts, or problems within it do not reach such magnitude as to compromise the essential integrity of its redeemed life. An example of a concrete community in the New Testament which witness to this high level of redeemed existence is the Church of the Philippians in whom St. Paul genuinely rejoices.

A second level is a situation where *redeemed existence is threatened*. This includes an ambiguous condition in which the human factor of weakness, ignorance, pride, or sin actually seems to compromise the integrity of the redeemed life of a local Church and threatens its authenticity in Christ. Here we have the problem of serious backsliding (Heb. 5:12-6:8; 10:25-31), the problem of wrongdoing on account of which judgment and possible excommunication is contemplated (II Cor. 10:13; 13:1-2, 10; Rev. 2-3; 3:15-17), the problem of unity (I Corinthians), and the problem of erroneous teaching and heresy (Galatians, Colossians, the Pastorals, II Peter, Jude, and I John). In such situations the misunderstanding, conflicts, and difficulties seem to reach harmful and even divisive proportions. It does not mean that a local Church necessarily succumbs to them and is totally lost, but it does imply that in such conditions the local Church steps down from its true dignity as a redeemed community. Its true life in Christ is compromised and consequently threatened.

A third and final level can be distinguished which may be called *broken existence*. At this level the disruption in the life of the Church is of such magnitude that a particular member of the Church, or a group within the Church, or an entire local congregation faces separation from that universal reality of the Church against which the gates of hell will not prevail, according to the promise of Christ. Examples of such cases in the New Testament are the man living with his stepmother for whom St. Paul demands excommunication (I Cor. 5:3-4, 13), the ascetic "apostates" who denounce marriage (I Tim. 4:1-3), the gnosticizing false teachers such as Hymenaeus and Philetus who with others claimed that the full spiritual resurrection is already here (II Tim 2:18), the "antichrists" apparently denying the incarnation of Christ who were from within but not of the Church

(I John 2:18-19; 4:1-3), and others. In the New Testament we do not of course find an example of an entire local congregation being excommunicated. However, we do find at least two cases where excommunication and final judgment is threatened by an Apostle and a Prophet respectively (II Cor. 13:1-2, 10; Rev. 3:15-17; cf. Rev. 2:5). The latter case of the 'lukewarm' Church of Laodicea in Asia Minor is, one might say, relevant to the situation of many Churches today which suffer from the same ailment because of the spirit of secularism. The danger here is not so much a specific heresy but the shrinking of the faith-horizon of the redeemed community into a merely human and worldly perspective.

The above historical levels of the life of the Church, just as the previous eschatological aspects, are inter-related and co-exist in varying degrees in the New Testament. The redeemed existence in its present fullness is found most clearly in Philippians where the Church joyfully shares the life in Christ without any significant problems.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, entirely broken existence is found nowhere as far as the life of an entire congregation is concerned but only in particular cases involving either individuals or groups. For the most part the Church of the New Testament, which we view, we may remind ourselves, from the standpoint of its leaders, is a struggling Church, much concerned with the upbuilding of the community, and urged to express the unity and fullness of life which it possesses in Christ. However, the New Testament does in the instances of II Corinthians and the Book of Revelation leave room for the possibility of total lapse of an entire congregation where repentance for wrongdoing is lacking.

Many specific aspects of the historical life of the early Church could be examined, such as the following: the development of ecclesiastical offices, the growth of tradition, the formation of the Canon, the formulation of doctrine, the growth of theological reflection, the phenomenon of variety in teaching and forms, and others, which we cannot here take up. These are not only important but also decisive for the maintenance of the unity, identity and good order of the Church

31. The opponents envisioned in Phil. 3:2ff. are outside of the Church of Philippi and thus pose no internal problem. A treatise-like statement of the redeemed life may also be found in Ephesians which has justifiably been called the "crown of Paulinism."

through explicit criteria, rules and regulations. At the same time they raise the problem of the Church's becoming an 'institution,' sometimes one institution in society among others. This issue will be examined in the subsequent section of this paper. For now let us briefly look at a final historical aspect of the Church in the New Testament, that is, the Church's relationship to the world.

The Church in the New Testament is not much concerned with the world as such, except to save it. The Church's interest was in the Gospel of Christ. The early Christians viewed the world from the standpoint of divine purposes and in an eschatological frame of mind. Moreover, unlike the situation today, Christians made up a very small minority which could have no hope of exercising influence on the culture in which they lived. What could they do about slavery even when the possibility of non-slavery could be grasped (Philemon 16)? For a long time the Christians had to struggle for the very right to exist as Christians. For all these reasons the Church in the New Testament shows little or no interest at all in its relationship with the wider culture, civilization, and even the state within which it lived. Only indirectly can one arrive at an understanding of the early Church's relationship to pagan society from *ad hoc* cases of Christian involvement in it and from a few references to the state.

The idea seems to hold that Christians should fundamentally strive for peace both in their relations with pagans and with respect to the state. Prayers for and obedience to the authorities are requested for reasons of harmony as well as on account of moral obligation to constituted authority under God (I Tim. 2:1-2; Rom. 13:1ff., 5; I Pet. 2:13). The idea of peace is articulated by Paul, who urges the Roman Christians, insofar as it lies in their hand, to live peaceably with all men (Rom. 12:18). In the First Epistle of Peter Christians are also exhorted to behave worthily before pagans, and to live as free men, yet without using their freedom as pretext for evil (I Pet. 1:15-17; 2:12,16). To be sure, Christians as the people of God are separated from the world and its ways, as we have seen above. In times of persecution they are especially reminded that the world, although God's creation, is rebellious and an instrument of evil powers (the Book of Revelation; John 15:18-20;

cf. II Cor. 4:3-4).<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the Church in the New Testament never lapsed into a kind of sectarianism which would advocate withdrawal from the world and the cultivation of hate-language towards it. Paul takes for granted that Christians deal with unrighteous pagans in everyday life (I Cor. 5:10-13) and he cautiously permits significant social contact with them (I Cor. 10:27-28). But even in persecution the counsel to Christians is never to return evil for evil, but to bless those who persecute them and to overcome evil with good (Rom. 12:14, 17-18, 21; I Pet. 2:15; 3:9, 17). This is in harmony with Jesus' teaching that his followers love their enemies and pray for those who persecute them (Matt. 5:44). Judgment is left up to God.<sup>33</sup> The task of the Church toward the world is therefore wholly positive and is based on God's love: the Church seeks to draw the world into its life and to raise it to the plenitude of divine life. On this basis, especially today when Christians are more numerous, the Church has also an inherent obligation to exercise positive influence on the world in such matters as social work, cultural activity, questions of justice, politics and the like.<sup>34</sup> However, this latter task need not be approached with superficial optimism, nor of course with resigned pessimism, for the Church ultimately rests in its relations not with the world but with God.

#### IV. Inter-relationship of the Eschatological and Historical Aspects

According to the New Testament the Church as the people of God is an eschatological entity in history. The Church is founded on the redemptive event of Christ. It belongs to God. It proclaims the New Age which was inaugurated in Christ. It is open to God's saving action in the present through the Holy Spirit. It lives by the New Covenant which is the new eschatological reality of the life in Christ. It seeks by proclamation and mission to draw the world into its life in order to transform it into new creation. Finally, it awaits the future fullness of salvation centered on the return of its Lord. At

32. For the negative meaning of "world" especially in Paul and John see Bultmann, *New Testament Theology*, I, 254-59 and II, 15-32.

33. See Rom. 12:19 and the Book of Revelation. In certain instances, however, a note of personal vindictiveness enters in, as well, because of agony in extreme persecution (Rev. 6:10; 18:20; cf. II Thess. 2:6).

34. For this see Schnackenburg, pp. 183-87.

the same time the Church struggles with history, that is, the realm of human life, both from within and from without. As a human entity in history, the Church is inevitably faced with the need of upbuilding (οἰκοδομή), unity, identity, organization, forms, offices, and the like. Yet it can never be only a historical entity, that is, it can never be reduced to a merely sociological phenomenon, for then it loses its character as the people of God, the Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ. The crucial question therefore is this: when and why do the historical aspects of the Church no longer serve as effective witnesses or instruments of the new eschatological life in Christ? That is to say, when and why does the relationship between the historical and eschatological aspects of the life of the Church become problematic? I will try to answer these questions in this final section of the paper with an eye to the life of the Church today.

Protestant theologians have claimed with some justice that one of the chief problems of the Church's engagement with history is the 'institutionalization' of the Church and its loss of eschatological consciousness. Many years ago this process of institutionalization was seen to occur in the second century when the Church gradually became 'catholic.' Now the beginnings and definite developments of this process are found everywhere in the New Testament, including Paul.<sup>35</sup> Wherever in the New Testament evidence is detected concerning the historical consciousness, offices, doctrines, sacraments, tradition, ordinances, and reality of the Church, there it is claimed we have 'early Catholicism.' One must concur that we do. One cannot deny facts. From the moment of the Church's birth, a process begins by which the burning eschatological experience of the early Christians comes to grips with historical reality. With the explosion of missionary work in the early Christian decades, there simultaneously begins a process of upbuilding, consolidation, and unity in the life of the Church, as for example

35. Bultmann, "The Transformation of the Idea of the Church in the History of Early Christianity," *Andover Newton Quarterly* 1 (1960), 6-16, and his *New Testament Theology*, Vol. II, Part IV; E. Kasemann, "Paul and Early Catholicism," in his book *New Testament Questions Today*, trans. W.J. Montague (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1969), pp. 236-51, and previously published in *ZTK* 60 (1963), 75-89, and also his "Ephesians and Acts" in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, pp. 288-97; P. Vielhauer, "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts" in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, pp. 33-50; and H. Conzelmann, "Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity" also in *Studies in Luke-Acts*, pp. 298-316, and his book *Die Mitte der Zeit* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1953).



notably in the case of the Apostolic Council, by which the Church grows toward an institution.

However, one must distinguish between 'institution' and 'institutionalization.' The Church as an entity in history is inevitably an institution. The historical process of the consolidation of the Church through organization and the development of specific forms is not necessarily bad. The formation of ecclesiastical offices was necessary for the unity and the good order of the Church through the exercise of apostolic authority. The articulation of doctrine was necessary for the preservation of the truth of the gospel. The Church was from the beginning a worshipping and sacramental Church. It initiated new converts into the new life in Christ through Baptism. It centered its life on the Lord's Supper in which it both celebrated the saving event of Christ and experienced the powers of the New Age. Paul himself interpreted the sacred rites of the Church in the highest theological terms (Rom. 6; I Cor. 11). Moreover, he had to struggle to put a pastoral, doctrinal, and communal framework around the spiritual enthusiasm of the Corinthians which threatened radically to collapse structures, criteria, and order in the Church. Where in the New Testament, apart perhaps from the speculative millennialism of the Book of Revelation (Rev. 20: 4ff.), is there found a crucial doctrine, or an ecclesiastical office, or liturgical practice, or idea of the Church which is either an unnecessary or negative development? And what was the nature of the historical alternative? No, the developing forms and structures of the Church are not of themselves a negative factor for the life of the Church as a historical organism. They are just as inevitable as they are necessary.

But 'institutionalization' is something else. It suggests a negative development in which there is a loss of authentic spiritual life in the Church. It implies that the eschatological reality of the new life in Christ recedes behind the institutional forms of the Church. Not that the eschatological consciousness of the Church is totally lost. The Church is founded on the saving event of Christ and is by its very nature eschatological. The centrality of Christ in the Church is the most essential eschatological characteristic of the life of the Church. Yet the New Covenant as an existential spiritual reality may be lived in various degrees of depth and fullness in the everyday

life of the Church. This depth and fullness require above all discretion and truth. Time and again the New Testament calls for discernment of the spirits. If the new life in Christ is not lived with genuine fullness there are many dangers which threaten the redeemed life of the Church on one side as well as on the other.

In the early Church we see that on the one hand there was the danger of exaggerated emphasis on the newness of Christian existence. Because of the eschatological fervor of the early Christians, the first temptation of the Church was to fall into a kind of radical spiritual enthusiasm, as for example in Corinth, where the enjoyment of individual gifts such as glossolalia, wisdom, prophecy, and the like, threatened the unity and the order of the Church. In II Corinthians chaps. 10-13 we find as well an erroneous glorying in miracles, visions, and powerful speech associated with the 'super-apostles' with whom St. Paul deals sharply. The distorted emphasis on newness in ancient Christianity tended to be not only a pastoral problem but also heretical insofar as it one-sidedly concentrated on the 'now' of salvation. Thus St. Paul had to remind the Corinthian Christians who acted as if they were 'already' (*ἤδη*) reigning as kings (I Cor. 4:8) that there was also a crucial 'not yet' to salvation which was still to come (I Cor. 13:9-10, 12; II Cor, 5:7; cf. *οὐχ ἤδη*, Phil. 3:12f.). We may remind ourselves that the first major Christian heresy was Gnosticism (which was itself a diverse phenomenon). Hymenaeus and Philetus held that "the resurrection is past already" (II Tim. 2:17-18). Marcion, because of his radical accent on the newness of Christianity, rejected the Old Testament and even expurgated the Pauline Epistles of their Judaic elements. The Montanist movement with its explosive spiritual enthusiasm was also heretical. Finally, in similar cases of eschatological fervor there was also the danger of excessive apocalyptic speculations, such as in the Book of Revelation, and, as well, erroneous conduct, such as in the case of some Thessalonians who stopped working apparently because of their conviction that the return of Christ was imminent (II Thess. 2:1ff.; 3:10ff.). In all these ways there was in the early Church the reverse danger to that of 'institutionalization,' namely, the danger of spiritual arbitrariness

which threatened to destroy necessary criteria, structures, order and unity in the life of the Church.

But on the other hand we also find the danger of 'institutionalization.' A Protestant scholar writes in this regard about a 'transformation' of the character of the early Church through the prominence of ecclesiastical offices, concentration on the sacraments, and partial loss of the other-worldly consciousness of the Church.<sup>36</sup> However, what is here involved is not a permanent transmutation of the nature of the Church but a significant fluctuation between the degree to which the Church is an institution and the degree to which it also maintains its vision of being the eschatological people of God in history. One can correctly speak of certain tendencies which, if followed too far, create a problem of 'institutionalization' in the life of the Church. Several examples may be given.

One tendency is that the saving events may gradually be regarded as belonging to the past, not wholly determining the present life of the believer, despite the fact that they are made present realities in the sacred rites of the Church. In that case the death of Christ, His resurrection, and Pentecost may be seen as necessary presuppositions to the life of the Church, not as vital realities which here and now work newness of life by the Holy Spirit, while the present life of the Church tends to be understood in terms of ethical conduct, sound teaching, and good order (e.g., the Epistle of James and the Pastoral Epistles). In other words, the new eschatological existence centered on Christ, wholly dependent on God, and lived in the Holy Spirit begins to lose its immediacy, power and depth.

A related tendency is the danger of losing sight of the all-encompassing character of the new life in Christ. The new eschatological existence, which is life in the Spirit, that is, a personal communion with God, claims the total man. It is present in preaching, sacrament, private prayer, and Christian living in holiness and love both at home and in the world. But if the immediacy of the new life in Christ begins to diminish, there is a tendency to identify Christian life with the

36. See Bultmann's essay "The Transformation of the Idea of the Church." Bultmann also speaks of another earlier "transformation" when the gentile Church freed itself from the Mosaic Law, pp. 8ff.

ritual services of the Church alone. In that case the new eschatological existence of the Church as the people of God tends to become one-sidedly confined to the Church as the place of worship, liturgical services, clergy, and pious customs. What is involved here is not an overemphasis on sacrament but a cultic narrowing of the life in Christ and a failure to remember that the believer's whole life ought to be a sacrament. Of course this kind of development cannot be documented from the New Testament or from our later historical sources because the sources in principle preach the total scope of the Christian life. Rather it has to be experienced as in our own days for one to begin to understand what it is.

A final tendency is the possibility of the Church's settling down in history in such a way as to accommodate the state and even the world. As we have seen above the Church from New Testament times indeed began to advocate obedience to the state and peaceful existence with the outside world but this by no means implied a theological accommodation either to the state or to the values of the world. In the Pastoral Epistles it is suggested that a new bishop must enjoy the esteem of the outsiders (I Tim. 3:7) but it is not anywhere also said that he must be like them. Paul advised obedience to the state, as well as peace toward all, but he did not thereby advise adoption of the values of either the state or pagan society. Rather his principle was: "Do not be conformed to this world/age" (Rom. 12:2). This has also been the theological principle of the Church defaulted at times in its history against the true nature of the Church. At times of peace and prosperity the Church suffers the greater risk of accommodation to the world. At times of persecution it tends to draw the line between itself and the world more sharply.

In all the above and probably other tendencies as well there is a danger of 'institutionalization.' The problem is not so much that the Church is inevitably a historical institution but that *because* it is also an institution it may lose sight of its new life in Christ at various levels with the result that its institutional aspects gain the prominence. Then the Church risks being only an institution with primary reference to itself, that is, its offices, rules, traditions, and teachings, rather than to God. In other words, the Church risks becoming one more

institution in history, albeit a 'religious institution,' using religious words, ideas and rites, and even invoking divine sanctity, but paradoxically relying on human considerations and the will of man rather than on the judging and saving presence of the living God. We are drawing the picture a bit too starkly, I know, but here one could also recall Dostoyevsky's classic portrayal of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov* and the vision of the Church as a religious institution directed by men and accommodated to men without genuine reference to Christ as its Head, which Dostoyevsky intended for the Roman Catholic Church.

Yet the central problem is not structural or administrative<sup>37</sup> but spiritual. In the complex and dynamic inter-relationship of the eschatological and historical aspects of the Church, the decisive matter is the degree to which the New Covenant in Christ is an existential soteriological experience in the everyday life of the people of God. The more it is a genuine reality, the more the historical aspects of the Church themselves become vehicles of God's saving presence. The more the eschatological aspects become genuine existential marks of the life of the Church, the more the historical aspects express the inner harmony, unity, and truth of the Church, that is, the fullness of its redeemed existence. But the less the eschatological aspects empirically determine the life of the Church, the less the historical aspects fulfill their own proper function and consequently become problematic for the life of the Church. If the Church is not essentially defined by its eschatological character, then inevitably it is defined by its historical conditions; if it is not dominated by the vision of being the eschatological people of God in history, it is dominated by the vision of being an imposing historical institution. 'Institutionalization' begins to take hold when a particular office, rule, or liturgical form no longer adequately serves the spiritual purpose for which it was established.

37. The old debate between R. Sohm and A. Harnack about the 'charismatic' or 'legal' character of the offices and order of the Church, instructive as it is, does not help toward a solution of the problem. The more recent development of this debate between Protestant and Roman Catholic theologians centers on the question of whether Church order is 'regulative' or 'constitutive' in the life of the Church. Yet even this does not resolve the issue. See R. Bultmann, *New Testament Theology*, II, Part IV; R. Schnackenburg, *The Church in the New Testament*, pp. 22-35; and H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, trans. John Bowden (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), pp. 41ff. and 303ff.

At the heart of the issue is not the structure but the spirit, not the institution but the people who both live and lead within the institution. The basic problem, in other words, is not an anonymous 'historical institutionalization' of the Church but the problem of human weakness, pride, and sin within the Church which do not easily yield to the presence of the Holy Spirit and consequently threaten the authenticity of the redeemed life of the Church. If the reality of God is not central in the life of the Church in its everyday life, then the reality of man becomes dominant, in which case the Church tends to be transformed into more or less a religious institution without authentic spiritual life. This is a perennial problem in the life of the Church. This is why from New Testament times the Church is a struggling Church. It cannot be otherwise as long as history runs its course. The Church has permanently to struggle to be worthy of God's gift of salvation in Christ. It has to struggle for authentic life so that the gift of the new life in Christ, the eschatological  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$  of salvation (Rom. 3:21; 5:9, 11; II Cor. 6:2) may not at any time be transformed into an institutional  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ , or a ritual  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ , or an ethical  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ , or a gnostic  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ , or a worldly  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$ , or any other  $\nu\tilde{\nu}$  which is not wholly determined by Christ.

In the Orthodox Church by God's grace we have precious treasures. A rich liturgical tradition, a profound theology in the writing of the Fathers, a sense of depth of the communion of the human and the divine, a joy in prayer—all are part of our inheritance. At the core of our Tradition, whether we turn to the Holy Eucharist, or the theology of the great Fathers, or the spirituality of monasticism, the same theme has priority: the new life in Christ. Here we hear about the life in the Spirit, truth as spiritual activity, theology as immediate knowledge of God, growth toward the fullness of Christ, new creation, Easter gladness, and transfigured life. But we also hear about repentance, spiritual struggle against pride and sin, a life of prayer, *askesis* of the whole man (body, mind and heart), and complete dependence on the grace of God. This is the same as the new eschatological existence of the New Testament! The theology of St. Basil, the meditative writings of St. Mark the Ascetic, and the contents of the liturgical prayers speak of the new life in Christ with the same immediacy, the same openness

to God's grace and the same realism regarding the spiritual struggle of the Christian believer. Indeed, we have the gifts of eschatological salvation in Christ in both Tradition and Scripture. Our task as bishops, clergy, theologians and faithful is to be more aware of them!

But does our Church also risk the danger of 'institutionalization?' Does our own Church, too, tend to fulfill Dostoyevsky's above vision in certain aspects of its life, whether in its past or present, by becoming an institution in the negative sense? The truth must be spoken in Christian candor: it does. This is a permanent problem in the historical life of the Church of all ages. As an example, several ways could be mentioned in which our own Church is open to similar temptations: if the Church speaks of correct teaching and right doctrine but does not effectively also preach the gospel of Christ in the power of the Spirit; if the Church develops a rich tradition but does not as well richly live the saving experience of the new life in Christ which is the essence of that tradition; if the Church worships in a great variety of impressive forms but does not also experience profound renewal by God's grace through such worship; if the Church rests in the security of its apostolic offices but is not also led by God-inspired men; and finally, if the Church dares speak of itself as the spotless Bride of Christ but does not strive to perfect itself through continual repentance and renewal in order to be worthy of the Groom— then the Church risks the danger of 'institutionalization.' By Church of course we here mean the whole body of Christian believers, the actual people of God on earth, and not only the hierarchy or the clergy who lead the Church, nor an abstract perfect entity outside of history. Not that the historical aspects of the Church are not, it may again be repeated, important and many indispensable, for they are. But the offices should be animated by the Holy Spirit, order should have depth in unity of mind and heart in Christ, worship should continuously regenerate the new man in Christ, and correct teaching should be corroborated by existential truth in the life of the people of God. In other words, it is not sufficient to declare that the Church possesses the eschatological gifts of salvation in Christ but we must also prophetically inquire as to whether or not the actual life of the Church is being transformed by these

gifts.<sup>38</sup>

Today the greatest need of the Church is to be reminded of the empirical implications of the eschatological New Covenant in Christ. I know that in very recent years it has become fashionable to speak of the 'future' of salvation in international theological circles.<sup>39</sup> But the key to the future of salvation is none other than the experience of the presence of salvation. The saints of our Church, notably St. Neilos, St. Isaac, St. Symeon the New Theologian and many others, were fundamentally concerned with the present character of the life in Christ. For them truth was consciousness of divine grace. Their goal was thoroughly Pauline: to let the heart swallow the Lord and the Lord the heart so that the two may become one, as Chrysostom has written. For them the new man in Christ, the one who burns with zeal for the Word of God, is already in this world transformed into a man of the future age.<sup>40</sup> Yet these saints did not lapse into the emotional spiritual enthusiasm of the Corinthians (I Cor.), nor certainly into a heretically gnostic 'now' which would collapse the future of salvation (II Tim. 2:18). On the other hand, they were equally free of any excesses regarding the imminent return of Christ (II Thess.)

38. See Γεωργίου Π. Πατρίων, ΣΧΕΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΟΥ ΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ (Αθήναι, 1975). The author presents rich material concerning the presence of God's Kingdom in the life of the Church, e.g., its sacred art, worship, sacraments, and the Divine Liturgy. He rightly emphasizes the gifts of the Kingdom in the Church, but he could perhaps take more into account the 'historical aspects' of the Church. Although he observes that the present period is one of *πειρασμός* for the Church (p. 85), he needs to raise more sharply the question of whether or not the Church as the body of believers truly experiences the presence of the Kingdom in fact as well as in theory.

39. St. Paul was concerned to point out the future of salvation in order to guard against a gnosticizing 'now' of early Christians enthused with the experience of salvation. But to the majority of modern Christians who do not experience any radical temptations about the newness in Christ is it not more purposeful to emphasize the 'present' rather than the 'future' aspects of salvation? But see J. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, and Johannes Metz, *Theology of the World*, trans. W. Glen-Doepel (New York: Herder and Herder, 1969). See also the comprehensive evaluation of all current eschatologies in religion, philosophy and science by H. Schwarz, *On the Way to the Future* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1972). The emphasis on the future seems well taken insofar as it points to the possibilities of growth and change for Church and society. However, one hardly hears of God's action. Are we dealing with human goals and human achievements? What is the hope other than a "horizon of expectation" (Moltmann, p. 327)? Hope in what?

40. For the presence of salvation in Orthodox asceticism see also Γ. Πατρίων, ΣΧΕΣΙΣ ΠΑΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΟΣ, pp. 166ff.



and very guarded about future apocalyptic speculations (Revelation).<sup>41</sup> They lived the Pauline "dialectical understanding of the future and the present"<sup>42</sup> without excesses on either side. They were pulled by the future because they were grasped by the same reality, God, in the present. In this experience they perceived that the Christian life here and now is in advance an experience of the future fullness of salvation in varying degrees. They undoubtedly read Paul as well as the great Fathers, who theologically informed them to steer clear of the above-mentioned errors. However, their insight was based on more than intellectual perception of theological principles. Their whole emphasis was on an experiential understanding of truth based on spiritual discernment and on the daring claim of having the mind of Christ. Just like Paul, who in many ways was their mentor, they were *θεοδίδεκτοι*. Such an experience of salvation which is basically Pauline not only maintains the balance of the 'present' and the 'future' of salvation, but also rescues the life of the Church from the danger of 'institutionalization.'

Today as well the Church needs to be reminded of the new life in Christ as determining its whole existence because the eschatological *νῦν* of Christian life sometimes is in danger also of being identified with a liturgical *νῦν*. The problem is not a difference or opposition between 'sacrament' and 'kerygma.' Both are rooted in the power of God's grace. Paul preaches the gospel "not only in word, but also in power and in the Holy Spirit and with full conviction" (I Thess. 1:5). Yet in Baptism and the Lord's Supper the powers of the New Age are more decisively mediated (Rom. 6:3ff.; I Cor. 11:25ff.).<sup>43</sup> The problem is not an overemphasis on sacrament but a one-sided

41. An expectation of the imminent Parousia and apocalyptic interests often go together in both ancient and modern times. Those who today engage in such speculations often forget that New Testament prophecies which are used to support their speculations were meant for the first generations of Christians themselves.

42. The formulation is Bultmann's, "The Transformation of the Idea of the Church," p. 16.

43. With regard to the relationship of 'kerygma' and 'sacrament,' a lively discussion has been going on especially among Lutheran scholars about the emphasis on the proclaimed word as 'word-event' which seems to 'sacramentalize' preaching. See Bultmann, *New Testament Theology*, I, 312, where he claims that Baptism makes the salvation-occurrence present for the believer 'just as' the proclaiming word. K. Stendhal has reacted against this "kerygma speculation" and "word-mysticism," but, it seems to me, has gone too far in arguing that the announcement of

attention to ritual forms and services without inquiry into their spiritual effectiveness for the people of God. What is involved here is a tendency toward an unconscious reduction of the total mystery of Christian life to the mystery of sacred forms and services which may often be seen somewhat more magically than spiritually by a number of believers. On the one hand, it is utterly clear that nothing magical should be attributed to the liturgical services. The impression must not be given that either the priest or the rites of the Church 'do' something for the believer simply because he enters the temple of worship and just because the liturgical gatherings begin with the words "Blessed is our God always, now and ever, and unto the ages of ages." The believer's attentive participation and prayerful openness to the Holy Spirit are also required, for without the involvement of his heart nothing for him happens, or rather judgment occurs.

On the other hand, the saving action of God through the Holy Spirit, although supremely present in worship, especially in the Eucharist, must not either be confined to corporate worship. Liturgy is supreme but the Church as God's people—not just as the sacred building, liturgical services, and clergy—remains the Church outside of temples of worship, and must continually strive through private prayer, loving deeds and personal *askesis* to be open to God's grace and have continuous communion with Him. That is to say, the new life in Christ embraces the total life of the Church and is present in kerygma, sacrament, corporate worship, private prayer, and Christian living in the world, but especially in sacrament and worship, yet simultaneously transcending all these precisely because its essence is God's saving presence! The eschatological new life in Christ is *λογικὴ λατρεία* (Rom. 12:1) of the total man which claims the believer totally. If a man has not put off the old Adam and has not been decisively grasped by the

the gospel is qualitatively no different than telling anything else and that the kerygma in the New Testament is never addressed to the Christians. See his article "The New Testament Background for the Doctrine of the Sacraments" in *Oecumenica 1970: Evangelium and Sacrament*, ed. G. Gassman and V. Vajta (Strasbourg, 1970), p. 45. How then does one interpret Paul's words about preaching in the power of the Spirit? Does the kerygma have no redemptive power at all? On the point about the kerygma not addressed to Christians one must remember that at least in Paul the basis of ethical exhortation is the saving event of Christ, that is to say, the basis is kerygmatic! See also Rom. 1:15 where Paul tells the Roman Christians: "I am eager to preach the gospel to you also who are in Rome."

life of the New Covenant in Christ, how can worship be for him liturgy in the power of the Spirit?<sup>44</sup> As St. Paul asks in another context: "How are men to call upon Him in Whom they have not believed" (Rom. 10:14)? But if a man has believed and strives "to possess that by which he has been possessed" (Phil. 3:12), namely, the Lord Jesus Christ, then worship gains for him new depth and transforming power. It becomes worship in spirit. As it is written: "God is spirit, and those who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and truth" (John 4:24). Such worship continuously renews the people of God and guards the Church from the danger of ritualism because the Holy Spirit fills both the rites and hearts of worshipping believers.

Today, finally, the Church needs to be reminded of the centrality of the new life in Christ because the rank and file Christian, as well as sometimes the Church as a whole, is much inclined to accommodate the state, society and the world. I will not comment on these matters at length. I wish only to mention the danger of secularism which threatens the spiritual life of the people of God. While there are many struggling Christians, and we are thankful to God for them, there are also others, including some of us clergymen and—shall I say it?—some professional theologians, who are not struggling and are in danger of exchanging our birthright of the new life in Christ for the pottage of a secular *νῦν* in which worldly values deeply shape the mind and heart. Because of the total impact of modern civilization, what is here involved, as A. Schmemmann not long ago pointed out,<sup>45</sup> is an unconscious absorption of secular values and concepts about family, education, science, work, and other such basic aspects of human existence which seem to affect thinking more decisively than the Christian faith! The danger is that Christians may end up with the forms of the Christian life without the substance to it! This danger cannot be met simply by a counter Christian philosophy at a theoretical level, although this is necessary as well. It must be conquered by a vision of heroic sainthood in the world based on a deep experi-

44. Note for example how many Orthodox Christians infrequently go to Church and many go late. Without a deep commitment to Christ and a life of prayer, and without as well edifying worship, what can the result be except lateness in arriving, passive participation or even boredom during worship?

45. See his article "Problems of Orthodoxy in America: The Spiritual Problem," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly* 9 (1965), 171-93.

ence of the new life in Christ. The danger of the secularization of the people of God in modern times can be stemmed only by an apostolic faith which has the power to conquer the world. It is the faith which says with St. Paul: "If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's" (Rom. 14:8).

In conclusion I would like to emphasize three things: (1) repentance, (2) evangelization, and (3) leadership. In this paper we have talked a lot about the eschatological and historical aspects of the Church. But history does not save. Nor does eschatology save. Neither the present nor the future saves. Only God saves. "He is the source of our life in Christ Jesus" (I Cor. 1:30). But how can He save us unless we turn to Him as an ongoing goal of our life in the Church? Jesus began with the call to repentance: "The time is fulfilled," He said, "and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel" (Mk 1:15). The Apostles and early Christian missionaries also began with the same call: "Repent therefore and turn again," they said, "that your sins may be forgiven, that times of refreshment may come from the presence of the Lord" (Acts 3:19; cf. 2:37-38). Christian life is forever tied to repentance. Theology properly begins with and always presupposes repentance. By repentance is not here meant only the recital of one's sins in contrition of heart, but also a thorough conversion of the mind (*metanoia*), a change of heart, which creates a continuous spiritual attitude of openness to God, receptivity to His saving action in the present, and deepening communion with the Holy Spirit.

Only through such an experience of repentance can the Church both perceive the need of and receive the power for evangelization. By evangelization I mean the preaching of the good news of God's love for the world revealed through the death and resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ. Are we within the Church indeed preaching the gospel which "is the power of God for salvation to every one who believes" (Rom. 1:16)? Many hunger to hear about God's grace which forgives, reconciles, heals, sanctifies, and renews human existence. They thirst to hear about the new life in Christ which takes hold of the total man, transforms him from within, and makes him here and now a man of the New Age. But, as St. Paul asks in a different

context, "how are they to hear without a preacher? And how can men preach unless they are sent" (Rom. 10: 14-15), that is, one could interpret, unless the eschatological gifts of faith, love, joy, freedom, newness, together with a burning desire for proclamation and mission, have first been poured into their own hearts through the Holy Spirit? "How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the good news" (Rom.10:15)! It is through a revival of apostolic and patristic preaching of the saving event of Jesus Christ that the Church can by God's power challenge not only non-believers but believers as well with repentance and the new life in Christ, and in this way also heighten its eschatological consciousness as the people of God on earth.

But let not the call to repentance be taken as a sign of anti-intellectualism or anti-establishment or any other negative thing. For today leadership is urgently needed in the Church, both in theology and administration. I do not separate the two. Practical effort, insight, plans, thoughts, decisions, and actions are essential. Sound theological scholarship in the Church is indispensable. Let us continue our diligent work in these areas. But finally the Church cannot depend on one more skillful human program, nor one more scholarly theological book. More critically it cannot depend on our own power and pride because these always lead to the same cycle of human discontent. Rather our hope is set "not on ourselves but on God Who raises the dead" (II Cor. 1:9). It is always in direct prayerful reference to the living God that the life of the Church can be raised above the merely human level. But God needs hands to do His work, namely, leaders.<sup>46</sup> He needs leaders in theology and leaders in the sacred offices of the Church. However, He needs leaders who have not only been properly trained by men but also commissioned and empowered by God Himself: leaders who are new men in Christ, for whom Christ is all and Christian life is faith active through love (Phil. 3:8-10; Gal. 5:6). Such men have by God's grace inner authority, power, and boldness, yet as well patience, self-control, kindness, and gentleness. Such men are not concerned with themselves, not do they seek attention for themselves, for they know that not they but Christ is the Leader

46. Yet it should be noted that every Christian, who is transformed by the new life in Christ, is a leader, that is, he is ready to lead in some ministry within the Church.

and Perfecter of our faith (Heb. 12:2).<sup>47</sup> Their concern is to be faithful servants of Christ and trustworthy stewards of the mysteries of God (I Cor. 4:1-2). God Himself leads His people toward the future of history which is the future of His Kingdom.

We Orthodox have the spiritual treasures, the theology, the criteria, the worship, and the order. What we need is to repent and turn to God, Who alone can recreate our hearts and give us the boldness to proclaim His Son. It is in the present experience of salvation by God's gift, in which we pray "Abba! Father!" (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6), that the living God comes to dwell among us and animates the house of the Church, which is His house (Heb. 3:6). Let the Church be such an "institution of salvation"! Then the treasures of Orthodoxy will come more fully alive for us and also be given to others through mission and proclamation. Then the 'eschatological' and 'historical' aspects will find harmony, just as in the case of our Lord Jesus so also in the life of the Church, which is both divine and human, heavenly and earthly, eschatological and historical. With the present experience of salvation through the pledge (*Ἀρραβὼν*) of the Spirit, we can also understand the future fullness insofar as we here can. We can then spiritually appreciate not only the Pauline "if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation" (II Cor. 5:17) but also the Johannine "Beloved, we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that when He appears we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is" (I John 3:2).

47. In II Cor. 3:5-6 St. Paul writes: "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our sufficiency is from God, who has qualified us to be ministers of a new covenant, not in a written code but in the Spirit."

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*Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.* Kurt Weitzmann. Collegeville, Minnesota: St. John's University Press for the Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library and the Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University, 1973. Pp. 34; 32 plates; 46 figs. \$2.00. Paper.

Any work, no matter how brief, by the eminent Byzantine art historian Kurt Weitzmann of Princeton University is bound to command attention, particularly when it deals with St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, which "still preserves a great wealth of historical and artistic monuments which give it a unique importance in the history of Byzantine civilization" (p. 5). The contents of the present richly illustrated publication represent a lecture delivered at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, on 31 October 1972. Because of its original nature it should not be lost in the mass of Byzantine bibliography but should be duly noted and brought to the attention of all Byzantinists who are well aware of the importance of St. Catherine's Monastery, originally dedicated to the Holy Virgin, where it was erected between 548 and 565 in the rocky desert at a height of 5000 feet at the southern tip of the Sinai Peninsula. Since its foundation, St. Catherine's has been "one of the great centers of pilgrimages of the Christian world, equal in importance to those of the Holy Land, and its vicissitudes are clearly reflected in the riches of its library" (p. 34).

It is, of course, the library which provides the primary focus of this brief treatise because the Sinai monastery possesses the earliest known masterpieces of iconography (going back to the sixth century), and with its more than three thousand manuscripts it contains the largest collection of any Greek monastery in modern times. Noteworthy, too, is the apse of the church, which houses the most magnificent early Christian mosaic representing the Metamorphosis (going back to the foundation date of the Church). The library collection has a polyglot character as evidenced by its more than two thousand Greek, several hundred Arabic (almost exclusively Christian and primarily liturgical and patristic texts), about three hundred Syriac, one hundred Georgian, forty Slavic, and one Latin manuscripts, reflecting residence and worship by the Syrian, Arabic, Georgian, Latin, Slavic, and Greek monks—all adherents of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy.



It is naturally important for Dr. Weitzmann to indicate that the library's primary purpose was to provide in a desirable location books needed for services, and he discusses the problem of that location over the years. Obviously the opening up of the library to outsiders presented new problems (for example, Tischendorf's *Codex Sinaiticus* which was taken to Russia and is now in the British Museum). The bulk of this particular publication highlights certain manuscripts. There are a large number of manuscripts most likely done at the monastery between the seventh and ninth centuries, mostly service books, such as the *Apostolos* (Cod. 212). With the tenth century, manuscripts with elaborate ornamentation of all kinds are in evidence, for example, the Lectionary Cod. 213, dated 967 and written by Presbyter Eustanthios and known as the Gospels of Mount Horeb. Also the Sinai Cod. 417, of the *Scala Paradisi*, written by John Climacos, is richly ornamented. Almost half of the one hundred Georgian manuscripts belong to the tenth century, and none are later than the fourteenth (when the Georgian Kingdom was at its peak). Unique is a tenth century Latin Psalter which owes its survival to its being passed off by a librarian as a Slavonicus.

The small Slavonic collection includes two early Glagolitic manuscripts, one an euchologion (Cod. Slav. 37), and the other a psalter (Cod. Slav. 38). Dated to the eleventh century, they are reckoned among the earliest Slavonic manuscripts in existence. Belonging to the so-called Macedonian Renaissance is a lectionary (Cod. 204) from the eleventh century that is one of the most refined manuscripts of this period.

Sinai also possesses a wider variety of illustrated texts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries than from any other chronological period, all painted in Constantinople or in the Constantinopolitan style with different kinds of frontispieces and considerable narrative cycles, some quite sumptuous. Of note is Sinai Codex 418 from the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, which contains a frontispiece of John Climacos offering Christ his *ergon*, followed by title pictures for each of the thirty chapters corresponding to the thirty rungs of the ladder. Another remarkable eleventh-century manuscript allegedly from Sinai is the richest surviving illus-

trated copy of the *Christian Topography* (Cod. 1186) of Cosmas Indicopleustes.

Sinai possesses no fewer than three complete sets of calendar icons from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and a goodly part of a fourth. These icons are an important source for reconstructing lost miniature cycles, the center for both types of menologion illustration in all probability being Constantinople. Two Sinai manuscripts (Sinai Cod. 500 and Sinai Cod. 512) are relevant in this regard, though Cod. 339 of a manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, is of superior quality.

Professor Weitzmann also takes the opportunity to discuss Crusader art even though there are extant at Sinai only a few miniatures in Greek manuscripts, such as a psalter and New Testament (Cod. 2123), dated 1242, and a thirteenth-century manuscript (Cod. 1216) with miniatures in Crusader style. Some Venetian influence is possible. It is surprising that there are no Latin manuscripts, considering the fact that there were so many icons by Crusader artists. The Paleologan artistic revival is noted as is its impact on the Slavic countries, while the Cretan contribution in terms of book illumination is underscored because Sinai contains a richly illustrated *Sticherarion* (Cod. 1234), dated to 1234. Muslim influence is not ignored and a bilingual Greek-Arabic Psalter, a tenth century Climacos manuscript with Islamic motifs and occasional imitation of Kufic script, a group of manuscripts from ca. 1300 (with Greek, Syriac, and Arabic texts), and an Arabic manuscript (Cod. Arab 342) dating to 1612 by a Christian priest named Thabit and containing the *Scala Paradisi*, are examined and explained.

*Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* is a precious little book that stresses the polyglot nature of Sinai's library and its historical continuity in the Greek Orthodox tradition. It is a place where artistic treasures can be studied along with its collection of two thousand icons. It is the only place in the world in which a substantial number of pre-iconoclastic icons (including one from Justinian's age) have survived. In fact, St. Catherine's can provide the scholar with an excellent place to study the development of Byzantine art and religious history through its art throughout the ages.

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IMAGE AS 'SIGN' (SEMEION) OF GOD:  
KNOWLEDGE OF GOD  
THROUGH THE IMAGE ACCORDING TO SAINT BASIL

The dialectic of the image of God according to the doctrine of the great Cappadocian Father Saint Basil, contains four important aspects, going from the more simple to the more profound. What are these aspects? The first is that of the image as a 'portrait' of the Prototype, that is the image as a 'picture' depicting the Prototype in a rather external way. It does not exhaust the 'raison d'être' of the image. Completely the opposite, its role is purely functional, and thus leaves intact the essential aspect. The second aspect is the image as a 'sign' (*σημείον*) of the Prototype. The image not only depicts, but also 'signifies' its Prototype. The image makes its Archetype manifest and known, through reflection in the image of essential qualities of the divine Prototype. These qualities are known in the theological tradition of the Christian East as the attributes, or energies of God. Through their presence in the image, the latter becomes a means of knowledge of God. The third aspect is that of the image as belonging to the Archetype, and as the basis of personal relationships with the Archetype. These relationships develop on the basis of knowledge of the Archetype through the image. They are the vision, desire, and love of the Archetype and ultimately union with Him. The fourth and

\* This study originally appeared as part of my dissertation entitled "La dialectique de l'image de Dieu chez Saint Basile le Grand" submitted to the school of Theology of the University of Louvain, in June 1964, in partial fulfillment of the requirements "pro gradu Doctoris in Sacra Theologia." It has been revised and modified, especially with regard to the references. I offer this study as a contribution to a better understanding of Saint Basil's doctrine. I am thankful to all those who have made this modest contribution possible. Specifically, I am deeply appreciative of the care and diligence which Mr. Nicholas Pissare exercised in translating this study from the French. I would like to also express my gratitude to the Rev. Dr. Nomikos M. Vaporis for his helpful remarks and suggestions concerning the revision of the original text.

last aspect of the image's dialectic is that of the image as 'presence' of the Archetype. The image makes the Prototype present, seen, and felt by all those who have the spiritual eyes to see Him, and have the spiritual 'extrasensory perception' to feel Him present.

Unlike the Christian West—which sees in the image a mere representation of the Prototype and thus stops at a rather external and static aspect of the image—the Christian East puts much more into this doctrine of the image of God. The image is an instrument of knowing God; it is the seal of belonging to Him, the means of entering into personal relationships with Him, of being in communion with Him, and ultimately of having Him present and making Him present in a very dynamic way.

It is my intention to develop one of the four aspects mentioned above, the image as a 'sign' of God, which constitutes one of the important themes in the theology of the great Cappadocian pastor and theologian, Saint Basil the Great. At the same time this doctrine touches the very heart of Orthodox theology and spirituality.

To attempt a synthesis of Saint Basil's thought on a given theme, as of any of the Fathers, is not an easy task. The fathers themselves did not always feel the need for this synthesis. They spoke and wrote quite casually, according to the needs—mostly pastoral—of the moment. Yet, there is order in their thought. We can find enough hints for a synthesis, as they occasionally offer them to us.

In attempting such a synthesis, we should follow generally accepted principles and guidelines, such as the following: the historical context in which the texts have been delivered must be taken into consideration; the chronological order of the Father's writings must be respected as indicative of the development of his thought; the literary character of the texts should be taken into account; a thorough study of all the authentic works of the Father is required; doubtful works may be quoted as extra references in the notes. These principles are respected in this study of Saint Basil's thought.

By way of introduction, a definition should be given of the image as a 'sign' of God. In Saint Basil's thought, one can define the image as the "intermediary between beings which look for one another." There are two such 'images' of God, one perfect and one imperfect. The Son of God is the perfect image of the

Father. Christ fully manifests God. He fully shares the whole divine reality with Him. His essence and energies are those of the Father. The Son is not only fully oriented towards the Father, but He also fully 'knows' the Father; He is wholly in the Father and the Father is in Him. The second image of God is man. He is an imperfect reflection of God. Only some of His 'qualities,' or 'attributes'—or more precisely 'energies'—are manifested through the image. It is this image, this "particle of grace" of God in man, which orients him towards God; through it man knows God, "the like by the like." It is important to see what the problems of this knowledge are. This knowledge is seen as a "journey from man's conscience to God." This 'journey' has as its point of departure the image of God in man; and as its goal, knowledge of God as a response to His call.

The nature of the 'object' of this knowledge of God calls for a special kind of knowledge. This knowledge cannot be a merely intellectual one. In His more intimate reality, His essence, God is fully unknown by man; He is wholly unreachable. Yet, He is partially known and available in His energies. As an "object" of knowledge, He is thus both transcendent and immanent, known and unknown, present and absent. As an 'object' of knowledge, He becomes the real 'subject', offering Himself to man for knowledge. This knowledge is more than intellectual; it is moral, affective, experiential, 'ontological,' and by 'connaturality.'

The intellectual knowledge of God presents us with limitations, both on the part of the subject and on the part of the object. The subject is finite, not being able to have a true comprehension of God. The body is a kind of 'veil,' an obstacle for the human spirit to clearly see God. Fully in His essence, the object is infinite, transcendent, inaccessible, and incomprehensible. Thus, an immediate knowledge of God is impossible for man.

But there are intermediate ways of reaching God in His energies; the 'knowable' of God is present in the creation as a whole and more particularly in man made in the image of God. Some divine attributes are reflected both in the whole creation and in man-in-the-image-of-God. These attributes are nothing other than God's energies, which reach us—which "descend to us" to use St. Basil's own term—in different ways. One of these is the image of God in man.

There are special instances of this kind of knowledge of God through God's energies. There is a superior degree of knowledge of God, of a conceptual and intellectual character, which is the knowledge in the 'faith-belief.' Yet this knowledge remains partial, or rather, half-way, without the moral, affective, experiential knowledge of God which complements the conceptual and intellectual.

This experiential, affective, and moral knowledge of God is the *true knowledge* of God. Only people who know God in this sense, who have the experience of God as he offers Himself to them in union and communion, are considered by St. Basil to be really alive. They participate in true Life and Existence, which is that of God.

As far as the *fact* of this knowledge is concerned, this experiential knowledge of God proves to be commitment to God, observance of His commandments, and also 'familiarity' with Him, in union and communion with Him.

As for the explanation of this fact, there are two things to consider: the preliminary conditions, and the way of this knowledge in communion with God. Preliminary events explaining this affective knowledge of God are: firstly, the creation of man in God's image—man is called to preserve God's image in him, which is to preserve "life according to nature", a life in communion with God; secondly, the fall of man, which is the cause of degeneration of human nature; and thirdly, the plan of divine economy, which is the restoration of the fallen image in man through Christ and the Spirit. The grace of God given through Christ in the Spirit fulfills the 'via descensiva' of God, so that the 'via ascensiva' becomes possible for men. The way of this ascension to God through the restored image in man and the way of true experiential knowledge of God in communion with Him is the one of purification and askesis. Free from the will of the flesh, free from sin, renewed according to the image of His creator, man achieves life in communion with God. Then the three persons of the Holy Trinity dwell in man.

The 'blessed end' of this way of ascension to God is the vision and contemplation of God. It is the 'understanding' of God, not in a merely intellectual way but also in an affectionate and experiential manner. To the purified soul, the

Spirit shows the Blessed Light of the Ineffable Image of the Invisible God, Christ. In this Image we contemplate the Ineffable Beauty of the Archetype, the Father of Lights. Ultimately, the image 'sign' of God in us proves to be the 'earnest' of this beatific knowledge of God experienced in union with Him. Through the image of God in us, we receive a partial knowledge of God "as in a mirror, and enigmatically." We are expecting the 'perfection' of this knowledge according to God's promise. Then we will see God 'face to face' (1 Cor 13.10,12), in the full splendor of His blinding Glory.

Having these main ideas of Basilian thought in mind, let us examine St. Basil's texts.

Before discussing the main theme of the image as 'sign' of God in Saint Basil's thought, the following items should be considered: (1) a tentative definition of this image—'sign,' (2) the case of man as an image—'sign,' (3) the case of the Son of God, (4) particular problems for man: the "journey from the conscience to God," and finally, (5) two kinds of knowledge of God through the image—'sign' of God: intellectual and experiential.

The image as the 'portrait,' a mere representation of the Prototype, has no meaning unless it refers to the Archetype on which it depends and of which it is a manifestation. Oriented thus wholly towards this manifestation, it is, to use the expression of Roger Leys, "the intermediary between beings which look for one another,"<sup>1</sup> which 'declares' its Archetype and is its 'sign.'<sup>2</sup>

The case of the Son of God, the Image of the Invisible God, presents us with this aspect of the image as a 'sign' of God in an eminent degree. The Son shows us the Father in Himself.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Roger Leys, *L'image, de Dieu chez Saint Gregoire de Nysse* (Brussels, 1951), p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Saint Basil gives the following definition of 'sign': "Sign is the indication of a paradoxical and hidden reality; it is merely seen by simple people; but it is understood by those who have a trained intelligence." *Letter* 260, 7; PG 32:965B. The image of God is exactly this kind of 'sign.'

<sup>3</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 16; PG 29:605B; "Ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνύσι τὸν Πατέρα." See also *Homilia de fide*, 2; PG 31:468B; *Letter* 105; PG 32:513A; *In illud, in principio erat Verbum*, 3; PG 31:447BC; also *Liturgy* ed. F. E. Brightman, in *Liturgies Eastern and Western, Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church* (Oxford, 1896), p. 322, lines 29-30; and p. 402, lines 18-19.



Son is the "imprint of the substance" of the Father, the "effulgence of His glory,"<sup>4</sup> having the same attributes in common with the Father in numeric identity of essence. He has the same will and energies, showing to us in Himself all the beauty of the Archetype, who is the Father.<sup>5</sup> The Son as the image of the Father is not simply just 'turned towards' the Father, 'oriented' towards Him from whom He receives origin; He *is* in Him. The Son of God has no need to 'possess' the Father, since there is no 'distance' between them; the one is in the other. The Son is the Wisdom of the Father; there is the identity of 'knowing' as there is the identity of will.<sup>6</sup>

The concept of man as an image of God is much more complex. When we gaze upon man as the image of God, we behold those qualities of the transcending Archetype which are proportionately present in man.<sup>7</sup> Through our knowledge of the qualities of man we know by analogy those of the Archetype. However there are two problems which must be considered: how the created image manifests the transcending Archetype and how this same image leads to the knowledge of God. To reply to these questions we will follow the 'spiritual journey' that leads from the image to the Archetype, from the human conscience to God, as Basil describes it in his works. As we have noted, Saint Basil does this not systematically, but occasionally and by aspects, emphasizing first one and then another of these aspects according to the concerns of the moment.

The starting point of this 'spiritual journey' is the very image of God in man-made-in-the-image-of-God. This 'image' which encompasses our faculties of perception and knowledge is wholly oriented towards its objects of knowledge and discernment—God and the divine realities. To begin with, the image is

<sup>4</sup> Letter 38, 6-7; PG 32:336C-40A; ed. Yves Courtonne (Paris, 1957), pp. 89-91. Cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 7, 16; PG 32:96AB: "One conceives the effulgence with the glory, the image with the model, the Son with the Father."

<sup>5</sup> See *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 19; PG 32:101C-04B; *ibid.*, 8, 21; PG 32:105BC.

<sup>6</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 23; PG 29: 564AB; *ibid.*, 2, 21; PG 29:617C-20A. See also Letter 236. 1; PG 32:877AB; and *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 20; PG 32:104BD.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, what Saint Basil has to say on this specific point in *In Illud, attende tibi ipsi*, 7; PG 31:213C-16B: "Observe yourself, so that you discover in you the great wisdom of your Creator. Conceive God as bodiless, for your soul is bodiless . . . Believe in God as invisible, for your soul cannot be seen by your bodily eyes . . . it is known through its energies only. Thus do not ask to see God with your bodily eyes."

oriented towards its Archetype, God. In the act of knowledge by man-in-the-image-of-God, the Archetype while being 'objectified,' becomes the true 'subject' of knowledge, 'objectifying' His image. Thus, the knowledge of God through this image is a *sui generis* knowledge, as we will subsequently see.

According to Saint Basil, if God conferred upon us reason, in which we have the image of the Creator, it is to know the truth. To know the truth means to know God, because God is the existing Truth. Thus, our mind is oriented towards the knowledge of God, on the basis of its very foundation, which is the image of God in us, this is so from the very beginning of the mind's existence. Saint Basil states in one of his letters to Amphilochios of Iconion

The mind is a wonderful thing (καλον μὲν ὁ νοῦς), and therein we possess that which is after the image of the Creator (καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔχομεν τὸ κατ'εἰκόνα τοῦ κτίσαντος). And the operation of the mind is wonderful, in that, in its perpetual motion, it . . . is frequently carried straight to the truth . . . The judgment of our mind is given us for the understanding of the truth. Now our God is the very Truth (ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια). So the primary function of our mind is to know our God (ὥστε προηγούμενόν ἐστι τῷ νῷ τον Θεον ἡμῶν ἐπιγνώσκειν)<sup>8</sup>

This knowledge of God, proportional to the cognitive power of the mind,<sup>9</sup> is surely not just 'intellectual' and 'philosophical'. It is a knowledge which aims at assimilation, at 'resemblance' to the known 'object,'<sup>10</sup> and at the 'enjoyment' of this Knowable Good. This happens when in the act of knowledge man is possessed by God. The subject then paradoxically becomes the object, while remaining the subject.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Letter 233, 1-2, PG 32 864C-65C. Cf. *Regulae fusius tractatae*, 2, 3, PG 31 913B, see also homilies *Dicta tempore famis et siccitatis*, 5, PG 31 317AB, *In illud attende* 6, PG 31 212B, and *De gratiarum actione*, 2, PG 31 221C. Here, the translation is that of *The Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, 1955), vol. 8, p. 273, columns 1 and 2. On the basis of the Greek original, the ending of this translation has been adjusted to read "our God," instead of "one God."

<sup>9</sup> See Letter 233, 2, PG 32 868B. Cf. *ibid.*, 1, PG 32 865C, and Letter 235, 1, PG 32 872B.

<sup>10</sup> See *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1, 2, PG 32 69B. Cf. *Regulae fusius*, 2, 3, PG 31 913B, Letter 233, 1, PG 32 865A, and Letter 159, 1, PG 32 620B.

<sup>11</sup> See *De humilitate*, 4, PG 31 532B. Cf. *Quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, 6, PG 31 344BC, and Letter 235, 3, PG 32 876A.

Thus, in the act of knowing God by man-made-in-the-image-of-God there are two continuous and concomitant aspects: one is sensorial, intellectual, and philosophical; the other is extra-sensorial, ethical, and experiential. In Saint Basil's terms, there is the intellectual understanding which he views as a good means to lead to knowledge "by faith,"<sup>12</sup> that is to say, a knowledge by consent and confidence in the Revealer of the revealed truth.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, 'intellectual' knowledge, a philosophical knowledge, is good in spite of its inferiority to revelation, and is even able to be delivered to us by the wisdom of "those from outside."<sup>14</sup> But it is the aspect of 'knowledge in faith,' knowledge 'lived,' by 'connaturality' as the Scholastics would say,<sup>15</sup> knowledge by faithfulness to the commandments of God and the 'familiarity' (*οικειώσις*) with Him, which is the principal aspect of the act of knowing God, by man-made-in-the-image-of-God.<sup>16</sup>

Both of these aspects, intellectual and experiential, constitute the one act of knowing God, which leads to union and communion with Him. At the same time, knowledge of God is nourished by the experience of God, obtained by man in this union and intimate communion with Him. What follows is an analysis of these two aspects on the basis of Basilian thought.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Here, by 'faith' Basil understands 'faithfulness.'

<sup>13</sup> See *Letter* 235, 1; PG 32:872AB. Cf. *Ad adolescentes*, 2; PG 31: 568BC; ed. Fernand Boulenger (Paris, 1952), 3; p. 44, lines 11–15.

<sup>14</sup> *In principium Proverbiorum*, 7; PG 31:401A; see also *ibid.*, 6; PG 31:397BC-400B; and *ibid.*, 14; PG 31:416C.

<sup>15</sup> The term *connaturalitas* was created in the Christian West on the basis of 2 Peter 1.4, to indicate our union with the nature of God. Eastern Christianity interprets this union as a participation in the energies of God which together with the essence are the one nature of God (see Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, pp. 67-70). I use the term 'connaturality' with the Eastern understanding of divine nature in which we are called to participate. In this participation we know God in the measure that He is knowable by us, that is in His energies.

<sup>16</sup> See *In Psalmum XIV*, 1, 3; PG 29:256BC; see also *ibid.*, 1, 3; PG 29:256CD. Cf. *In principium Proverbiorum*, 14; PG 31:416C.

<sup>17</sup> In a letter to Amphilochios of Ikonion, Saint Basil makes the synthesis of the two aspects, when he speaks of the many facets of the knowledge of God. This knowledge is at the same time "understanding of our Creator (τοῦ κτίσαντος ἡμᾶς οὐνεὺς), comprehension of His marvelous things (τῶν θαυμασίων αὐτοῦ κατανόησις), observance of His commandments (τήρησις τῶν ἐντολῶν), and familiarity with Him" (*οικειώσις πρὸς αὐτόν*). *Letter* 235, 3; PG 32:873C. The translation of *The Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, p. 275, column 2, renders "*οικειώσις*" (familiarity) with "intimate communion." I would agree with this translation, less literal than mine, as an alternative meaning of "*οικειώσις*" in the given context of the letter.

## I. 'INTELLECTUAL' KNOWLEDGE OF GOD—THE TRANSCENDENCE OF 'OBJECT'

The fact of the creation of man in the image of God, that is to say, the fact that God 'accorded to man reason,' is the basis and the beginning of the 'spiritual journey' which the human conscience must make to its Archetype. The human conscience is thus capable of this knowledge of God, inasmuch as it is He who wanted it so, creating us in His image.<sup>18</sup> Knowledge of God is thus possible for man.

### TRANSCENDENCE OF GOD

There are two obstacles to an intellectual knowledge of God: the first is the limitation of our mind in understanding God; the second is the nature of the 'object' of our knowledge, God Himself who in His essence totally transcends our capacity for knowledge and understanding. Let us examine these obstacles as Saint Basil describes them to us.

#### Limitations of the Human Mind

The measure of our knowledge of God is directly proportional to the capacity of our reason, according to that measure which was granted to it. To show the extent of this human knowledge, Saint Basil tells Amphilochios: "Reason knows God in such a way as the infinite Grandeur is able to be known by a lowly subject."<sup>19</sup> Basil insists as much on the reality of this knowledge as on its minuteness.<sup>20</sup>

The minuteness of the human knowledge of God is not only due to the limited capacity of our reason; it is also due to the limitation of our present bodily existence. The body with

<sup>18</sup> See *Dicta tempore famis*, 3; PG 31:317 AB: "Who forced (the Creator) to endow man with reason, according to His own image (κατ'εἰκονα ἰδίαν τὸν λόγον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου χαρίσασθαι), so that beginning his journey from there (ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς) he may be versed in arts and may learn how to contemplate the highest realities, which he cannot reach through his senses?" (μάθη περί τῶν ἀνωτάτων φιλοσοφεῖν ὥν αἰσθητῶς οὐχ ἄπτεται.)

<sup>19</sup> Letter 233, 2; PG 32:865C-868A.

<sup>20</sup> See *ibid.*, 2; PG 32:868A, where Saint Basil brings the example of the sky. We cannot see everything in it, he says, yet we cannot say that the sky is invisible. The same goes with the knowledge of God.

which we are clothed and in which our soul dwells,<sup>21</sup> is occasionally seen by Saint Basil as a 'prison' (δεσμωτηριον)<sup>22</sup> for the soul. Thus the body becomes a kind of 'veil' (περικάλυμμα) for the immaterial soul. Without this veil the soul would have knowledge similar to that of the angels.<sup>23</sup> It is therefore quite normal that sensorial perception is precluded as a means of true knowledge of God.<sup>24</sup> Inasmuch as the soul is tied to this 'veil,' we are prevented from "seeing the grandeur of the glory of God" without an intermediary as the angels see it.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, *Letter 46*, 4, PG 32 376C, ed. Courtonne, p. 121, lines 7-8. We are "living bodies, inhabited by a soul made in the image of God" (σωμάτων ζωντῶν ψυχὴν εἰκόνα ἔχοντων κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πεποιημένων). See also *Regulae fusius*, 1, PG 31 104A, *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 6, PG 29 337D, *In Psalmum CXIV*, 5, PG 29 493C, and *In illud attende*, 1-8, PG 31 197-217 (passim). One should note that in all these texts, Saint Basil sounds dualistic regarding the constitution of man. Yet, this dualism is very much different from the one of Plato and Origen. Actually, Saint Basil speaks of a duality of principles in man, without being Aristotelian either. His doctrine is that of the Holy Scripture: there is a duality of principles in man, one spiritual, another material. The two make the one man, who is a 'psycho-physical,' or 'psycho-somatic' unity. In this Saint Basil is more in line with Makarios of Egypt rather than with Evagrius Pontikos, both of them his contemporaries. In spite of the appearances, Saint Basil's general doctrine supports a rather 'wholistic' view of man. If Saint Basil considers the body dangerous, it is because of its 'passions,' a result of the fall, which are "against nature." But once the soul-in-the-image-of-God wins the battle over these passions, the body becomes the best co-worker of the soul. The body serves in the best interests of the soul and with it ultimately achieves 'theosis' (see next note). With regard to the theology and anthropology of Makarios and Evagrius, see the recent work of John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), pp. 67-69.

<sup>22</sup> On some rare occasions Saint Basil speaks of the body with some disdain. This makes him sound very much like Plato. Yet in Saint Basil's texts the emphasis is not on contempt for the body—"the prison of the soul,"—but on the soul's priority over the body. In Saint Basil's thought the body is never seen as a penalty for the fallen soul, as we see it in Plato's thought (see Plato's *Cratylus*, 400C, and *Phaedo*, 62B, 82D). Even in the text which denotes the strongest Platonic influence, Saint Basil does nothing but attempt to establish this priority of the spiritual and immortal soul over the mortal and material body. Here is an excerpt from this text, where Saint Basil tells his young nephews: "You should not be slaves of your body, unless this is absolutely necessary. As far as your soul is concerned, make certain to obtain for it whatever is best. Also, as from a prison (ὡς περ ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου) try to liberate your soul from the body's passions. Make your body the winner of the battle over these passions." *Ad adolescentes*, 7, PG 31 581A, ed. Boulenger, 9, pp. 54-55, lines 3-7. Cf. *ibid.*, 7, PG 31 584C, ed. Boulenger, 9, p. 57, lines 77-80. In the fallen nature our material body hinders the movements of our spiritual soul. Saint Basil is sensitive to this fact and seeks for remedies which we can find in ourselves: we can make our own bodies the winners of the battle over the passions.

<sup>23</sup> See *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 11, PG 29 377BC. See also *In illud attende*, 1, PG 31 197C.

<sup>24</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 9, PG 29 532C-33A. See also *In illud attende*, 7, PG 31 216A, and *Dicta tempore famus*, 5, PG 31 317B. Cf. *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 3, PG 29 329B.

<sup>25</sup> *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 11, PG 29 337C. Cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53, PG 32 168AB.

### Transcendence of the 'Object' of Knowledge

But in our act of knowing God it is especially in considering the 'object' of knowledge that the difficulty arises; in the short treatise *On Faith*, preceeding the *Moralia*, Basil says that "before making a confession of faith, it is important to know what follows. Just as the majesty and glory of God is unexplainable in words and incomprehensible by reason, it is impossible to express it in a single word or a concept, or to understand it."<sup>26</sup> Thus we must approach the mystery of faith and be prepared to receive it without being able to understand or to articulate everything of its content, knowing that it surpasses the cognitive abilities of the mind. We find the same ideas expressed by Saint Basil in his *Homily On Faith*, where he says:

It is consistent with piety to remind one's self of God; the soul that loves God is never saturated with Him. But it is bold to talk about that which is of God by words; firstly, because our intelligence is much inferior to the grandeur of (divine) things; and secondly, because the word is equally inferior to intelligence . . . How would it not be necessary to remain silent, for fear that one will diminish the dignity of 'theologia'<sup>27</sup> by the mediocrity of words (through which it is expressed)? The desire to glorify God is sown in the nature of beings endowed with reason. But all are equally incapable of speaking in a fashion worthy (of God). No one is so blinded and does not fool himself so much that he believes himself to have arrived at the peak of comprehension.<sup>28</sup>

After this avowal of the incapability of the mind to understand the mysteries of 'theologia' and the inadequacy of words to express them,<sup>29</sup> Basil gives an excellent discourse on divine

<sup>26</sup> *De fide*, 2; PG 31:681A.

<sup>27</sup> "Θεολογία" is a technical term in Saint Basil's theological language. The term indicates 'word on God,' that is 'word on the Holy Trinity.' Saint Basil distinguishes "Θεολογία" from "Οικονομία" as 'word on God in His transcendence and His intimate life; from 'word on God as He manifests Himself to the world,' specifically through His plan of salvation in Christ. See *Homilia de fide*, 1; PG 31:464A; *ibid.*, 2; PG 31:468BC. See also *De Spiritu Sancto*, 7, 16; PG 32:93C; *ibid.*, 15, 35; PG 32:128C; and *ibid.*, 16, 39; PG 32:140B.

<sup>28</sup> *Homilia de fide*, 1; PG 31:464BC.

<sup>29</sup> Saint Basil is one of the many exponents of apophatic theology in the great patristic tradition of the East. Basil's attitude is not to discredit human reason and/or human expression, but to stress God's transcendence, incomprehensibility, and ineffability. On other occasions, Saint Basil expresses confidence in our reason, a gift that God gave us to use for knowledge of Him (see *Letter* 233, 1-2; PG 32:864C-68B). He also expresses confidence in our expression, even if he does this in an apologetic context; The Son of God, he says, being Word of God, is fully whatever the Father is in His divinity, "as our spoken word reflects the full content of our mind" (ὁ ἡμέτερος λόγος ὅλην ἡμῶν ἀπεικονίζει τὴν διάνοιαν.) *In illud, in principio erat Verbum*, 3; PG 31:477BC.

transcendence. He describes the trudging progress of thought until it attains the contemplation of the 'qualities' of divine nature in its transcendence and the contemplation of the three persons of the Holy Trinity as faith shows them to us.<sup>30</sup> Precautions are taken by Basil before he goes on to express the mysteries of faith. Basil must speak about faith. Yet he realizes that he is not able to say "all that God is, but all that he is capable of saying about Him."<sup>31</sup> Even "the tongues of the angels and archangels, whatever their nature might be, if gathered together with all rational nature, would have attained but very little of the total Reality." All the more, if man wants to say or to hear something about God, he must devote himself to askesis to go beyond himself. He must rise above his earthly condition, he must "pass beyond everything by his mind, surpass even the sky, and once being above the sky, he must contemplate all the beauty that is found there by intelligence alone."<sup>32</sup> There he will contemplate upon the divine nature "beyond all things,"<sup>33</sup> there he will contemplate upon "the uncreated Nature, the natural Goodness," the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.<sup>34</sup>

But if we dare to make this 'spiritual journey' by thought, and if we dare to talk about it, as is only right, in the end we must "concede victory to the majesty of the (divine) Nature, against all rational expression."<sup>35</sup> We must understand that the mysteries concerning the divine nature and the divine Persons are "inexpressible and inconceivable for the human mind,"<sup>36</sup> and they "exceed all human conception."<sup>37</sup> In another text on the transcendence of God taken from his *Hexaemeron*, Basil com-

<sup>30</sup> *Homilia de fide*, 1; PG 31:463AC; and *ibid.*, 1; PG 31: 465C.

<sup>31</sup> "Ἐροῦμεν δέ, οὐχ ὅσος ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἡμῖν ἐφικτόν" *Ibid.*, 1; PG 31:465A.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 1; PG 31:465B.

<sup>33</sup> "Ἐπέκνω τούτων." *Ibid.*, 1; PG 31:465C. See also *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53; PG 32:165D.

<sup>34</sup> *Homilia de fide*, 2; PG 31:465C.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 1; PG 31:465A.

<sup>36</sup> *Letter* 52, 3; PG 32:396A.

<sup>37</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53; PG 32:165D. The text refers to the Holy Spirit, being in His nature "beyond human understanding" (ἐπέκνω ἀνθρωπίνης ἐννοίας), like the Father and the Son. On several other occasions in his writings, Saint Basil develops the theme of divine transcendence and incomprehensibility. He often attacks the rationalism of his opponents, the Arians and the Sabellians. Basil tries to reason with them. He tells them that there is no shame not to know the mysteries of God, pertaining to the essence and the mode of existing of the persons of the Holy

parens the 'hidden-mysteries' of God to the Holy of Holies of the temple of Jerusalem. Standing in front of the propylaeum, Basil envisions the Beauty hidden in the Sanctuary:

If the entrance of the Holy is such, if the propylaea are venerable at this point, elevated and of a beauty the excess of which blinds our intelligence with lightning, what will the Holy of Holies be? And what man is capable of confronting the Sanctuary? Who will meditate upon the hidden mysteries? For even the sight of them is inaccessible; and in any case, it is difficult to put into words what the spirit understood of them.<sup>38</sup>

We are thus amazed by the sight of the 'entrance' and the 'propylaea' of the knowledge of the mysteries of God. We would not dare enter into the Holy of Holies, seeing that access to it is impossible. The divine mysteries are hidden and inaccessible even to the sight; if by grace we understand something of them, we are incapable of translating it into speech.

In that case, if God as an 'object' of knowledge is unreachable in His transcendence, if our faculty of knowledge is so weak and powerless, does this mean that we must confess 'agnosticism'?

We have just seen in the texts cited on God's transcendence that Basil does not come to this conclusion. He is obligated to speak about the mysteries of faith. He speaks of God and the divine realities, while he is conscious that our intellect is incapable of understanding the Incomprehensible.<sup>39</sup> It is thus possible to see, to comprehend, to say something in spite of everything.

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Trinity. There are so many mysteries, he says, pertaining to this world and to our earthly existence, which we still ignore. If it is so, he asks, what is wrong with confessing our ignorance concerning the mysteries of God? See *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 13; PG 29:541BC; *ibid.*, 3, 6; PG 29:668AB; *Contra Sabellianos*, 6; PG 31:613AB; *In Hexaemeron*, 2, 2; PG 29:32B; ed. Giet, p. 144; and *ibid.*, 2, 2; PG 29:33AB; ed. Giet, p. 148.

<sup>38</sup> *In Hexaemeron*, 2, 1; PG 29:28C; ed. Giet, p. 138-39. See also *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27, 26; PG 32:189AB. This theme of the Tabernacle where the divine mystery is hidden is also very dear to Saint Gregory of Nyssa. To describe it, Gregory uses the same terms as his brother and teacher (Saint Basil), those of mystery religions: ἄδυστα, ἐπόψεται, ἀπόρρητα, ἀπρόβουτος. See Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*; PG 44:380B. Cf. Leys, *L'image de Dieu*, p. 32.

<sup>39</sup> See *In Hexaemeron*, 2, 1; PG 29:28 CD; ed. Giet, pp. 138-39.



## KNOWLEDGE OF GOD

In the act of knowing God, if an immediate grasp of the 'object' is impossible for us because the 'object' is transcendent to the conscience, there is nevertheless a means to grasp it in a certain way, albeit inadequate and mediate.

## Intermediaries

Basil speaks about the intermediate way of knowing God through the creation—a partial knowledge of the artist by his work of art, and of God by his creatures.<sup>40</sup> Amphilochios of Ikonion asks the question, "Which one preceeds the other: faith or knowledge?" Basil answers that conceptual knowledge preceeds knowledge by faith. In his words, "In faith concerning God the concept of the existence of God is the first. This concept we obtain from creation."<sup>41</sup> Thus, the creation initiates the knowledge of God. This Pauline theme<sup>42</sup> is taken up several times in the different works of Basil. We read in the *Hexameron*:

The world is conceived by the Creator in the best interest of beings. It responds to their ultimate needs in becoming the school where rational souls educate themselves, the place where they learn to know God; He offers Himself in effect to our spirit to guide it by visible and sensible objects, as far as the contemplation of invisible things, according to what the apostle says: Ever since the creation of the world, the invisible perfections of God are offered for contemplation by our spirits by means of His works.<sup>43</sup>

It is in creation that we contemplate the wonders of God: beauty and order, grandeur, strength, goodness, wisdom, and providence.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See, for instance, what Saint Basil says in his *Adversus Eunomium*, 4, 32: PG 29:648A: "For the created things show forth (the Creator's) power, wisdom, and art" (*Δυνάμειος γάρ, καὶ σοφίας, καὶ τέχνης...ἐπιδεικτικά ἐστι τὰ ποιήματα.*)

<sup>41</sup> Letter 235. 1; PG 32:872B. *The Nicean Fathers*, vol. 8, p. 275, column 1, renders "δημιουργήματα" (created things) with "works." I feel that this translation is not specific enough. In my estimation, the Greek text refers to Rom 1.20. Evidence of this should be found in the English translation.

<sup>42</sup> See for example Rom 1.19,20.

<sup>43</sup> In *Hexameron*, 1, 6; PG 29:16BC; ed. Giet, pp. 110-111. See also *ibid.*, 1, 5; PG 29:13B; ed. Giet, p. 106; *ibid.*, 3, 10; PG 29:77BC; ed. Giet, p. 242; *ibid.*, 6, 1; PG 29:117BC; ed. Giet, p. 326; and *In Psalmum XXXVIII*, 3; PG 29:289BC. The quotation comes from Rom 1.20.

<sup>44</sup> See *In Hexameron*, 7, 6; PG 29:161B; *ibid.*, 1, 7; PG 29:17B; *ibid.*, 9, 5; PG 29:200B; *In ebriosos*, 6; PG 31:456B; *In Psalmum XXXII*, 3; PG 29:329B; *In martyrem Iulittam*, 3; PG 31:224C; *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 3; PG 29:357A; *Letter 235*, 1; PG 32:872A; *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 14; PG 29:544BC; and, *In principium Proverbiorum*, 3; PG 31:389C-92B. A complete list of all Saint Basil's passages on this theme is given in my thesis, *La dialectique*, pp. 77-78.

Creation as a whole is thus a good 'intermediary' to give us the first idea of God, to manifest God to us in a certain way. But it is rational creation especially, and man in particular, that 'microcosm'<sup>45</sup> who summarizes creation in himself, who makes us know God in a way far superior to that of irrational creatures. In the homily *On Observe Yourself*, Saint Basil states:

If you gaze upon yourself attentively, that will adequately lead you to the knowledge of God. If you reflect upon yourself, you will not have need of the structure of the universe to look for the Demiurge, but in yourself, as in a microcosm, you will clearly see the great wisdom of your Creator.

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The same idea returns in the *Hexaemeron*. In the latter homily, Basil vows that "it seems that this is of all things the most difficult—to know one's self." In fact, "the eye which sees the exterior, does not enjoy its own view"; furthermore, "our spirit itself, prompt to perceive the sins of others, is slow to recognize its own imperfections." Saint Basil claims that this is why his discourse on the *Hexaemeron*, "after having examined with speed the entirety of other beings, shows itself to be lazy and hesitant in the search of what touches us personally." Basil however began his commentary on the creation of man just the same; unfortunately he was not able to finish it before his death. Saint Basil powerfully gives the reason for which he continues his discourse on the creation of man on the sixth day:

<sup>45</sup> "Microcosm" (μικρόκοσμος) stands for "small world." It is a philosophical term of Stoic origin. In the time of Saint Basil it was used by philosophers to indicate that man is a summary of the whole world. Being such he is at the same time the representative of the world unity and the witness to it. From an epistemological point of view, man is able to understand the world because he contains the world in him [See Christos Androustos, *Λεξικὸν τῆς Φιλοσοφίας* 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1965), p. 241]. Saint Basil adjusted this philosophical doctrine from a Christian point of view. He uses the term to indicate that man, inferior by little to the angels, constituted of two principles, material and spiritual, is a summary of the whole creation, both visible and invisible. At the same time man himself is a means of knowing the whole creation, especially as revealing God's wisdom and splendor. See the text from the Saint's homily *In Illud, attende* which follows this note.

<sup>46</sup> *In illud, attende*, 7; PG 31:213D-16A.

Nevertheless, for whoever examines himself with intelligence, the sky and the earth are less suited to make us know God than is our own constitution. This is what the prophet says: 'Admirable the knowledge of Thee that I have taken from myself', that is to say: To know myself, I have learned the infinite wisdom which is in Thee.<sup>47</sup>

In knowing ourselves, we know our Creator. This is due to the fact that God made us in His image, bestowing reason upon us.<sup>48</sup> Basil stresses this in his commentary on Psalm 48 (49). The 'image' is the great 'natural' prerogative of man. It constitutes his grandeur, his honor; it is his "dignity in his natural constitution."<sup>49</sup> Just as the angels are able to know God, man also has this power. This is the consequence of his creation in the image of God, this "bit of His grace which God deposited in man, in order that the latter might know the like by the like."<sup>50</sup>

Basil explains how we obtain this knowledge of "the like by the like":

Understand God as incorporeal, on the basis of the incorporeal soul which dwells in you. God is not circumscribed in a place just as the soul's intelligence has no residence in a place, before the soul is joined to your body. Having gazed upon your soul, which is inaccessible to sight, believe in God as being invisible.<sup>51</sup>

God is thus knowable in a certain way by the knowledge we have of ourselves. "Therefore pay attention to yourself, so that you might pay attention to God."<sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> In *Hexaemeron*, 9, 6; PG 29:204BC; ed. Giet, pp. 512-14; cf. *ibid.*, 6, 1; PG 29:120A; ed. Giet, p. 328. Cf. also *Ad adolescentes*, 7; PG 31:581C; ed. Boulenger, 9; p. 55, lines 30-33; also, *In illud, attende*, 8; PG 31:217B. The text upon which Saint Basil comments is from Ps 138 (139).6. Saint Basil makes use of the text of Septuagint, substantially different at this point from the original Hebrew.

<sup>48</sup> In *Hexaemeron*, 6, 1; PG 29:117D-20A; ed. Giet, p. 328.

<sup>49</sup> In *Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29:449B.

<sup>50</sup> "Μοῖράν τινα τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐναπέθετο τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἵνα τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπεγνώσκῃ τὸ ὅμοιον". *Ibid.*, 8; PG 29:449BD. Cf. *Dicta tempore famis*, 5; PG 31:317AB.

<sup>51</sup> In *illud, attende*, 7; PG 31:216A. Cf. *Regulae fusius*, 2, 1; PG 31:908BC. Here there is an explicit attack against Plato's doctrine on the pre-existence of "souls-intelligences", incarnated only after their fall [See references from Platos's works given above. Also, on Platos's doctrine on the origin of the soul and its relation to the body, see the recent work by Athenagoras Zakopoulos, *Plato on Man* (New York, 1975), pp. 49-53, and pp. 73-74].

<sup>52</sup> In *illud, attende* 8; PG 31:217B.

Therefore we know God in a certain fashion through the entire creation, and more particularly through the creation of man-the-microcosm. We know something about God; Basil affirms this against the Eunomians, who accused him of 'agnosticism'.<sup>53</sup>

### Knowledge of the Divine Attributes or Energies of God

We have already seen that what we know of God is that which is "knowable" (*γνωστόν*) by our intellect and is proportional to our capacity to know.<sup>54</sup> In this stage of 'intellectual' knowledge this 'knowable' consists of certain attributes which can be deduced by means of syllogism, by reflection upon creatures and especially upon man.

We know the wonders of God, their beauty, their order, and the grandeur of created beings; we behold in them the magnificent attributes of God which correspond to Him: Intelligence, Beauty, Infinite 'Grandeur.' We reflect upon the goodness, the wisdom, the strength, the providence, the justice of God in created beings. Moreover, in contemplating the human soul, we know attributes of God such as omnipresence, invisibility, and knowledge by the energies alone. By way of affirmation (*υπαρχόντων ὁμολογία*) we attribute to God that which is suitable to his Divine Majesty, according to Basil in his *Against Eunomios*. But it is especially by way of negation (*ἀπεμφαινόντων ἄρνησις*) that we know the "magnificent attributes" which "surround" the divine essence (*περιθεωρούμενα ιδιώματα*), the 'energies' of God.<sup>55</sup>

### Unknowability of the Divine Essence

But even if we succeed in knowing the 'magnificent attributes' of the divine substance, we are never able to enter into the fathomless mystery. We have already seen the foundation of this ignorance: the 'like' reality to God set in us by creation

<sup>53</sup> See *Letter* 234, 1; PG 32:868C; cf. *Letter* 235, 2; PG 32:872CD.

<sup>54</sup> "Εἰδέναι . . . ὁμολογοῦμεν τὸ γνωστόν τοῦ Θεοῦ". *Letter* 235, 2; PG 32:872D. Reference to Rom 1.19.

<sup>55</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 10; PG 29:533C-36D; *ibid.*, 2, 24; PG 29:625C. Cf. *Letter* 52, 3; PG 32:396A; ed. Courtonne, 3; p. 136, lines 10-20. These attributes of God, which "surround" the essence, are not the "propria personarum" ("ἰδιαζόντως ἐπιθεωρούμενα"; see *Letter* 38, 6; PG 32:336C; ed. Courtonne, p. 89, line 7; see also my thesis, *La dialectique*, p. 57). These attributes are the energies of God, which are the divine reality as it is accessible to us. The divine essence remains incommunicable, inaccessible and unapproachable. See Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, England, 1968), pp. 67-90.

in His image is not the essence of God, but only certain qualities of God accorded to man in a proportionate measure. Only the Son and the Spirit know all of the Father absolutely and know each other mutually by reason of identity of essence. The divine essence remains inaccessible to human knowledge. Basil repeats this several times to the rationalists of his time, Eunomios and the Eunomians.<sup>56</sup>

It is in the letters to Amphilochios that Basil presents us with the best of his passages on the inaccessibility of the divine essence. He says:

The information that one is able to have on the divine essence is the realization of its incomprehensibility. That which is respectable, is not to comprehend *what* the essence is, but to comprehend *that* the essence is.<sup>57</sup>

In the same letter, Basil summarizes all his thoughts on what we are able to know of God:

We assert that we know our God by his 'energies.' We do not promise to attain His very essence. For it is His energies which descend to us, whereas His essence remains inaccessible.<sup>58</sup>

Human intelligence is not able to pass beyond the borders marked out by its condition, its created standard. It is not able to penetrate beyond the *περιθεωρούμενα* (attributes surrounding the divine essence) up to the mystery of the very essence of God, on pain of no longer being human, or as Basil says to Eunomios, on pain of being struck with "apparent madness" (*μανία σαφής*).<sup>59</sup>

### Privileged Instances of Knowledge of God

Moreover, Basil speaks to us about special instances of privileged knowledge on the part of some righteous and holy men of the Old and New Testaments. Such were Abraham and

<sup>56</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 13-14; PG 29:544A. See also *ibid.*, 1, 13; PG 29:541BC; and *ibid.*, 2, 24; PG 29:628A.

<sup>57</sup> *Letter* 234, 2; PG 32:689C.

<sup>58</sup> "Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος", *Letter* 234, 1; PG 32:689AB. See also *Letter* 235, 2; PG 32:872C-73A; Cf. *Letter* 234, 2; PG 32:689B; *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 14; PG 29:544BC-45A; *Letter* 38, 3; PG 32:328C-29A; ed. Courtonne, pp. 83-84, lines 33-41. See comments by Lossky, *The Mystical Theology*, pp. 71-72, where the author quotes the first of these texts. Saint Gregory Palamas makes an extensive use of this text in this *Contra Acindynum* [πρὸς Ἀκίνδυνον ἀντιφρόνητικοί, ed. Leonidas Contos-Basil Fanourgakis (Thessalonike, 1970), pp. 42-45]. On the development of this distinction between essence and energies by Saint Gregory Palamas see John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (London, 1964), pp. 202-26.

<sup>59</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 4; PG 29:580B. Cf. *Letter* 234, 2; PG 32:869B.

Moses, the Prophet Elijah, David, Isaiah, Saint Peter, and Saint Paul.

Basil presents Abraham and Moses as having advanced very much in the knowledge of God—but without having gone past the human standard. According to this standard we are not able to attain the summit of comprehension, the knowledge of the divine essence; we are not foolish enough to believe it! On the contrary, the more we advance in the knowledge of God, the more we realize our own weakness. This is precisely what happens in the case of Abraham and Moses:

When they had seen God as it is possible for a man to see Him, it is then that each one humiliated himself the more: the former, Abraham, called himself clay and dust; the latter, Moses, described himself as being of few words and stammering.<sup>60</sup>

Moses see God “face to face,” equally as the angels. But while still being elevated to the dignity of the angels, he does not exceed his human state. He sees God as it is possible for a man to see Him.

The case of the Prophet Elijah is similar. In his cave on the same mountain as Moses, he is found “worthy of seeing the Lord, as a man is able to see Him.”<sup>61</sup>

With regard to David, Isaiah, and Saint Paul, the case is very clear: David receives the grace of the “manifestation of hidden and unknown things of the wisdom of God.” Isaiah gazes upon “the glory of God.” Saint Paul “is carried off to the third heaven and hears unutterable words which he is not permitted to repeat to men.” But not one of these three, not even Saint Paul who has the greatest ‘measure of knowledge,’ gazes upon the essence of God. Since the divine essence stays inaccessible to created understanding, not one of them declares or teaches anything concerning the essence of God.<sup>62</sup>

The case of Saint Peter is equally very clear: the knowledge which he receives by revelation is not knowledge of the divine essence.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Homilia de fide*, 1; PG 31:464C. Cf. *In Mamantem martyrem*, 3; PG 31:593B; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 26, 62; PG 32:181CD. See also *In Hexaemeron*, 1, 1; PG 29:5BC; ed. Giet, p. 90; *ibid.*, 6, 1; PG 29:117B; ed. Giet, p. 326.

<sup>61</sup> *De ieiunio*, 1, 6; PG 31:172BC. Cf. *In Gordium martyrem*, 2; PG 31:496B.

<sup>62</sup> See *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 12; PG 29:540BC. Cf. *ibid.*, 2, 4; PG 29:580A.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, 7; PG 29:584C.

Thus there are special instances of knowledge of God in the sense that a person finds himself before a superior degree of knowledge; but the 'human measure' is always kept—the divine essence always remains impenetrable.

### Knowledge in Faith-belief: Its Progress and Achievement

With these privileged instances of knowledge, we also have progressed in the description of the 'journey from the human conscience to God.' We are no longer in the domain of the mind alone, which bearing within it the image of God is capable of knowledge of Him and gives us our first knowledge of God. Neither is it the domain of "common sense" (*κοινή ἔννοια*), as Basil says in his *Against Eunomios*.<sup>64</sup> In these special instances we find ourselves in the domain of the "instruction of the Spirit" (*διδασκαλία τοῦ Πνεύματος*),<sup>65</sup> in the domain of Revelation to which man is invited to reply by faith.

Basil makes the distinction between the two domains of philosophy and faith, but he places them in continuity: the 'philosophical' domain or that of the "*κοινή ἔννοια*," prepares man very simply for the reception of faith, and at the same time it strengthens the faith.<sup>66</sup> The domain of philosophy—which is also the philosophy of 'those from outside,' the non-initiated—is not separated from the domain of faith. There is continuity and concordance between the two. As there is elsewhere a knowledge which leads to faith, faith equally leads to higher knowledge:

If you affirm that whoever believes knows at the same time, it is on the basis of what he believes that he knows. Or vice versa, it is on the basis of what he knows that he believes. For we know God by his strength. All things considered, we believe in Him whom we have known, we worship Him in whom we have believed.<sup>67</sup>

It is thus that Basil concludes one of his letters to Amphilochios, treating *ex professo* the question of the relation between knowledge and faith.

This knowledge in faith is likewise a knowledge in progress. Its dynamism is inexhaustible in this life. Not only does the

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 1, 12; PG 29:540A.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 1, 12; PG 29:540AB.

<sup>66</sup> See *In Psalmum XXXII*, 3; PG 29:329B. See also *Letter* 235, 1; PG 32:872BC; cf. *Letter* 234, 2; PG 32:869B.

<sup>67</sup> *Letter* 234, 3; PG 32:869D-72A.

'sage from outside' become wiser in placing himself in the school of the Wisdom of God, but those who are already instructed from Christ the True Wisdom, whatever might be the stage of progress, are also able to grow in wisdom:

The word 'wise' (σοφός) applies equally to whomever desires (ὁ ἐπιθυμῶν) Wisdom, to whomever already finds himself in progress (ὁ ἐν προκοπῇ) in the contemplation of wisdom, and to whomever is already perfected (ὁ τετελειωμένος) in this contemplation by habituation (ἔξις). Now, all of them, including the lover (ἐραστής) of wisdom and the one who has already advanced in wisdom, having heard wisdom, will become wiser . . . [always progressing in the knowledge of] divine dogmas (θείων . . . δογμάτων).<sup>68</sup>

This progress will not end until our actual earthly condition changes. It is only by the separation of the soul and the body at death that the dynamism ceases to exist, and that the progress has no reason to be. There will no longer be "circumstances" (περιστάσεις) which will necessitate this "becoming" (ἀλλοίωσις). In the "land of the living" (χώρα . . . τῷ ὄντι ζώντων) we stay "always identical with ourselves" (ὁμοίων ὄντων ἀεὶ αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῖς).<sup>69</sup> It is in the life of the age to come that the actual condition of "partial knowledge" (ἐκ μέρους) will yield its place to the condition of "perfection" (τὸ τέλειον).<sup>70</sup> It is then that as "sons of resurrection" (υἱοὶ ἀναστάσεως), we shall have transformed, 'spiritualized' bodies which will no longer be like 'veils.'<sup>71</sup> It is then that we will no longer see, as in our earthly condition, "through a mirror and enigmatically," but we will see God face to face, like the angels. We will see the "depths in the treasures of God," if we show ourselves worthy of it at the end of our 'journey.'<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *In principium Proverbiorum*, 14; PG 31:416CD; cf. *ibid.*, 14; PG 31:417A. See also: *De fide*, 2; PG 31:681B; and *ibid.*, 3; PG 31:684A.

<sup>69</sup> *In Psalmum CXIV*, 5; PG 29:492C-93C.

<sup>70</sup> *De fide*, 3; PG 31:684A; also, *Letter* 233, 2; PG 32:868B. Quote from 1 Cor 13.10.

<sup>71</sup> *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 11; PG 29:377BC.

<sup>72</sup> *De fide*, 2; PG 31:681A; also: *ibid.*, 2; PG 31:681C; *Adversus Eunomium*, 3.7; PG 29, 669C; *In Psalmum XXXII*, 5; PG 29:337A. Quote from 1 Cor 13.12.



Intellectual knowledge of God does not represent the entirety of our act of knowing God. At this point, we are led to examine the second aspect of this act, which is complementary and concomitant to the intellectual: the aspect of knowledge which, transforming us by the known object, renders us worthy of God, worthy of participating in Him and being united to Him. The object God, becomes the subject, and the human subject objectifies itself. Here is a knowledge no longer intellectual but experiential, a knowledge by 'connaturality' with God, as we participate in Him through His energies.

## II. KNOWLEDGE – 'EXPERIENCED' OR BY 'FAMILIARITY': THE IMMANENCE OF THE KNOWN 'OBJECT'

The 'philosophical' knowledge of God must lead us to the knowledge of God 'by faith.' This 'faith' is not only a simple 'belief'; it is belief, for the 'intellectual' element is present. Yet there is more than just belief in this faith: there are also elements of the emotional and moral order. It is that aspect of faith which we can call 'faith-faithfulness'—that response to the call of God to know Him both through the image which He placed in us and through Revelation. Knowledge leads us to faith-faithfulness in which we worship God.<sup>73</sup>

This faith-faithfulness is an active response, expressing itself by fidelity to the commandments of God. It is this faithfulness which makes us known by God, which familiarizes us with Him, which "wins us over" to Him, which "makes us like Him," and which "fashions us after Him."<sup>74</sup> It is this faithfulness which makes the very life of our soul:

As our body cannot live without breathing (*μὴ ἀναπνέοντι*), so our soul cannot keep alive without knowing the Creator (*μὴ γνωρίζουσα τὸν κτίσαντα*); for the ignorance of God (in the sense of the absence of knowledge by 'familiarity' with Him) is the death of the soul (*Θεοῦ γὰρ ἄγνοια θάνατός ἐστι ψυχῆς*).<sup>75</sup>

Moreover,

those who are not united to the truly existing God by faith (*οἱ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὄντι μὴ ἡνωμένοι κατὰ τὴν πίστιν*)—being

<sup>73</sup> See *Letter* 234, 3; PG 32:869D-872A.

<sup>74</sup> See *Letter* 204, 6; PG 32:753A; also *Letter* 235, 3; PG 32:876A; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1, 2; PG 32:69AB; and *Letter* 159, 1; PG 32:620B.

<sup>75</sup> *In Sanctum Baptisma*, 1; PG 31:424C.

accustomed to lies . . . due to the deprivation of the truth (διὰ τὴν στέρησιν τῆς ἀληθείας) and the alienation of life (ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἀλλοτριώσιν)—have been called ‘nonexistent’ (μὴ ὄντες). On the contrary, when Paul writes to the Ephesians who are genuinely united to the truly Existing through the knowledge (ὡς γνησίως ἠνωμένους τῷ ὄντι διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως), he calls them ‘beings’ par excellence (ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἰδιαζόντως ὠνόμασεν).<sup>76</sup>

Thus the object of this knowledge always remains the Truth, as it is in ‘intellectual’ knowledge.<sup>77</sup> Being equally the Life and Source of existence, this Truth makes those who are united to it exist and truly live. It is in this sense that we speak of ‘experienced knowledge,’ knowledge by ‘familiarity’ (οἰκειώσεις) with God, by ‘union’ (ἔνωσις), and thus ‘connaturality’ with Him.

### The Fact of Experiential Knowledge

Both intellectual and experiential knowledge have two components. In a letter to Amphilochios, Basil gives us these constituent parts. Intellectual knowledge consists of “the understanding of the marvels of God” in the creation and “the comprehension of our Creator” through His creatures. Experiential knowledge encompasses “the observance of God’s commandments” and the “familiarity” or “intimate communion with Him,” which God offers us Himself.<sup>78</sup>

### Observance of the Commandments

Basil calls the observance of the commandments of God “knowledge of God:”

See how one understands God; to understand God is to hear His commandments. It is to observe them after hearing them. That is the knowledge of God: the observance of the commandments of God (τοῦτο γινώσις Θεοῦ, τήρησις ἐντολῶν Θεοῦ).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 19; PG 29:612C. See also *ibid.*, 2, 19; PG 29:613A. Reference is made to Eph 1.1.

<sup>77</sup> See *In Psalmum XIV*, 1, 3; PG 29:256CD.

<sup>78</sup> *Letter 235*, 3; PG 32:873C. See also the translation of the *The Nicene Fathers*, vol. 8, p. 275, column 2.

<sup>79</sup> *In Mamantem martyrem*, 4; PG 31:597A.

Evidently it is not a matter of 'intellectual' knowledge To observe the commandments of God is to testify faithfulness to Him, to entrust ourselves to Him, to follow Him wherever He leads us

To not know God in the above fashion is "to know Him half-way" (ἐξ ἡμισείας),<sup>80</sup> it is to stop ourselves at the beginning of knowing God, or before we have started to know Him at all The practical consequences of knowing or not knowing God are significant as Basil understands it, to truly know God means to be a participant in true Life, it means "to preserve life according to nature" (κατὰ φύσιν ζῶην), a nature which God created in His image in order to endow us with both intellectual and experiential knowledge of Him<sup>81</sup> To know God is "to perfect one's life by the commandments, to walk towards God by precepts"<sup>82</sup> It is to return to the state of the "original good" from whence we are fallen, "the residence beside God and union with Him by love"<sup>83</sup> Not to know God through the observance of the commandments is to allow our nature to degenerate,<sup>84</sup> to be given over to "dishonoring passions,"<sup>85</sup> "to resemble irrational beasts instead of resembling God"<sup>86</sup>

Experiential knowledge gained by observance of the commandments makes us participants in the true life It is then that the object of our knowledge, God, being the true subject, objectifies us in acknowledging us among His own

'What have you that you did not receive If then you received it, why do you boast as if it were not a gift?' It is not you who has known God by your justice It is God who has known you through His kindness (Scripture) says 'You have come to know God, or rather to be known by God' It is not you who have taken hold of Christ by your virtue It is Christ who has taken hold of you by His coming<sup>87</sup>

It is obvious that in this text Saint Basil stresses the fact that everything comes from God and that in the act of knowing

<sup>80</sup> *Regulae fusius*, Prooemium, 4, PG 31 897CD

<sup>81</sup> *Quod Deus non est auctor malorum*, 6, PG 31 344BC

<sup>82</sup> *In illud attende*, 6, PG 31 213A

<sup>83</sup> *Quod Deus*, 6, PG 31 344B Cf *Moralia*, 80, 9, PG 31 864A, *De gratiarum actione*, 6, PG 31 244A

<sup>84</sup> *Quod Deus*, 6, PG 31 344B, cf *ibid*, 6, PG 31 344C

<sup>85</sup> *Regulae brevius tractatae*, 20, PG 31 1097A, see also *De iudicio Dei*, 3, PG 31 656C-657AB Quote from Rom 1 28 32

<sup>86</sup> *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8, PG 29 449D-452A Cf *Letter* 233, 1, PG 32 865A

<sup>87</sup> *De humilitate*, 4, PG 31 532B Quotations from 1 Cor 4 7 and Gal 4 9 The translation is that of the Revised Standard Version

God, God Himself is the principal agent, offering Himself to be known by man. God takes up man into communion with Himself in spite of human unworthiness. The latter is quite emphatically underlined in the above text. There are no 'meritorious' works whatsoever for man. Knowledge of God is offered to man as a free gift from God.

In the above text, Basil minimizes the human factor in man's 'synergy' with God in salvation<sup>88</sup> due to his pastoral concerns. But he affirms this human factor in his letter to Amphilochios; although the human is evidently subject to the divine, the two agents find themselves in harmonious cooperation: "The Lord has known His own; that is to say, He has received them into His intimacy (*οικείωσιν*) by good works" (*διὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων*).<sup>89</sup>

### Familiarity with God

God offers us His intimacy on account of our Good works. This 'intimacy,' 'intimate communion,' or 'familiarity' (*οικείωσις*) with God, is the result of our 'affective' and 'moral' knowledge of God (*ἐπίγνωσις*). Moreover, this 'intimacy' or 'familiarity' with God is true knowledge of God, in the sense of a personal experience of God's energies when in communion with Him.<sup>90</sup> Based on kinship through the image of God in

<sup>88</sup> See for example *In Psalmum XIV*, 1, 3; PG 29:256C, where, probably on the basis of 1 Cor 3.9, Basil speaks of man as a "co-worker of Salvation" (*συνεργὸν σωτηρίας*) with God.

<sup>89</sup> Letter 235, 3; PG 32:876A.

<sup>90</sup> In some instances, Saint Basil understands "*ἐπίγνωσις*" and "*οικείωσις*" as cause and effect. For example, in his work *On the Holy Spirit* one can gather this kind of relation between "true knowledge" and "closeness" (familiarity) with God: Basil says that Gregory the Wonder-worker, being himself familiar (*ᾠκειωμένος*) with God, brings close to God (*προσθήγαγε τῷ Θεῷ*) the people entrusted to him, through true knowledge (*διὰ τῆς ἐπίγνωσεως*), *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29, 74; PG 32:205BC. Also in *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 19; PG 29:612C (quoted above) there is an interesting parallelism established between "knowledge of God-union with God," and "lack of truth-familiarity with the nonexistence of falsehood." Basil says that holy men are considered to be "united with the truly Existing through true knowledge" (*ἡνωμένοι τῷ ὄντι διὰ τῆς ἐπίγνωσεως*), whereas wicked people are "familiar" with the non-existence of falsehood by lack of truth" (*τῇ ἀνυπαρξίᾳ τοῦ ψεύδους οικειωθέντες... διὰ τὴν στέρησιν τῆς ἀληθείας*).

In other instances, the two terms, *ἐπίγνωσις* and *οικείωσις* are seen as interdependent. They are used as quasi-synonymous terms: the distinction one can establish between the two is that *ἐπίγνωσις* is a cause which contains its effect (*οικείωσις*), whereas the latter (*οικείωσις*) is an effect which contains its cause (*ἐπίγνωσις*). An example of this is found in the letter to Amphilochios quoted in the previous note. In this letter, *ἐπίγνωσις*, or simply "*γνώσις Θεοῦ*," is the kind of cause which contains its effect *οικείωσις*. Vice versa, *οικείωσις Θεῷ* is the effect containing its cause,

us<sup>91</sup>—a particle of His grace which makes us like Him—this familiarity finds its maturation in our education through the instruction of Wisdom “in the knowledge of God.” Thus we are always becoming more what we already were from our creation in God’s image: “children of Wisdom.”<sup>92</sup> The moral and affective element is inseparable from this knowledge in intimacy. Faith—here not only as belief, but moreover as confidence and faithfulness—is tied to the love of God,<sup>93</sup> to the “enjoyment” (ἐνευφρανθῆναι) of God.<sup>94</sup> It is this moral and affective knowledge of God, which the “fire” (πῦρ τῆς γνώσεως) that the Bridegroom asks of the “wise virgins,” that they might be received into His ‘intimacy’ (συνάρχεια)<sup>95</sup> Here we are then at the summit of our ‘journey from the human conscience to God.’

### Explanation of the Fact of Experiential Knowledge

What are the preliminary conditions explaining the fact of experiential knowledge of God? Three events must be considered: firstly, the creation in the image of God which enables us to know God through intimacy with Him; secondly, the fall which weakens the potential of the image in man; and thirdly, the divine Economy through which the potential of the image is

ἐπίγνωσις Θεοῦ One of the meanings that Saint Basil finds in γνώσις Θεοῦ is that of οἰκείωσις Θεῷ For Basil, this is the usual Scriptural meaning of ‘knowledge’, it implies the experience of intimate union between persons, and, at the same time, it is this experience of communion between them. This is also true of the knowledge of God Here is the text “Is it not the custom of the Scripture to use the word ‘know’ (ἐγνώ) of nuptial embraces (ἐπὶ τῶν γαμικῶν συμπλοκῶν)? The statement that God shall be known from the mercy seat means that He will be known to His worshippers. And the Lord knoweth (ἐγνώ) them that are His, means that on account of their good works He receives them into intimate communion (οἰκείωσις) with Him.” Letter 235, 3, PG 32 876A The translation here is that of *The Nicene Fathers*, 8 275-76.

<sup>91</sup> On this ‘kinship’ see *Regulae fustius*, 2, 2, PG 31 912BC

<sup>92</sup> In *Psalmum VII*, 1, PG 29 229C.

<sup>93</sup> See Letter 236, 1, PG 32 876C Cf *Regulae fustius*, 55, 3, PG 31 1048C.

<sup>94</sup> See *Regulae fustius*, 37, 3, PG 31 1013B, Saint Basil exhorts his monks not to begin their day without ‘enjoying’ God through the remembrance of Him Do not undertake any care before enjoying the understanding of God which comes from Him (τῇ παρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐννοία ἐνευφρανθῆναι), according to what it is written I have remembered God, and have rejoiced (Ἐμνήσθην τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἠὐρράνθην) Quotation from Ps 76(77) 4.

<sup>95</sup> *Dicta tempore famis*, 8, PG 31 325D-28A The theme of mystical marriage with Christ, the Bridegroom, is very dear to all mystics and mystic theologians of our Christian tradition Saint Basil is no exception to this rule For example, here is what he says in the homily quoted here “Do not present the Bridegroom with a bride who is ugly (ἄμορφον) and without ornaments (ἄκοσμον) In seeing her in this condition, He might dislike her (or hate her μισήσῃ) and refuse to take her into His intimacy . . . But keep her beautiful (or pretty εὐμορφον) . . . so that she can light her candle together with the wise virgins, keeping alive the fire of knowledge, and not being short in the oil of good deeds” (μὴ λείπουσα τῶν κατορθωμάτων τὸ ἔλαιον) Here reference is made to Mt 25 4.

fully restored and new possibilities of knowing God in the life of grace are offered to man. God's coming to us in His Christ and His Spirit (*via descensiva*) explains our return to Him and the possibility of an experiential knowledge of God in union and communion with Him (*via ascensiva*).

### Creation of Man in the Image of God

The image of God is destined to make us know God, rendering us alike with God.<sup>96</sup> This knowledge, which is not only of a conceptual order but also of a moral and emotional order, has as a consequence "residence beside God and union with Him through love" (*προσεδρία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης συνάφεια*).<sup>97</sup> 'Reason' with which we are gifted by the image is necessarily oriented towards the First Knowable, the Truth.<sup>98</sup> This Truth, opposed to the nonexistence of falsehood, is veritable Existence. In knowing this Truth, man participates in It, or rather is known by It.

### The Fall: Degeneration of the Image

Man is called to become more what he is, to display the dynamism included in the 'particle of grace' of God, to arrive at a greater resemblance to the Creator. Created and finite, the 'rational nature' is called to a ceaseless perfecting; in his possibilities and in his created and finite measure, man is called to resemble the Infinite Perfection. "Rational nature" means nature "delivered of all necessity." It is God who grants this grace to man, creating him in His image. This freedom from all necessity or this liberty, imperfect as it is, and destined to perfection by habit, is also a negative power (*ἐξουσία*): man is able either to progress in his perfection or "to turn himself away from good at a certain moment", thus no longer preserving life "according to nature" (*κατὰ φύσιν*).<sup>99</sup> Adam in fact chooses the second alternative: he misuses his power of liberty, he "transposed his desire of the divine glory. Hoping for more things and running headlong towards that which he was not able to receive, he lost that which he was able to keep."<sup>100</sup> He makes

<sup>96</sup> See *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29:449C. Cf. *De gratiarum actione*, 2; PG 31:221C.

<sup>97</sup> *Quod Deus*, 6; PG 31:344B.

<sup>98</sup> *Letter 233*, 1-2; PG 32:864C-65C.

<sup>99</sup> *Quod Deus*, 6; PG 31:344BC.

<sup>100</sup> *De humilitate*, 1; PG 31:525B.

himself wicked, "not by necessity, but by the lack of will."<sup>101</sup> As much as he separates himself from authentic Existence, he goes towards unauthentic existence. He asks for his well-being outside of God, outside of life. Separated from life, he finds death: "the more he separated himself from life, the more he drew near to death. For God is Life, and the loss of life is death."<sup>102</sup> That is the error of Adam which degenerates and depraves his nature; in that is the 'fall.' Adam was mistaken in his act of the knowledge of God: instead of choosing God, he chose the glory of resembling God, separating himself from Him who is the source of life; he chose falsehood in the place of Truth,<sup>103</sup> death in the place of life.

### Divine Economy, Restoration of the Image: 'via descensiva'

In the strict sense, the plan of Economy is the plan of restoration of the depraved nature, the plan of "return to that which we had in the beginning" (πρὸς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπάνοδος).<sup>104</sup> It is the possibility of new 'intimacy' (οἰκειώτης) with God, which He offers to his ungrateful creation.<sup>105</sup> The Creator's work of salvation is based on the restoration of the image of the Celestial in a "new creation."<sup>106</sup> The plan of God-the-friend-of-men is to again teach man the truth by his Revelation,<sup>107</sup> to give man the possibilities of a new "proximity (with God) by true knowledge" (διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐγγύτητα) which leads to intimacy with Him. This work conceived by the Father is accomplished by the sending of the Son and the Spirit.<sup>109</sup> God prepared the accomplishment of this work through the history of the chosen people. Through symbols and shadows He accustomed the eyes to greeting the "full light of the truth" (μέγα φῶς τῆς ἀληθείας).<sup>110</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *Quod Deus*, 7; PG 31:345A.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> See *De humilitate*, 1; PG 31:525AB.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> See *De gratiarum actione*, 2; PG 31:224A.

<sup>106</sup> See *De Spiritu Sancto*, 14, 32; PG 32:124D 125A; ed. Giet, p. 32. *Ibid.*, 15, 35; PG 32:129D; ed. Giet, p. 32. *Ibid.*, 15, 36; PG 32:132B. See also *In Sanctum Baptisma*, 2; PG 31:428A.

<sup>107</sup> See *Regulae brevis*, Prooemium; PG 31:1080A. See also *De iudicio Dei*, 8; PG 31:673B, and *Liturgy*, ed. Brightman, p. 322, lines 11-12; p. 402, lines 9-10.

<sup>108</sup> *In Psalmum XLV*, 7; PG 29:425D-28A.

<sup>109</sup> See *Regulae brevis*, 258; PG 31:1248CD. See also *De gratiarum actione*, 2; PG 31:224A; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 8; PG 29:452B; and *In illud, attende*, 6; PG 31:213A.

<sup>110</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 14, 33; PG 32:125D-28A.

The Son, the eternal light whose origin is the unbegotten Light, is He who dispels the darkness of ignorance. He makes the morning rise in the soul by the growing appearance of spiritual light, giving men the possibility to become again "sons of light" (τέκνα φωτός).<sup>111</sup> It is the Son, who by the "rays of His divinity" illuminates "those who are seated in darkness and the shadow of death" and "illumines (them) in the truth."<sup>112</sup> The "Sun of Justice (Ἡλιος δικαιοσύνης),<sup>λ</sup> with rays through His precepts. [In effect,] without Him, man remains blind and in darkness."<sup>113</sup>

It is "the fall from truth which is the blinding and the blindness of the soul."<sup>114</sup> This Truth is Christ Himself, who allows us to participate in Him, thereby illuminating us with His truth.<sup>115</sup> Christ, Treasure of knowledge, "establishes those who by their faith take refuge in Him, in the well-being of gnosis" (γνώσεως ἀγαθόν).<sup>116</sup> Christ, the Bread of Life which came down from heaven is the food of the rational soul:

If the Scripture calls Him Bread (ἄρτον), it is because He is a very familiar food of the mind (οἰκειωτάτη τροφή τοῦ λογικοῦ). In fact, it is He who sustains the constitution of the soul, who preserves its characteristics. It is He who fills that which is missing (in the soul) with Himself and does not let it collapse in illness which arises from the lack of reason (ἀλογία).<sup>117</sup>

<sup>111</sup> In *Psalmum XLV*, 5; PG 29:424CD. Cf. *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 7; PG 29:525A. Reference is made to Eph 5.8.

<sup>112</sup> In *Psalmum XXXIII*, 4; PG 29:360B. Reference is made to Mt 4.16; Lk 1.78-9; and Jn 1.9.

<sup>113</sup> *Regulae brevius*, 1; PG 31:1081AB.

<sup>114</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 2, 16; PG 29:604B.

<sup>115</sup> See In *Psalmum XIV*, 1, 3; PG 29:526D. See also In *Psalmum XLIV*, 6; PG 29:401B.

<sup>116</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 17; PG 32:97B.

<sup>117</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 7; PG 29:525B. Saint Basil hints to Jn 6:48-58, where Christ speaks of Himself as the "Bread of Life." Saint John's context is eucharistic. Here, for apologetical reasons, Saint Basil reduces this doctrine of Christ being the Bread of Life to only one aspect of it, that of Christ being the "familiar food of our mind." Yet, Saint Basil's doctrine concerning the nature and function of the human mind obviously differs from the Eunomian, Neoplatonic, and Origenistic view of the intellect having the power to fully know God in reaching God's essence itself (cf. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, pp. 26-28). For Saint Basil, this knowledge of God and the encounter with Him as Truth revealed in Christ, Bread of the human mind, is an act of the whole being of man. Through it, man achieves Communion with God without reaching His essence, and without losing his human, 'created' identity. On the contrary, through a eucharistic reception, as it were, of the Bread of the human mind (Christ the Incarnate Truth) the proper characteristics of the human soul are preserved; its faculties elevated; and its purpose fulfilled, as it reaches the status of union with God, a status of experiential knowledge of God's energies, through which this union is achieved.



This 'reason' is not only our faculty for thinking, by 'reason' Saint Basil understands all that is extraordinary in man, that which makes his grandeur. Inasmuch as this grandeur depends on God, since it is from Him that man receives it, our faculty of affective knowledge makes us intimate with God and allows us to reside near Him, to participate in Him. In effect, Basil tells us

The foolish person (ἄνους) is he who does not have that which is extraordinary (ἐξαιρέτα) in man, that is to say, the understanding (κατανόησις) of the Father, the acceptance (παραδοχή) of the Word which in the beginning was with God, and the illumination (φωτισμός) effected in us by the Holy Spirit. Those who have this reason (νοῦν) are able to say with Paul 'We have the mind of Christ' <sup>118</sup>

This 'reason' thus contains, with the understanding of the Father and the acceptance of the Son, the illumination of the Spirit. This illumination does not happen except by participation in the Spirit, to those who are worthy the Spirit distributes the charismata, among which is that of "gnosis" <sup>119</sup>

If [reason] turns itself towards the divine side (θειοτεραν μεριδα) and receives the gifts of the Spirit (τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποδεξεται χάριτας), then it understands the most divine things (τῶν θειοτέρων καταληπτικός) to the measure prescribed by its nature. Reason, then, being intermingled (ἀνακραθεις) with the divine reality (θεοτης) of the Spirit, is already able to behold grand things for contemplation (μεγάλων θεωρημάτων ἐποπτικός) and reflects upon divine beauty, in the measure which grace accords to it and which its make-up is able to sustain (ὅσον ἡ χάρις ἐνδιδωσι καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχεται) <sup>120</sup>

The 'divine side' "leads up to the likeness of God" (Θεοῦ ὁμοίωσις) <sup>121</sup> This 'resemblance' is incomprehensible without holiness, moral perfection, and affective knowledge

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Later on, Pseudo-Dionysios reduces the Eucharist to a mere symbol of "the union of the intellect with God and Christ" (Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, p. 28). One can ask the question if there is continuity between Saint Basil's doctrine on "Christ, Bread of the human mind," and that of Pseudo-Dionysios. The answer is that there is no continuity between the two. When Saint Basil speaks of Christ as the "Bread of the human mind," it is just another way for him to speak of Christ as the Incarnate Truth. This 'Bread' and this 'Truth' are means of union and communion with God, not, as for Pseudo-Dionysios, a mere symbol of this union.

<sup>118</sup> In *Psalmum XLVIII*, 6, PG 29 445B. Quote from 1 Cor 2 16.

<sup>119</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 30, 79, PG 32 217BC.

<sup>120</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 30, 79, PG 32 217BC.

<sup>121</sup> Letter 233, 1, PG 32 865AC.

<sup>122</sup> Letter 233, 1, PG 32 865A. Cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, 1, 2, PG 32 69AB.

This knowledge is offered by the Spirit in baptism. In his homily *On Baptism* Saint Basil states: "He who is not baptized is not illuminated; and without light, neither is the eye able to see the things which affect it, nor is the soul able to be qualified for the contemplation of God (Θεοῦ . . . θεωρία)."<sup>122</sup> It is in the mystagogy of baptism that one is received in the "gnosis" of God (θεογνωσία).<sup>123</sup> We are able "to know the truth" (ἐπίγνωσις . . . ἀληθείας)<sup>124</sup> only in the Church of God, for which Christ died and upon which He abundantly bestowed the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit in the Church which, if we choose the Good, makes us participate in Goodness (μέτοχος . . . ἀγαθότητος),<sup>125</sup> in Holiness (ἀγιάζον),<sup>126</sup> and in the Divine Reality (θεοποιούν).<sup>127</sup>

### 'Experienced' Knowledge of God: Purification and Askesis

Up to this point we have spoken of the initiative of God in the creation of man in His image and of the restoration of this image by Grace as the basis of the affective knowledge of God. This knowledge is accomplished by man's response to God's initiative.

In his commentary on Psalm 44(45), Basil sees Christ Himself in the 'beloved One' of the Greek title of the Psalm.<sup>128</sup> Basil applies the philosophical theme of the ultimate Good, which is at the same time the ultimate Desirable. This ultimate Good and Desirable is God in Christ. Basil also applies the biblical theme of Christ-the-Bridegroom with direct reference to John 3.29: the true friend of Christ-the-Bridegroom, who is worthy of Christ's friendship, is he who constantly remains loyal and faithful to this friendship:

It is not for anyone to advance in the perfection of love, and to know Him who is truly lovable. But it is for him who casts off the old man that corrupts him in the thread of delusive

<sup>122</sup> *In Sanctum Baptisma*, 1; PG 31:424C.

<sup>123</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29, 75; PG 32:209AB. Cf. *ibid.*, 15, 35; PG 32:132A.

<sup>124</sup> *De iudicio Dei*, 1; PG 31:653A-C. Cf. *Moralia*, 80, 9; PG 31: 864A; and *Regulae brevius*, 1; PG 31:1081A.

<sup>125</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 24, 56; PG 32:172C.

<sup>126</sup> *Adversus Eunomium*, 3, 6; PG 29:668C.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 5; PG 29:665BC.

<sup>128</sup> In the Septuagint, the title for this Psalm is: "Song for the Beloved One" (ὥδῃ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ). The Hebrew title is: "Love Song." Basil comments on the Greek title: the Beloved One is Christ.

desires and who clothes himself with the new man—he who plods towards true knowledge in renewing himself in the image of his Creator . . . Thus it is the characteristic of him who achieves perfection to really know the One who is truly lovable. In fact the only true friends of God, who are also friends among themselves, are the holy people; for none of the wicked and ignorant are really friends.<sup>129</sup>

In order for us to be worthy of the friendship of God, to encounter the ultimate Good and Desirable—God as He offers Himself to us in His Christ, to be able to enter the marriage feast together with the Bridegroom, we must adequately prepare ourselves through a continuous renewal and enhancement of our inner selves. We must abandon the man aged by sin and reclothe the new man; we must renew and restore the fallen image, so that we might again trudge toward true knowledge of God. We must continually progress in this renewal and knowledge so that we become able to progress in likeness with God by image. We must achieve that Christian perfection in which we really know the One who is truly lovable and become true friends of God, taken up into fellowship and communion with Him.<sup>130</sup>

How is this continuous renewal and this progress in the knowledge of God conceived in Saint Basil's thought? What are the different stages of this continual 'becoming' in Christian perfection and life in fellowship with God, in which He 'knows' His friends and they truly know Him?

Purification and askesis is the first step in this renewal, leading towards Christian perfection and knowledge of God. A 'katharsis' of both soul and body is required for man to be able to receive the truth of God which is revealed in His Christ. Askesis is the proper characteristic of the Christian who accepts this revelation, enabling himself to become worthy of God.

"The words of God are not written for all, but for those who have the ears of the interior man" (*ὧτα κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον*).<sup>131</sup> To hear the voice of God, an indispensable condition of the response to it, there is need of a whole preparation of 'receptivity.'

<sup>129</sup> In *Psalmum XLIV*, 2; PG 29:392AB-C. Quote from Eph 4.22, and Col 3.10. As stated above, in Saint Basil's terms "*ἐπίγνωσις*" stands for 'true knowledge,' which is an 'affective' and 'moral' knowledge, offered by God to those who are worthy of His intimacy.

<sup>130</sup> See In *Psalmum XLIV*, 2; PG 29:389BC. See also *ibid.*, 1-2; PG 29:388A-89A; and In *Psalmum LIX*, 2; PG 29:464B. On the theme of mystical marriage of the soul with Christ the Bridegroom see also *Dicta tempore famis*, 8; PG 31:325D-28A, quoted above.

<sup>131</sup> In *Psalmum XLIV*, 2; PG 29:389B.

This preparation consists of two steps: firstly, in the "destruction of sophisms and of all haughty power (*ὑψωμα*) which rise up against the knowledge of God" (*κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ*); secondly, "in capturing all thought to lead it to obey Christ."<sup>132</sup> Thus the first part in this preparation is negative; we must cast off the "whims of understanding (*διανοιῶν θελήματα*), all thought which does not conform to Scripture," and all "sophism" which prevents our access to the knowledge of God. We next rid ourselves of the "desire of the flesh" (*φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς*) which is equally "an enemy of God" (*ἐχθρὰ εἰς Θεόν*).<sup>133</sup> In brief we cast off all the "haughty power" of sin, which "through contempt for the divine commandment one calls the 'haughty power' which rises up against the knowledge of God."<sup>134</sup> The positive aspect of preparation is to undertake immediately in "the desire for perfection, any possible good thing which leads to the knowledge of God."<sup>135</sup>

This double movement of casting off on the one hand and the 'return' to knowledge on the other finds its crowning at baptism,<sup>136</sup> when he who comes 'from outside' approaches the knowledge of God. But throughout the new life of baptism in Christ, he must continue at the School of Wisdom, progressing in Wisdom and virtue.

For the Christian this 'progress' (*προκοπή*) comprises the following elements: in the negative step, we must rid ourselves from all "the anxiety of life (*βιωτικὴ μέριμνα*),<sup>137</sup> from all slavery to the senses and to the passions (*πάθη*) of the body,<sup>138</sup> finally, we must concern ourselves with the "purification of the heart" (*καθαρότης καρδίας*), for only those who have a pure heart will be able to see God.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>132</sup> *De iudicio Dei*, 6; PG 31:688AB. Cf. *Regulae fusius*, 260; PG 31:1256BC; *ibid.*, 114; PG 31:1160B; and *ibid.*, 269; PG 31:1268C. Quote from 2 Cor 10.4-5.

<sup>133</sup> *Regulae fusius*, 269; PG 31:1268BC (quotations from Gal 5:19-21; Rom 8.7; and 2 Cor 10.4-5). Cf. *ibid.*, 20; PG 31:1096D-97A; *De iudicio Dei*, 3; PG 31:656C-57B; *In Psalmum XXVIII*, 5; PG 29:293D-97A; and *In Psalmum XLV*, 3; PG 29:421A.

<sup>134</sup> *De iudicio Dei*, 6; PG 31:668B.

<sup>135</sup> *Regulae fusius*, 224; PG 31:1232A.

<sup>136</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 15, 35; PG 32:129D; See also *In Sanctum Baptisma*, 2; PG 31:428A.

<sup>137</sup> *Letter 2*, 2; PG 32:224C-25A; ed. Courtonne, p. 6, lines 1-12. See also: *Regulae fusius*, 5, 1; PG 31:920C-21A; *ibid.*, 8, 2; PG 31:937C; *Regulae brevius*, 218; PG 31:1228A; *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 1; PG 29:353BC; *ibid.*, 3; PG 29:357B; *In Psalmum XLV*, 8; PG 29:428C-29A; and *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 11; PG 29:457B.

<sup>138</sup> See *In ebriosos*, 6; PG 31:456B. See also: *In illud, attende*, 8; PG 31:216C; *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 3; PG 29:357AC. *In Psalmum XLV*, 8; PG 29:428C; *In Psalmum XLVIII*, 11; PG 29:460A; and *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53; PG 32:168AC.

<sup>139</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53; PG 32:168C. Cf. *De fide*, 2; PG 31:681A; *Letter 2*, 2; PG 32:225AC; ed. Courtonne, pp. 6-7, lines 21-46. Cf. also *In principium Proverbiorum*, 4; PG 31:393B; and *In illud, attende*, 7; PG 31:216B. An indirect reference is made to Mt 5.8.

As for the positive step, we must "occupy the mind with necessary things," taking into consideration the presence of God (*παρεῖναι τὸν Θεόν*),<sup>140</sup> having the "fear of God" (*φοβούμενους Θεόν*),<sup>141</sup> and loving God in affectionate contemplation.<sup>142</sup> What makes the veritable knowledge of God possible is the arrangement of our 'inner selves' worthy (*ἀξίους*)<sup>143</sup> of receiving the Spirit and 'permitting' Him to dwell in us and to illumine us. By this affective knowledge we participate in Him (*μετεχόμενον*).<sup>144</sup> With the indwelling (*ἐνοίκησης*) of the Spirit comes that of the Son (*παρευοικήσαντες . . . διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τὸν Χριστόν*).<sup>145</sup> The Son in turn leads us to the Father (*ἐπάνοδος εἰς οἰκείωσιν Θεοῦ*).<sup>146</sup> In this way we arrive at the summit of affective knowledge of God.

### Contemplation and Vision of God: 'via ascensiva'

The ultimate step in our way towards Christian perfection, and the last stage in our 'journey from the conscience to God,' is the vision and contemplation of God. This contemplation is followed by the understanding which God offers of Himself to those who are worthy of Him. Indeed, the "understanding of God" (*Θεοῦ κατανόησις*) is "the blessed end" (*μακάριον τέλος*) of the 'advancement,' which is continual and ordered towards perfection, thanks to works of justice and the illumination of gnosis, going "always ahead, stretched out towards that which is still left to travel." The Lord grants this comprehension of Himself to those who believe in Him.<sup>147</sup> Faith in the fullest sense of the word (not only belief but also confidence in and faithfulness to the Lord) and its accompanying affective knowledge are communicated to us by the Holy Spirit through our participation in Him.

<sup>140</sup> *Regulae brevius*, 21; PG 31:1097B. See also *ibid.*, 32; PG 31:1104C; *ibid.*, 45; PG 31:1112A; and *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 1; PG 29:353BC.

<sup>141</sup> *Letter* 159, 1; PG 32:620B. Cf. *Regulae fusius*, Prooemium; PG 31:896B.

<sup>142</sup> *Regulae fusius*, Prooemium; PG 31:896B-D. See also *ibid.*, 2, 1-3; PG 31:908B-16C; and *In Psalmum XLV*, 7; PG 29:428A.

<sup>143</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 30, 78; PG 32:217C. Cf. *ibid.*, 8, 17; PG 32:97B; *In Psalmum XXXIII*, 4; PG 29:360BC; *In Psalmum XLV*, 5; PG 29:424C; *In ebriosos*, 1; PG 31:445A; *In Principium Proverbiorum*, 14; PG 31:416AB; and *Regulae brevius*, 248; PG 31:1248C-49A.

<sup>144</sup> *Homilia de fide*, 3; PG 31:169B; see also *ibid.*, 3; PG 31:472A; *In illud, attende*, 6; PG 31:213A; and *De Spiritu Sancto*, 22, 53; PG 32:168C.

<sup>145</sup> *In Psalmum XLV*, 8; PG 29:429B.

<sup>146</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 15, 35; PG 32:128C. See also: *ibid.*, 8, 18; PG 32:100B (quotation from Eph 2:18); and *Contra Sabellianos*, 2; PG 31:601C.

<sup>147</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 18; PG 32:100C.

For the purified soul, the Spirit is "the strength to see in a healthy eye."<sup>148</sup> It is in the Spirit that we see the Son. "It is impossible to see the Image of the invisible God except in the illumination of the Spirit (φωτισμός τοῦ Πνεύματος). "Through the illumination of the Spirit" we perceive the "effulgence of the glory of God." Through the 'Imprint,' the Son, "we are led to the glory of Him to whom belongs the seal of the same shape."<sup>149</sup>

Thus "the way of the knowledge of God" (ὁδὸς θεογνωσίας) leads upward toward God, whereas the blessings through which we obtain this knowledge descend to us from God. These blessings originate in the Father and reach man by the Son in the Spirit; whereas, the way of the knowledge of God climbs "from the unique Spirit, through the unique Son, up to the unique Father."<sup>150</sup> It is in God that the conscience "takes refuge, realizing that its only rest is residence in Him."<sup>151</sup>

How much does this experiential aspect of our act of knowing God advance us in the knowledge of God? In this aspect we 'feel' God in His moral perfection and in His holiness much more than we 'understand' Him. God as an object of knowledge is immanent to us and is experienced as such by us. Nevertheless, even this experiential knowledge of God is not less obscure and imperfect than the parallel intellectual knowledge of Him. We cannot surpass the limiting standard of our actual human condition. We see God "as in a mirror and enigmatically." Commenting on Psalm 33(34) Basil tells us:

'Taste,' he says, 'and do not satisfy yourselves,' for now we partially know the truth, as in a mirror and enigmatically. But there will come a certain time where the present 'earnest' (ἀρραβὼν) and the actual banquet of grace (γεῦμα τῆς χάριτος) will attain completion and perfection for us (εἰς τελεώτητα ἡμῶν καταστήσει).<sup>152</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 26, 61; PG 32:180C. Cf. *De ieiunio*, 1, 9; PG 31:180C.

<sup>149</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 26, 64; PG 32:185BC. See also: *Letter* 38, 4; PG 32:329C; *Letter* 226, 3; PG 32:849A; *Adversus Eunomium*, 1, 17; PG 29:552B; *ibid.*, 1, 18; PG 29:553A; and *ibid.*, 1, 26; PG 29:569BC. Cf. *Letter* 38, 8; PG 32:340AC; *Contra Sabellianos*, 2; PG 31:601C; *ibid.*, 4; PG 31:608C; *De Spiritu Sancto*, 8, 18; PG 32:100C; *ibid.*, 8, 19; PG 32:101C; *ibid.*, 8, 21; PG 32:105BC; and *ibid.*, 9, 23; PG 32:109B.

<sup>150</sup> *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 47; PG 32:153B.

<sup>151</sup> "Ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν καταφεύγει, μὲν εἶναι ἡγοούμενος ἀνάπαυσιν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ διαμονήν." In *Psalmum XLV*, 1; PG 29:416C.

<sup>152</sup> In *Psalmum XXXIII*, 6; PG 29:365A. See also *ibid.*, 7; PG 29:368C; and In *Psalmum XLV*, 4; PG 29:421BC.

## Conclusion

Saint Basil's doctrine of the knowledge of God through the image-sign (*σημεῖον*) of God in us presents us with a paradox: God as an object of knowledge for man presents Himself as infinitely distant but, at the same time irresistibly close. God is transcendent, incommunicable, and hidden in His essence: "His essence remains unapproachable."<sup>153</sup> The human intellect cannot comprehend Him. His essence totally escapes our mind as an object of knowledge. Yet, He is close to us and makes Himself present to us in His energies: "His energies descend towards us."<sup>154</sup> We experience them in the creation just as we experience them in us: in the very image of God in us. Through this 'bit of grace' which He put in us at our creation, we are first able to know God intellectually in the measure that our intellect can understand Him. Subsequently, this knowledge which begins with our intellect becomes commitment to God; it becomes faithfulness to Him and observance of His commandments. This knowledge finally becomes a means of union and intimate communion with God as we accept full participation in His Life, which He offers to us in Jesus and in His Holy Spirit.

The process of our knowledge of God begins with the image of God in us and ends with our union with Him, in participation in His veritable Life and Existence. Thus the image of God in us becomes both the promise and the partial fulfillment of the promise of knowing God. We look forward to the complete fulfillment of this promise in the age to come, when we will see God 'face to face' (1 Cor 13.12).

Translated from the French  
by Nicholas Pissare

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LEWIS J. PATSAVOS

## THE IMAGE OF THE PRIEST ACCORDING TO THE THREE HIERARCHS\*

The feast day of the Three Hierarchs also commemorates the significance of Greek Letters. This is appropriate in view of the fact that by means of their Greek learning, these three great 'teachers of the universe,' as they are called in our hymnology, "enlightened the world with the rays of their doctrine."<sup>1</sup> It is no wonder, therefore, that Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and John Chrysostom are considered the patrons of Greek studies, and that this dual commemoration is observed by Hellenes and Philhellenes everywhere. The combination of both observances is ideal in that the Three Hierarchs successfully made use of Hellenic culture in the dissemination of Christian doctrine and in relating the study of worldly matters to that of other-worldly matters.

It is, therefore, most fitting that on this festive occasion we venerate the Fathers whose memory we honor. How more effectively could we pay homage to the Three Theologian-Hierarchs than by studying their learned works? This will enable us to extract from them what is of worth for each of us as individuals, for our Church, and for our Orthodox theology.

### ST. BASIL THE GREAT

The first of the Three Hierarchs whose writings we shall consider is St. Basil the Great, the organizer of monastic life and founder of its philanthropic activity. In his ascetic works,

\* A paper presented at Holy Cross School of Theology on 30 January 1975, Feastday of the Three Hierarchs.

<sup>1</sup> "Apolytikion of the Three Hierarches," *January Menaion* (Athens, 1960), p. 440.

*Detailed [Monastic] Rules* and *Short [Monastic] Rules*, he stresses those virtues which ought to grace monks.

From the first half of the fourth century it was becoming customary to select bishops from among monks distinguished for their holiness and learning. Many of the qualifications defined for monks apply equally to candidates for the priesthood, particularly for promotion to the rank of bishop. A careful study of these ascetic writings reveals that the fundamental virtues which should grace the shepherd of souls are:

**Love of God.** This is the commandment which our Lord designated first and greatest of all.<sup>2</sup> It is the summit of all virtues,<sup>3</sup> which St. Basil considers the first qualification of the monk. It is total love of God in Christ Jesus.<sup>4</sup> The spiritual shepherd imbued with love of God "is not easily turned from his purpose, putting nothing before God."<sup>5</sup> This devotedness will contribute to the success of his mission, which is the fulfillment of God's will.<sup>6</sup> St. Basil uses the expressive Old Testament image of the thirsty deer which hastens at full speed "after the water brooks."<sup>7</sup> Thus, the soul of the spiritual shepherd, as well as that of every believer, should make haste in satisfying the thirst of love for God.<sup>8</sup> The whole life of the spiritual shepherd, as expressed in his words and deeds, ought to be imbued with a love of God which is "with all (his) heart, and with all (his) soul, and with all (his) mind."<sup>9</sup> In this way, such a spiritual shepherd will truly be "testimony of the love of God."<sup>10</sup> Thus, love is the main characteristic in the service of God, for when it exists nothing can frustrate or hinder this goal. St. Paul superbly expresses the depth of this virtue: "What shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"<sup>11</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Mt 22.37-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Detailed Rules*, PG 31:908A. Cf. C. Mouratides, *Χριστοκεντρική Ποιμαντική εν τοῖς Ἀσκητικοῖς τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* (Athens, 1962), p.51.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Ascetica* 2, PG 31:632B.

<sup>6</sup> Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Ps 41.2

<sup>8</sup> *Short Rules* 157, PG 31:1185AB.

<sup>9</sup> Mt 22.37-38.

<sup>10</sup> *Ascetica* 2, PG 31:632B.

<sup>11</sup> Rom 8.35.

**Love of flock.** Love of one's neighbor, which our Lord Himself likens to love of God,<sup>12</sup> constitutes a basic virtue of the spiritual shepherd according to St. Basil.<sup>13</sup> Addressing himself to the spiritual leaders of monastic communities, St. Basil stresses the love they should have for the monks under their spiritual guidance. Accordingly, every spiritual shepherd should have great love for all those entrusted to his pastoral care.

Love of one's neighbor was the pre-eminent virtue of the disciples of our Lord, Who loved us and bid us to love one another.<sup>14</sup> Our Lord Himself is the Chief Shepherd Who leaves the ninety-nine sheep for the one which is lost, and indeed exemplifies "the good shepherd (Who) gives his life for the sheep."<sup>15</sup> In the same way, the spiritual shepherd's love for his neighbor contains within it the element of self-sacrifice for his flock.<sup>16</sup>

Not only does the shepherd express paternal concern for his people, but also, like a doctor of the soul, he treats souls ailing from sin<sup>17</sup> and like the Good Samaritan, he does so out of love. He suffers<sup>18</sup> and grieves when a member of his flock falls ill.<sup>19</sup> The spiritual shepherd's love for his flock is thus so great that St. Basil characterizes him as a loving father, compassionate doctor, and diligent instructor of souls for life in Christ.

**Humility.** From the prime virtue—love of God—necessarily flows humility—a fundamental virtue sought by all monastics,<sup>20</sup> but above all, the essential *sine qua non* for every spiritual shepherd.<sup>21</sup> The spiritual shepherd who is about to begin his ministry must entirely cast off any proud thought, which might lead to the impoverishment of all virtues:<sup>22</sup> "Let not the clerical

<sup>12</sup> Mt 22.37-39.

<sup>13</sup> *Detailed Rules*, PG 31:908A.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, PG 31:917BC; Jn 13.34.

<sup>15</sup> Jn 10.11.

<sup>16</sup> Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, p. 52.

<sup>17</sup> *Detailed Rules* 7, PG 31:929A.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. I Cor 12.26.

<sup>19</sup> *Moralia*, PG 31:865BC. Cf. Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>20</sup> *Detailed Rules* 43, PG 31:1028B.

<sup>21</sup> Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, p. 53; Idem, *Ἡ μοναχική ὑπακοή ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἑκκλησίᾳ* (Athens, 1956), pp. 41-44.

<sup>22</sup> *Ascetica*, PG 31:648A.

rank make you proud, but rather let it humble you."<sup>23</sup> St. Basil reminds all clerical candidates that "the care of many entails the service of many."<sup>24</sup>

Our Lord Himself "came not be ministered to, but to minister."<sup>25</sup> He deigned to wait upon His own creatures by taking a towel<sup>26</sup> and washing the feet of His disciples. The Lord said, "Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart . . ."<sup>27</sup> Thus, God's servants, His spiritual shepherds, should eagerly be the first to follow the Lord's example of humility.

**Meekness and Tolerance.** The value of meekness as a virtue of the spiritual shepherd has already been implied in the preceding paragraph. Our Lord, Himself the ultimate example of meekness, Who blessed "the meek, for they shall inherit the earth,"<sup>28</sup> is the guiding force behind St. Basil's special emphasis of this virtue. Meekness is the presupposition which will assure success to the ministry of the spiritual shepherd, if he "applies remedies with all kindness and delicate adjustment . . . not rebuking harshly, but admonishing and correcting with meekness."<sup>29</sup> It is through meekness and tolerance that one's opponents are instructed, in anticipation of their repentance.<sup>30</sup>

**Other Virtues of the Spiritual Shepherd.** In addition, the spiritual shepherd must be characterized by the virtues of temperance, fervent prayer and solid, unshakeable faith.<sup>31</sup> St. Basil expects the spiritual shepherd to be "full of virtue, not distracted, not covetous, not a busybody, quiet, loving God, not easily provoked or bearing malice, a source of edification to those that visit him . . . putting nothing before God."<sup>32</sup>

Likewise, as a soldier of the Great King, he must not be entangled "with the affairs of this life, that he may please Him Who enrolled him as a soldier."<sup>33</sup> A shepherd of Christ's flock must exert all his strength in the fulfillment of his duties, even at the cost of his life.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> *Detailed Rules* 30, PG 31:993A. Cf. A. Phytrakes, *Οἱ μοναχοὶ ὡς κοινωνικοὶ διδασκαλοὶ καὶ ἐργάται ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ Ἀνατολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ* (Athens, 1950), pp. 25-26.

<sup>25</sup> Mt 20.28.

<sup>26</sup> Jn 13.4.

<sup>27</sup> *Detailed Rules*, PG 31:1028C; Mt 11.29.

<sup>28</sup> Mt 5.5.

<sup>29</sup> *Detailed Rules*, PG 31:1029A. Cf. Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, p. 54.

<sup>30</sup> *Moralia* 70, PG 32:841BC.

<sup>31</sup> Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, p. 54.

<sup>32</sup> *Ascetica*, PG 31:632B.

<sup>33</sup> 2 Tim 2.4.

<sup>34</sup> *Ascetica*. PG 31:620-21.

As the healer of souls, the spiritual shepherd must be fully conscious of and firmly uphold the healing processes and methods ordained by our Lord, the true healer of souls.<sup>35</sup> He must be deeply aware of the human soul, and furthermore be enriched with experience.<sup>36</sup> St. Basil especially emphasizes the principle of individualization<sup>37</sup> during the exercise of one's pastoral work. Referring again to the words of our Lord: "If one of you has a hundred sheep and loses one of them, does he not leave the ninety-nine in the open pasture and go after the missing one until he has found it?"<sup>38</sup> St. Basil teaches that the healer of souls "must in every way cure the sick man and strive to set the dislocated member, so to speak."<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, the spiritual shepherd in the monastic community must be "watchful in present affairs, able to foresee the future, capable of contending with the strong and bearing with the infirmities of the weak, able to do and say everything that will bring his fellows to perfection."<sup>40</sup>

## ST. GREGORY THE THEOLOGIAN

St. Gregory the Theologian<sup>41</sup> first laid the foundations for describing the necessary qualifications of clerics exclusively, and for expounding upon the obligations of their pastoral ministry.<sup>42</sup>

**What the Sentiments and Life of Candidates for the Clergy Ought To Be in View of the Heavy Obligations and Responsibilities of the Priesthood.** The title of this first division comes from the material examined in the *Apologetic Oration Concerning the Flight to Pontus*.<sup>43</sup> From the very outset of his oration, St. Gregory affirms that the priesthood is the most beautiful and perfect office, where all has a beginning and an end in God.<sup>44</sup> However, in order to realize this goal the priest needs divine mercy, as well as the Holy Spirit, through Whom alone God is known and recognized.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Hom. 'Attende tibi ipsi', PG 32:2000. Cf. Mouratides, Ποιμαντική, p. 67.

<sup>36</sup> Detailed Rules 40, PG 31:1040A.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Mouratides, Ποιμαντική, p. 68-70.

<sup>38</sup> Lk 15. 4-7.

<sup>39</sup> Short Rules 102, PG 31:1153B. Cf. Mouratides, Ποιμαντική, p. 68.

<sup>40</sup> Detailed Rules 43, PG 31:1029AB.

<sup>41</sup> Regarding his life and works, see B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (5th ed.; Freiburg, 1958), pp. 266-70.

<sup>42</sup> C. Papadopoulos, *Περὶ ἱερωσύνης* (Athens, 1912), p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> *Oration 2*, PG 35:408-512. Cf. J. Volk, "Die Schutzrede des Gregor von Nazianz und die Schrift über das Priestertum von Johannes Chrysostomus." *Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie* 17 (1895) 56-63; D. Menn, "Zur Pastoraltheologie Gregors von Nazianz," *Revue Internationale de Theologie* 47 (1904) 427-40.

<sup>44</sup> *Apol. Orat. 1*, PG 35:408.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. 39, PG 35:448. Cf. also Ibid. 21, PG 35:429; Idem, *Theol. Orat. 1*, 3,

St. Gregory then dwells upon the reasons for his flight and return subsequent to his unwilling ordination.<sup>46</sup> He stresses the transcendence of the priestly office, the dangers and weighty responsibilities accompanying it, as well as his own feeling of unworthiness.<sup>47</sup>

St. Gregory emphasizes the overwhelming responsibility of the priesthood, mentioning that the higher the clerical degree and the greater the office, the greater the danger accompanying it. In fact, if a candidate for the priesthood could truly see the heavy weight and awesome burden of this holy office, he would certainly retreat before the task. If this were to happen, however, the Church would be curtailed in her mission, but this cannot be so. The priesthood as a divinely ordained and necessary institution cannot disappear, but exists within the Church, which "the forces of death shall never overpower."<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, it is very important that each candidate ask himself with great care, "Am I worthy?"<sup>49</sup>

St. Gregory portrays the clergy of his time,<sup>50</sup> when worthy persons avoided entering the clergy and many unworthy candidates drew near the sanctuary only as a means of their subsistence and material support rather than as a divine ministry for which they would be held accountable. Many wanted to teach, but none wanted to learn. St. Gregory rebukes them, admonishing the priestly candidates to take heed.

St. Gregory continues his account by making mention of another abuse. Young persons without qualifications and experience aspired after and successfully attained honorary positions

<sup>46</sup> Other sources with information about St. Gregory's ordination are: Greg. Naz., *De vita sua* 337-64, PG 37:1052-54; Idem, *Orat.* 1 and 3, PG 35:396-97 and 517-25; Basil Gr., *Ep.* 225 *To Demosthenes*, PG 32:840. Cf. P. Gallay, *La vie de St. Gregoire de Nazianze* (Paris, 1943), pp. 72-74; E. Fleury, *Hellenisme et Christianisme. St. Gregoire de Nazianze et son temps* (2nd ed.; Paris, 1930), pp. 125-33.

<sup>47</sup> St. Jerome also stresses the burden of the priestly office, as well as the responsibilities and dangers accompanying it. In view of these considerations, he recommends isolation to Paulinus, a newly ordained presbyter (*Ep.* 58 *Ad Paulinum Presbyterum* 5, PL 22:582).

<sup>48</sup> Mt 16.18.

<sup>49</sup> *Apol. Orat.* 10, PG 35:420.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 8, PG 35:416; Idem, *Fun. Orat.* 43 for Basil the Great 58, PG 36:569-72. Cf. Jn. Chrys., *On the Priesthood* 4.1, PG 48:659-63; Ibid. 3.10, PG 48:646-47. For an account of the clergy at the time of St. Gregory Nazianzos and his contemporaries, see S. Giet, *Les Idees et l'Action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris, 1941), pp. 299-300; E. Fleury, *Hellenisme et Christianisme*, pp. 124-25; A. Phytrakes, *Tó ποιητικόν ἔργον Γρηγορίου τοῦ Ναζιανζηνοῦ* (Athens, 1968), pp. 41-42.

in the Church. For this reason, a candidate is reminded that before seeking to teach others, he must himself be taught, because he who wants to lead others to piety, when he himself lacks it, falls into audacity. He must first be virtuous and then appear as the teacher of virtue.<sup>51</sup>

Rejecting the accusation that the reason for his flight was his ambition to attain a higher ecclesiastical office, St. Gregory ascertains and stigmatizes yet another abuse. Clerics were promoted to higher offices in haste, without being conscientiously examined beforehand, and without any trial period in the lower clerical degrees.<sup>52</sup> He thus strongly affirms that only those who have been sufficiently tried in the lower degrees of the priesthood ought to be promoted to the higher degrees.

**Purity and Morality of the Minister and Shepherd.** The mission of the priesthood demands that the cleric be as pure as gold or silver.<sup>53</sup> Moral integrity and exemplary virtue above all are absolutely necessary for the exercise of the priestly ministry in the narrow sense of the word (i.e. its sacrificial character). He who wishes to offer to God the external sacrifice which is a portrayal of the great sacrifice executed upon the Cross, must have first offered himself a living and holy sacrifice to God.<sup>54</sup>

In analogy to the shepherd of sheep, the spiritual shepherd of the flock of Christ must teach morality, offering himself a model and example for imitation to the community.<sup>55</sup> How many inner struggles must the priest take on until he reaches such exemplary moral perfection! He can barely free his soul from all that is lowly and unworthy even after lengthy personal discipline. Yet, the priest is called upon to succeed in this not

<sup>51</sup> *Apol. Orat.* 47, PG 35:456.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 5, PG 35:412. Elsewhere (*Orat.* 18, 33, PG 35:1028) St. Gregory refers to Eusebios, St. Basil's predecessor in the episcopal see of Caesarea. Eusebios was still a catechumen when elected to the episcopacy amid noisy demonstrations of approval by the crowd. St. Gregory complains about such senseless ordinations, which must certainly have taken place frequently. Cf. *Epic Poem* 12, 155-74 (PG 37:1177) and 380 (PG 37:1193), where there is a descriptive account of the prevalent situation. St. Gregory's successor as bishop of Constantinople was an old man and former senator, Nektarios. From all indications it appears as though Nektarios was still unbaptized when selected by Theodosios for the vacant see of Constantinople. Sozomen, *Church Hist.* 7.8 (PG 67:1433); Theodoretos of Kyros, *Church Hist.* 5.9 (PG 82:1217). St. Jerome, too, complains that no one observes St. Paul's admonition in 1 Tim. 3.6, and that he who was a catechumen yesterday becomes a "pontifex" today (*Ep.* 69 *Ad Oceanum* 9, PL 22:663).

<sup>53</sup> *Apol. Orat.* 10, PG 35:420.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* 95, PG 35:497.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* 9, PG 35:417.

only for himself, but also to contribute to the moral uplifting of the faithful entrusted to his pastoral care.<sup>56</sup>

**Persuasion and Censure of the Spiritual Shepherd in the Community.** In an allusion to I Peter 5.2 ("Tend that flock of God whose shepherds you are, and do it, not under compulsion, but of your own free will, as God would have it"), St Gregory shows that discipline is attained only through the exercise of love, never through the use of force. Whatever is attained simply by external force is not only unworthy of man, but also without long duration. Through the application of external force alone God's purpose is entirely frustrated. In this way, the mission of the Christian teacher is rendered difficult. True success in his mission is achieved only through persuasion. Just as gold is refined in fire, so too must the soul be tried through moral struggles, and it must accept all that is good not only as a gift of God, but also as a reward of virtue. St. Gregory justly sees proof of God's mercy in the assurance that only by free assent, by personal election and by our own endeavor can virtue become each man's property.<sup>57</sup> Although expressing himself in this way, St Gregory does not entirely rule out severe censure. In fact, by projecting St Paul as the model of all spiritual workers, he thereby clearly expresses the conviction that the Apostle combined austerity with leniency in such a way as not to transform leniency into weakness, nor austerity into harshness.<sup>58</sup>

**The Spiritual Shepherd as an Example for Imitation.** In his relationship to the community, the priest himself must possess above all others Christian virtue and moral perfection. He must not be satisfied by simply refraining from doing evil and by removing all wickedness from his heart. He must in addition display good in every expression of his life, and to be sure, in a measure far above that of the faithful entrusted to him. But even this must not satisfy him. The measure for his moral behavior is not what others do or omit, but what the law of God commands.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, he must also consider as his sacred obligation the continual improvement in the way of morality.<sup>60</sup> The priest must continually improve his own moral existence and surpass his

<sup>56</sup> Ibid 91, PG 35 493

<sup>57</sup> Ibid 17, PG 35 425

<sup>58</sup> Ibid 54, PG 35 464

<sup>59</sup> Ibid 14, PG 35 424

<sup>60</sup> Ibid 15, PG 35 424



flock by the height of this virtue and not by the distinction of his clerical office,<sup>61</sup> in brief, his teaching must consist not only of words, but also of deeds.

**The Spiritual Shepherd as Teacher.** According to St. Gregory, the cleric must possess the ability to teach as well as a fundamental background in theory. This is essential, because the preacher of the divine word is obliged to extensively teach and interpret Christian doctrine and the profound mysteries of religion to the people.<sup>62</sup> Particularly with regard to this obligation it is necessary to avoid exaggerations and extremes. The preacher of the divine word must strive for the gift of exact comprehension of doctrine, as well as its appropriate exposition, which would correspond to the needs of his audience.

In order to confront various classes of people effectively, it is necessary to deliver an instructive sermon, one which is uncomplicated and easy to understand, but at the same time intelligent and straightforward in order to reach the heart of everyone.<sup>63</sup> However, in order to prevent the preacher, who gives all his attention to these points, from making another mistake, St. Gregory offers the following admonition. It is true that the preacher of the divine word must take into account the needs of everyone; however, by employing this individual attention, he must take care to avoid popularity with contempt. His goal must be to speak to the people forthrightly and with care.<sup>64</sup> For this, however, a background in theory is not enough. The heart, too, must be overcome and burn when Holy Scripture is being preached and interpreted. The priest must have a Christ-centered understanding,<sup>65</sup> treating what is spiritual in a spiritual way, since he is entering upon the mysterious treasures of God, so as to view the good therein with piety and thereby enrich others.<sup>66</sup>

St. Gregory also considers prudence indispensable during the guidance and instruction of souls.<sup>67</sup> The spiritual teacher must possess perfection not only in theory, but also in practice.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. 14, PG 35:424.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 36, PG 35:444.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. 44, PG 35:452.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. 46, PG 35:453.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. 46, PG 35:453.

<sup>66</sup> Concerning a Christ-centered orientation in pastoral ministry, see Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, esp. pp. 96-97.

<sup>67</sup> *Apol. Orat.* 96, PG 35:500.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 78, PG 35:484.

Learning and pastoral prudence are always necessary for the priest as much for preaching as for his personal pastoral work. He must always have the appropriate word ready for all happenings in life as well as the proportionate means of confronting all possible difficult situations.

Drawing from numerous verses from the Old Testament,<sup>68</sup> St. Gregory points out the mission and the responsibility of the priest, and also shows what great misfortune unworthy priests bring upon the people and themselves. Then, keeping more in harmony with his original purpose, he mentions the qualifications which St. Paul lists in his pastoral epistles as basic presuppositions for bishops and presbyters. Following these are our Lord's commands to His disciples upon sending them to preach the gospel.<sup>69</sup> Frugality and self-sacrifice are particularly stressed.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, the holy writer projects St. Paul as the model for all priests of all ages, who embodied the ideal image of the Christian priest.<sup>71</sup> From his example the spiritual worker ought to retain untiring zeal in the difficult moments of one's spiritual ministry, steady hope even after the most painful failures and bitter disappointments, patient perseverance in all possible hardships and persecutions, fervent zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of the faithful, heartfelt compassion for each need of body and soul of his fellow men, and constant and ever ready self-sacrifice for the sake of Christ and the gospel that he may be "all things to all men."<sup>72</sup>

### ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

With no less awe for the sacrament of priesthood, St. John Chrysostom writes on this subject in his apology concerning his refusal to accept the episcopal office.<sup>73</sup> This treatise is the first

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. 56-68, PG 35:465-77.

<sup>69</sup> Mt 10.9-15; Mk 6.8-11; Lk 9.2-5.

<sup>70</sup> *Apol. Orat.* 69, PG 35:477.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 52-56, PG 35:461-465.

<sup>72</sup> 1 Cor 9.22.

<sup>73</sup> *On the Priesthood*, PG 48:623-92. Regarding the vocation, the sanctity and the ministry of the priest, see J. Billing, *Jean Chrysostome-Le Sacerdoce. Pensees et elevations* (Strasbourg-Paris, 1948); H. Guillet, *La Perfection sacerdotale d'apres le Dialogue de saint Jean Chrysostome* (Paris, 1948); J. Volk, "Schutzrede"; D. Menn, "Zur Lehre des hl. Johannes Chrysostomos uber das geistlich Amt," *Revue Internationale de Theologie* 49 (1905) 87-103 and 50 (1905) 308-21.

important pastoral work of ecclesiastical literature.<sup>74</sup>

**Comparison of the Priestly Ministry and the Status of a Monk.** In this section of his work St. John compares the monk to the priest in order to show that the latter's office is greater, broader and more difficult. After several comparisons are made, the following conclusions are reached. The monk's field of activity is both smaller and more easily attainable; likewise, his pursuit for perfection is easier, and his responsibility is less. On the contrary, the priest's field of activity is greater and his mission more difficult, and for this reason his responsibility before God will also be greater.<sup>75</sup>

**Ambition, an Impediment to the Priesthood.** As in St. Gregory's apology before it,<sup>76</sup> the present apology of St. John Chrysostom offers information about the clergy of his time.<sup>77</sup> In a general sense the greatest danger for clergy and Church comes from the unrestrained ambition with which unfit and wholly unworthy candidates attain ecclesiastical dignities, whereas suitable and worthy candidates are overlooked or totally excluded. Added to this is the fact that the reasons for the struggle to attain ecclesiastical dignities are associated with entirely unacceptable motives.<sup>78</sup> Having all this in mind, St. John constantly reminds us that he who desires to approach the priesthood must necessarily be free from all ambition. Moreover, he must struggle in an impartial way for an ecclesiastical dignity, or else abandon it. Ambition proves a dangerous impediment to the spiritual tranquility of the priest and constitutes the main threat to a fruitful spiritual ministry. The passion for glory, furthermore, instills in the heart all manner of detestable passions—irascibility, lying, slander, envy, baseness, etc.

**Love of the Spiritual Shepherd for the Savior.** Together with other spiritual presuppositions, St. Chrysostom emphasizes above all love for our Savior, which is an essential element of the priest's

<sup>74</sup> P. Chrestou, *Οἱ περὶ ἱερωσύνης λόγοι* (2nd ed.; Thessalonike, 1960), p. 9.

<sup>75</sup> *On the Priesthood* 6, 2, PG 48:679.

<sup>76</sup> L. Patsavos, *The Entry into the Clergy during the First Five Centuries*, in Greek (Athens, 1974), p. 108.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. E. Fleury, *Hellénisme et Christianisme*, pp. 124-25; S. Giet, *Les Idées*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>78</sup> *On the Priesthood* 3, 15, PG 48:652. Cf. Isid. of Pelusium, Ep. 2, 50, PG 78:492. About 150 years earlier, Origen describes similar abuses in the clergy of his time. He supports the view, however, that the efficacy of priestly authority depends upon the personal holiness of its bearer (*In Mat Exeg.* 12, 14, PG 13:1013B-16A; *On Prayer* 28, 8 PG 11:528). Moreover, he bitterly attacks those who do not conform to the ideal image of the cleric (*In Mat Exeg.* 16, 21-22, PG 13:1444C-53B; *Ibid.* 15, 26, PG 13:1329BC; *Hom. on Ezekiel* 10, 1 PG 13:740D-741A; *Hom. on Numbers* 22, 4, PG 12:744B-45).

soul. Our Lord's question to Peter,<sup>79</sup> "Do you love me?", and the added statement, "Feed my lambs" prove without a doubt how much the Savior cared for those whom He made inheritors through His blood and whom He loved above all else.<sup>80</sup> Love such as this must reach the height we admire in St. Paul when he says: "For I could even pray to be outcast from Christ myself for the sake of my brothers, my natural kinsfolk."<sup>81</sup> How difficult, however, and how rare is such unselfish love.<sup>82</sup>

**Relations of Shepherd and Flock.** St. Chrysostom reminds us that the priest truly is the assignee of God and instrument of Christ, sent to the Church for its edification and administration. In this way, he undertakes spiritual authority and becomes the shepherd of Christ's flock. Out of this relationship arise the obligations of both shepherd and flock. St. Chrysostom constantly reminds the spiritual shepherd of his accountability, calls for rejection of pride and love for authority, and urges true guidance of those entrusted to his spiritual care. Subsequently, the flock is reminded of its obligations to its spiritual shepherd. In St. Chrysostom's second homily on 2 Timothy, we read that the reason for all misfortune in the Church is the disruption of the harmonious relations of the flock towards the spiritual shepherds. Esteem and respect are no longer directed to them. Consequently, neither does it exist for God, since priests are God's messengers. When, there, there is respect for the shepherd, then, God, too, is honored in his person.<sup>83</sup>

**Qualifications Referring to the Priest's Relations to God.** The priest appears as an intermediary to whom the entire community is entrusted, and he occupies the place of a father to the faithful. As their spiritual father, he entreats God on behalf of the community. For this reason he must surpass everyone in all things. Just as certain qualifications are required of the priest relative to his relationship with the community, likewise, and to an even higher degree, comparable qualifications relative to his relationship to God are demanded of him.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Jn 21.15-17

<sup>80</sup> *On the Priesthood* 2, 1, PG 48 631

<sup>81</sup> Rom 9 3

<sup>82</sup> *On the Priesthood* 3, 7, PG 48 645

<sup>83</sup> *Hom. 2 on 2 Tim* 2, PG 62 609.

<sup>84</sup> *On the Priesthood* 3, 4, PG 48 642, *Ibid* 6, 4, PG 48 681. Cf. *Isid of Pelusium*, Ep. 2, 52 and 2, 125, PG 78 493C and 564C, where the priesthood is again similarly exalted Cf also A. Phytakes, *Οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄρχοντες κατὰ Ἰσίδωρον τὸν Πηλουσιώτην* (Mytilene, 1936). p. 14

**Detailed Examination of the Candidate Cleric.** One of the main obligations given to the bishop by St. John is the unbiased, conscientious, and detailed examination of the candidate before his ordination and installation in an ecclesiastical office. The bishop must not be satisfied with the opinion of the crowd,<sup>85</sup> nor with the esteem enjoyed by the candidate of those who are not members of the Church.<sup>86</sup> The bishop himself is responsible when an unsuitable candidate is promoted to the priestly office, partaking in such a case in his sins, just as in another case he may partake in his virtues. The bishops, then, must be sufficiently strong in order to oppose, if necessary, the unreasonable will and unjust demand of the people. He must keep in mind under all circumstances, and in every expression of his priestly status, the Church's interest alone.<sup>87</sup>

**Qualifications of the Preacher.** Speaking of the teaching authority of the preacher,<sup>88</sup> the present Father warns how dangerous this authority can be for him who exercises it without the necessary ability. At the head of the requirements set by St. Chrysostom for preachers are benevolence and studiousness. Whoever does not meet these requirements ought not to draw near.<sup>89</sup>

The criterion and purpose in the work of preaching must be God's pleasure. It is towards this goal that the priest's teaching

<sup>85</sup> St. Chrysostom has in mind the crowd's tumultuous behavior during the election of bishops. In an attempt to limit the excesses caused thereby, the synod of Laodicea, held between 343 and 381 A.D., declared that "the election of those who are to be appointed to the priesthood is not to be committed to the multitude" (canon 13: H. Percival, ed., *The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, Vol. 14: *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd Series; Grand Rapids, 1956), p. 131). As noted by P. Pou-litsas, *Σχέσεις Πολιτείας καὶ Ἐκκλησίας ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ Ἐκλογῆς ἐπισκόπων* (Athens, 1946), p. 284, this canon forbids the active participation of the masses, not of the laity in general. Indeed, the practice of having respectable members of the laity participate in the election of bishops is based upon this same canon. Cf. P. Trempelas, *Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκλογῇ τῶν ἐπισκόπων* (Athens, 1955), pp. 18-19.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Can. Eccl. 16 (Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, *Βιβλιοθήκη Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων καὶ Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Συγγραφέων* (Athens, 1955), 2, p. 299), in which the redactor requests a good reputation among those who are not members of the Church. This is in keeping with 1 Tim 3.7. A century later the role of the laity in the election of clerics begins to diminish. Testimony of this fact, besides that of St. Chrysostom, comes from St. Athanasios (*Apol. against Arians* 30, PG 25:297). Accordingly, Pope Julius (4th cent.) protests the irregular election of Bishop Gregory of Alexandria, because the laity was not consulted.

<sup>87</sup> *On the Priesthood* 2, 4, PG 48:636-37; Ibid. 3, 15, PG 48:625; Ibid. 3, 16, PG 48:654. Cf. *Hom. 5 on 1 Tim*, PG 62:529. St. Basil also speaks of the sometimes frivolous procedure during the election of clerics (*Comm. on Isaiah* 3, 112, PG 30:297C-300).

<sup>88</sup> St. Basil, too, gives a descriptive account of the spiritual shepherd as preacher of the gospel (*Moralia* 70, PG 31:816-45).

<sup>89</sup> *On the Priesthood* 5, 1, PG 48:671-72.

must be directed.<sup>90</sup> To effectively realize the purpose of his teaching, there are two indispensable qualifications—humility and fluency in speaking—both of which are an advantage to the priest himself as well as to his community. The preacher is worthy of his mission only when he possesses both of these qualifications. Absence of one or the other detracts from the priest's effectiveness as a teacher.<sup>91</sup>

Further on, St. John points out that the ecclesiastical preacher must diligently avoid seeking a good name from the people.<sup>92</sup> The desire for a good name easily beguiles the preacher into saying to the people what is pleasant to hear but not what is essential and worthwhile. Thus, instead of *his* being the leader of the people, he himself is led by the people.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, even though the preacher ought not to attach much weight to public opinion, he must not ignore the people's judgment altogether. This is what preserves him from indolence, while also inciting him to constant struggle and re-examination of himself. At the same time he must always enjoy the confidence of the people. Included among the necessary qualifications is eloquence during the delivery of a sermon.<sup>94</sup> Eloquence is not only a gift of nature, but also the result of continual and conscientious exercise, and for this reason must never be neglected.<sup>95</sup>

**Prudence, Patience, Individualization.** These three qualifications are prerequisites for the priest's correct diagnosis and subsequent therapy of the spiritual malady plaguing the soul of those entrusted to his care. First, prudence, because only through careful attention can individuals be brought under priestly guidance; patience and perseverance, because a quick and sudden confrontation endangers the effectiveness of the therapy; finally, individualization,<sup>96</sup> according to which the doctor of

<sup>90</sup> Ibid. 5, 7, PG 48:676.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. 5, 2, PG 48:673.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. 5, 8, PG 48:677-78. Overestimation of a preacher's talents was prevalent during Chrysostom's time.

<sup>93</sup> *On the Priesthood* 5, 2, PG 48:673.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. 5, 1, PG 48:671-73.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid. 5, 5, PG 48:674. Cf. Basil Gr., Ep. 2, PG 32:224 and Isid. of Pelusion, Ep. 3, 96, PG 78:805, where the need for the preacher's preparation is stressed.

<sup>96</sup> Regarding the principle of individualization, see Mouratides, *Ποιμαντική*, pp. 68-70.

souls must understand well that maladies of the soul are varied, as are the spiritual condition and character of each individual. Therefore, in agreement with the principle of individualization, he must apply a different method for each malady, taking into consideration the nature of the ailment and the character of the individual, that the therapy might have optimum conditions for success.<sup>97</sup>

**The Spiritual Shepherd's Readiness for the Scrupulous, Those who Err, and Opponents of the Christian Faith.** In his characteristic adroitness, St. Chrysostom gives some practical advice in this part of his treatise on how to deal with different categories of people. The first category mentions the scrupulous, those who pre-occupy themselves with difficult and incomprehensible hypotheses. For this reason, with all their talk *about* faith they are in danger of forgetting life *according to* the faith. The most effective means of combatting such vain babblers is again only the forcefulness of one's words.<sup>98</sup>

Particular attention is required when confronting those who have abandoned the true faith. They must not be made to return by force, but by persuasion. In the application, however, of this sole means, one must show the necessary stability and vigor. The bishop especially must at the same time be both serious and friendly, austere and lenient, imperative and affable, vehement and gentle.<sup>99</sup>

It is a painful experience for the spiritual leader whenever he is obliged to sever a member from ecclesiastical communion. Since the purpose of this drastic measure is repentance of the sinner, it requires the greatest attention, so that "the man's sorrow...not be made so severe as to overwhelm him"<sup>100</sup> This measure was adopted for the spiritual benefit and repentance of him who was led astray. Therefore, great care must be exercised upon the infliction of this right, so that greater misfortune might not befall the unfortunate sinner. Here, too, the bishop must take care lest he inadvertently cause the loss of the latter's

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., p. 69. Cf. Patsavos, *Entry into the Clergy*, p. 105.

<sup>98</sup> *On the Priesthood* 4, 5, PG 48:667-68.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid. 3, 16, PG 48:654.

<sup>100</sup> 2 Cor 2.7. Cf. Chrysostom's interpretation of this verse in *Hom. 4 on 2 Cor* 3, PG 61:422.

soul, as well as that of his own soul.<sup>101</sup>

From this abbreviated account of the priest's image according to the Three Hierarchs, it is only natural for us to ask the question. "Who, then, is worthy of this sublime office?" The answer, I believe, is to be found in the penitential prayer recited inaudibly by the priest during the Cherubic Hymn

None is worthy, among them that are enslaved by carnal desires and pleasures to approach or come near or minister before Thee, the King of Glory, for Thy Service is great and fearful even to the Heavenly Powers Yet since, through Thine ineffable and immeasurable compassion, Thou hast without change or differentiation become man and taken the title of our High Priest, as Lord of All Thou hast committed to us the celebration of this rite and of the Bloodless Sacrifice.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>101</sup> *On the Priesthood* 3, 17, PG 48 659-60

<sup>102</sup> S Harakas, *Living the Liturgy* (Minneapolis, 1974), p 126



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# THE INFLUENCE OF JEWISH WORSHIP ON ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

George S. Bebis

## PRECIS

Contemporary theological, liturgical, and historical research has uncovered the Jewish roots of Christian worship. Christian daily and weekly services and the ecclesiastical calendar reflect Jewish practice. These profound similarities as well as the points of difference deserve further study not least from Greek Orthodox scholars.

Among the problems to be faced are: (1) the relationship of the Eucharist to the Passover meal; (2) the Old Testament background of Christian worship; (3) the relationship of the Christian sacraments to Jewish "sacred acts"; (4) the interdependence of the great Jewish-Christian feasts of Easter, Pentecost, and Sabbath; and (5) the possible anti-Semitic expressions in Orthodox liturgical books and hymns.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to discuss during this meeting of Greek Orthodox and Jewish scholars the impact and the influence of Jewish worship vis-à-vis Christian worship. I shall try to offer some points for discussion hoping that other opportunities will make it more appropriate to present more fully the many sides and aspects of the topic.

There is no question in my mind but that there is an inner relation, a profound inter-dependence, between Jewish and Christian worship. There is also no doubt that the study of Jewish roots in our Christian worship has been neglected, especially by Greek Orthodox scholars. Even great Protestant theologians, such as Adolf Harnack, were mainly interested in the so-called "Hellenization" of Christianity, but what about its Jewish historical basis and substratum and its theological framework upon which Christian worship has built its beautiful edifice?

Christianity's Jewish background in general, and the Jewish roots of Christian worship in particular, came into a new focus in contemporary theological and historical research, as well as in the liturgical studies and discussions, through the work of Protestant Rudolph Bultmann and Roman Catholic Cardinal Jean Danielou. From the Greek Orthodox point of view, the eminent Greek theologian Panagiotes Trembelas, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, studied the Jewish background of

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Christian worship,<sup>1</sup> but a more thorough Greek Orthodox study is necessary, both in depth and in breadth, so that the Jewish contribution toward the formulation of Greek Orthodox liturgical life might be more properly appreciated.

Not all Christian scholars agree on the precise nature of what really constitutes the historical and theological relationship between Jewish and Christian worship. Liturgical scholars of renown such as Battifol<sup>2</sup> and Duchesne<sup>3</sup> deny the presence of the Jewish-originated daily circle in the early Christian liturgical calendar. It is interesting to note that Oscar Cullman, a "pillar" of New Testament scholarship, said the early church knew only two forms of cult, those of the common meal (Eucharist) and baptism.<sup>4</sup> Cullman does not find any Jewish influence in early Christian worship, except for the Jewish prototypes upon which the eucharistic service and Christian baptism have been developed.

Gregory Dix, one of the greatest contemporary liturgical scholars, takes a completely different stand. He writes that all the private meetings in the early church were gatherings of "selected persons" and not "corporate assemblies," and that the synaxis and the Eucharist were overwhelmingly a world-renouncing cultus, which deliberately and rigidly rejected the whole idea of sanctifying and expressing toward God the life of human society in general, in the way that Catholic worship after Constantine set itself to do.<sup>5</sup> Dix continues by asserting that "in the circumstances of the time, official corporate worship *could* only take a smaller part (quantitatively) in the living of the Christian life. . . ."<sup>6</sup> Dix, moreover, stresses that monks or hermits of the post-Nicene era retained the liturgical lifestyle, so to speak, of the pre-Nicene period by adhering to the infrequency and the forms of this pre-Nicene corporate worship.<sup>7</sup> In other words, Dix seems to reject the basic Jewish concept of the sanctification of time, or the close relation between God and the human society in general.

Even so, Dix does not fail to mention that the use of the Psalter, or most specifically its regular recitation, "in course" began in the desert, among the desert Fathers during the post-Nicene era. Moreover, he stresses the fact that the early church in its pre-Nicene era used the Psalter in private and corporate worship although, he claims, "selectively and as comment upon the other scriptures."<sup>8</sup> So, even though Gregory Dix overwhelmingly stressed the eschatological character of early Christian liturgical life in the

<sup>1</sup>Panagiotēs Trembelas, *Archai kai charakter tes Christianikes latreias* (Athens, 1962), pp. 1-70.

<sup>2</sup>P. Battifol, *Histoire de Bréviare Romain* (Paris, 1895), p. 28.

<sup>3</sup>L. Duchesne, *Origines de cultu chrétien* (Paris, 1925), p. 469.

<sup>4</sup>O. Cullmann, *Le culte dans l'Eglise primitive* (Paris, 1944), p. 30.

<sup>5</sup>Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1945), p. 326.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 327.

church, thus rejecting the Jewish concept of history, he could not avoid accepting Jewish influence on early Christian worship.

In any case, modern liturgical scholars forgot to mention the Jewish background of Christian worship. For instance, P. Freeman,<sup>9</sup> J. Jungmann,<sup>10</sup> and C. W. Dugmore<sup>11</sup> discussed the influence and the interdependence of Jewish and Christian worship. The Jerusalem Temple, the so-called synagogue variation or the synagogue forms of worship, and the Jewish calendar are basic formative structures upon which Christian worship based its own roots. In other words, early forms of Christian worship originated from Jewish worship. Thus there is no doubt that the daily services, the weekly services, and the yearly ecclesiastical calendar of the early church are by-products of the Hebrew Ordo.

Orthodox liturgiologist Father Alexander Schmemmann proposed "a cultic synthesis" between the "eschatological" theory of Dix and the historical or pragmatic theory of Dugmore by underlying the "definite liturgical theology" of Dix and the "genetical link" between the Christian cult and the liturgical tradition of Judaism.<sup>12</sup> I think that Father Schmemmann correctly states that "the liturgical connection between the Church and Judaism has for a long time been simply unnoticed"<sup>13</sup> and that "we must see the liturgical dualism of Judeo-Christianity not as the accidental phenomenon of a passing era, but as the primary and fundamental expression of the Christian *lex orandi*."<sup>14</sup>

Although I personally do not like to speak about any kind of "liturgical dualism," Father Schmemmann's position is sound. The whole question of Jewish influence on Christian worship, and more specifically on Greek Orthodox worship, needs a close examination in order to determine the Jewish influence and its extent in all facets and levels of our liturgical life and practice. Is there, for instance, any Jewish influence on all the Christian sacraments, or on the monastic life of the church, or on church architecture, or even on our liturgical vestments?

Now we all know that apart from the fact that Christ and the disciples were Jews, the first nucleus of the Christian church flourished on Jewish soil. We do know that Christ and the disciples worshipped in the Temple of Jerusalem and in synagogues, and we all are aware of the great stormy discussions among the apostles and the early Christian community as far as the position which the church had to take in facing the "triangle" of the Jewish-pagan-Christian relationship. The problem was serious because Christianity could have remained merely a Jewish "heresy" or a "Jewish

<sup>9</sup>P. Freeman, *The Principles of the Divine Office* (London, 1893).

<sup>10</sup>Josef A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame, n.d.), pp. 11f.

<sup>11</sup>C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964).

<sup>12</sup>Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (Portland, n.d.), p. 43.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

sect." We must remember that until 200 A.D. the Romans regarded Christianity as a Jewish phenomenon, and many Jews saw it as Jewish apostasy.

The problem we face here is fundamental and it concerns the very life and the liturgical experience of the church faithful. There are some basic problems which need careful critical analysis in order to comprehend the profound similarities, or the "genetic inter-connection," as well as the profound dissimilarities and/or "the points of departure" between Jewish and Christian worship.

1. One such problem is the nature and structure of the eucharistic service. Not long ago, the whole debate was limited to whether Christ and the disciples ate a Jewish Paschal meal or a plain evening meal. Scholars such as Dix<sup>15</sup> and Hans Lietzmann<sup>16</sup> have introduced the theories that Christ might not have eaten a Passover meal after all, but rather a friendship or fellowship meal, a *chaburah* or *kiddush* meal. It is interesting that none denies the Jewish background of the Eucharist. Unfortunately, the discrepancies between the accounts of the synoptics and that of St. John cannot help us arrive at an absolutely certain conclusion. However, during the last decade, Ann Jaubert published her famous book *La Date De La Cène*,<sup>17</sup> in which she brought forth historical information unknown to us before Qumran. Using the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Ethiopic edition of the so-called *Testament of Our Lord*, as well as other sources, she found that during the time of Jesus Christ there was in use among the Jews more than one liturgical calendar. Even Christ followed a kind of priestly calendar, probably associated with the strict monastic order of Qumran or the Essenes. Jaubert advanced the theory that on the basis of the material at her disposal, and in association with the astronomical framework of the years of Christ, the phenomenal contradiction between the synoptics and St. John can be resolved by assigning the Last Supper to Tuesday night of the Passion week, not Thursday night. It is an attractive theory, provided that we accept Jaubert's theory that Christ ate a Paschal meal. But as Dr. Athanasios Theohares suggested, Jaubert's theory, although satisfactorily resolving the chronological problem of the Last Supper, creates others of substantial nature, theological as well as historical.<sup>18</sup>

A few years later Evangelos Antoniadis, Professor Emeritus of the University of Athens, published a book in which he examined the character and the nature of the Last Supper in association with the Eucharist.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Dix, *Liturgy*, pp. 50f.

<sup>16</sup>Hans Lietzmann, *Mass and Lord's Supper*, trans. by Dorothea H. G. Reeve (Leiden, n.d.), pp. 316f.

<sup>17</sup>A. Jaubert, *La Date de la Cène* (Paris, n.d.); Eng. tr., *The Date of the Last Supper* (New York: Alba House, 1965).

<sup>18</sup>Athanasios Theohares, "To chronologikon problēma ton pathon tou Kyriou hypo to phos archaion tinon martyron kai tes synchronou ereunes," *Δελτίον Βιβλικού Μελέτων*, I (1971): 34-51.

<sup>19</sup>Evangelos Antoniadis, *Ho character tou teleutaiau Deipnou tou Kyriou kai ho artos tes Theias Eucharistia* (Athens, 1961), pp. 61-71.

Professor Antoniadès acknowledged the difficulty in the attempt to harmonize the accounts of the synoptics and of St. John, but he dismissed all the arguments and the debates among Orthodox and Roman Catholic theologians about the nature of the Last Supper by cutting the Gordian knot with the simple declaration, "So what!" The Lord and the disciples might have participated in a Passover meal and therefore might have used unleavened bread according to the Jewish customs of their times. The Lord had also been circumcised! There is no need to reject the Jewish framework of the Last Supper, Professor Antoniadès contends. The Last Supper has a deeper meaning. It marked the beginning of a new era. The Jewish Passover became the Christian Pascha, the "medicine of immortality" to use the words of St. Ignatius of Antioch.<sup>20</sup>

2. The second point which I want to make is the Old Testament background of the Christian worship. Of this Professor Eric Werner has spoken more than convincingly. But I must point to the Old Testament models which are found in the Christian liturgy. Examples are St. Basil's Liturgy where the great Father of the Greek Orthodox Church prays and asks the Lord to accept the eucharistic sacrifice as Abel's gifts, Noah's sacrifices, Abraham's firstfruits, Moses' and Aaron's priesthood, and Samuel's supplications were accepted.

3. The third problem which requires discussion is the relationship between the Christian sacraments and the Jewish "sacraments" or "sacred acts." There is no doubt that in Jewish liturgical practice there was a ceremony of initiation with the use of water. The laying on of hands for ordination of the Jewish clergy is well known. Many theologians in the past gave undue emphasis to the similarities (rather external) between the pagan mysteries and the Christian mysteries. But what about the Jewish "sacraments"? Of course the basic difference between the Christian sacraments and the Jewish sacred acts is their theology. Some Christian theologians claim that there is no theology behind the Jewish sacred acts. Is that true? And if it is not true, to what extent has Jewish theology influenced Christian liturgical theology?

4. We have already mentioned the interdependence of the Christian and the Jewish calendars. Although during the first century A.D. powerful forces wanted to disassociate Christian worship from Jewish devotions, the impact of the Jewish liturgical calendar on the Christian calendar hardly needs any discussion. Daily and weekly services and the yearly calendar with great feasts of Jewish origin such as Easter and Pentecost prove, without a doubt, the early Christian could not avoid the influence of the Jewish liturgical praxis. Even the Sabbath took its proper place in the church's liturgical life during the third century.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Epistle to the Ephesians*, ch. 20.

<sup>21</sup> See the discussion of the whole historical setting for the place of the Sabbath in the Christian calendar in C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence*, pp. 28f. St. Basil the Great in his letter

5. The fifth point which I would like to make concerns Greek Orthodox hymnography. Many Jewish scholars find anti-Semitic attitudes expressed in the hymns. Scholars have indicated that some Eastern hymn writers were of Semitic background and therefore their strong language does not really betray flagrant anti-Semitic racial feelings. The whole question is rather theological. The Greek Orthodox Christian does not furnish any anti-Semitic feeling, but simply remembers the crucifixion of Christ in its proper historical perspective. Orthodox Christianity believes its members are the new people of God regardless of racial or geographical background.

What can we do here? Should we follow the example of the Second Vatican Council which denounced and removed from its liturgical books all anti-Jewish expressions? I have begun a systematic study of our liturgical texts and books in order to locate and explain anti-Semitic expressions. I have the impression that some "anti-Semitic" expressions should only be taken in the context of Orthodox christological doctrine. Expressions or phrases which have merely poetic significance could be eliminated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox. We must remind ourselves that our liturgy is the linking bridge between Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy. If liturgical experience makes life more meaningful, then there is a genuine irenic "rapprochement" between Judaism and Orthodox Christianity, in the sense that both Orthodox Christians and Jews share a common inheritance of immeasurable value.

We must remember the great esteem the Fathers of the Church had for great Jewish scholars and theologians such as Philo and the great respect they felt for saintly people of the Old Testament. The work of St. Gregory of Nyssa, *De vita Moysis*, is a sufficient example at this point. It is also significant that for the first time in the recent history of Greek Orthodox biblical scholarship, the publishers of the Old Testament used, as the basis of their translation into Modern Greek, the Massoretic text.<sup>22</sup>

This paper did not exhaust the subject. Far from it. We must make clear our Christian convictions and our commitment to our Lord Jesus Christ as the Logos and our Saviour. Nonetheless, the hopeful fact remains that Jews and Greek Orthodox must co-exist and live in harmony, as they did for many generations. There is no doubt that our dialogue will create a new atmosphere of more understanding and love and will constantly remind us that both Jews and Orthodox Christians have a common background which both must honor and treasure with affection and respect.

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to the Patrician Caesaria, on Communion (Letter No. 93), states that he takes communion four times each week, on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. St. Basil, *The Letters*, trans. by Roy J. Deferrari (Cambridge, MA), II, 144.

<sup>22</sup> Athanasios Chastoupes, *He Hagia Graphe, Palaia Diatheke*, ed. by S. Demetrakos (Athens, 1954).

**Study and Discussion Questions**

1. Do you agree with the author that the study of the Jewish roots of Christian worship has **generally been neglected**? Discuss.
2. The author mentions some Christian scholars who have studied the relationship of Jewish and Christian worship. Are you familiar with Jewish scholarship in the same area? Discuss.
3. Discuss what way Cullman and Dix differ in their assessment of the relationship between early Christian and Jewish worship.
4. Offer examples to prove the assertion that "early forms of Christian worship originated from Jewish worship."
5. According to the author, what problems surface in connection with a study of the relationship of the Eucharist and the Jewish Passover meal?
6. How should one understand the expression "Jewish sacraments" as used by the author? Would this be an acceptable expression in Jewish-Christian dialogue?



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## *EVA CATAFYGIOTU TOPPING*

### **JOHN ZACHOS: AMERICAN EDUCATOR**

On January 1, 1863, the day President Lincoln proclaimed all slaves in the country free, Charlotte Forten wrote in her diary an account of what she called "the most glorious day this nation has seen." On a semi-tropical island off the coast of South Carolina a few whites and several thousand blacks celebrated together the "glorious, glorious day of freedom." Describing the celebration, Miss Forten, a free black lady, recorded that "An ode written for the occasion by Professor Zachos, originally a Greek, now a Superintendent of Parris Island—was read by himself, and then sung by the whites."

I was astonished to read this sentence two years ago in *The Journal of Charlotte L. Forten*. My astonishment increased when I turned to this footnote at the end of the book: "John Zachos, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was a teacher and superintendent sent to Port Royal by the New England Educational Association." A Greek from Cincinnati teaching blacks and celebrating with blacks in 1863! It seemed hard to believe. Since then I have reconstructed the chain of events that brought a Greek to Cincinnati before the Civil War and then took him to teach blacks in South Carolina.

To my great delight it turned out that John Zachos, Cincinnati's first Greek, was a remarkable man, an educator, author, minister, and inventor.

Like thousands of Greeks before and after him, Zachos experienced life far from his birthplace. His is one more odyssey in the countless odysseys of the Greek people. The story of John Zachos is the story of a seven-year-old Greek immigrant who grew up in nineteenth century America and became one of its distinguished citizens and educators. His life and career demonstrate once again the vitality and brightness of the Greek spirit.

John Zachos was born on December 5, 1820 in Constantinople, capital of Greek patriarchs and Turkish sultans. Fabled in

song and story, his birthplace had been one of the world's greatest cities for a millennium and a half. Although after May, 1453 slender minarets had altered the myriad-domed Byzantine silhouette of Constantinople, Greek life had continued in the imperial city, shaping Greek and Turkish destinies alike.

Both of John's parents belonged to the influential and cultivated Greek community in the Turkish capital. Nicholas, his father, was a prosperous merchant who also served the Turkish government as an interpreter. A proud Greek patriot, Nicholas Zachos had joined the *Philike Hetairia*, the secret revolutionary society dedicated to the liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule.

His mother was a spirited well-born lady who was related to the Ypsilantis and Mavrokordatos families. She bore the lovely name of an ancient goddess, Euphrosyne. In 1853 John named his first daughter after his mother. The Greek grandmother never saw her American namesake.

The outbreak of the Greek War of Independence on March 25, 1821 dramatically affected John's destiny in the first year of his life. When news of the revolt reached Constantinople, the Turks retaliated by hanging the Greek patriarch and massacring the Greek population. Betrayed as a member of the revolutionary society that had instigated the revolt, Nicholas Zachos was arrested, thrown into jail, and condemned to death. Fortunately his life was saved by payment of bribes, and the family managed to escape by Greek boat to mainland Greece.

Thus, before he was a year old, John became a refugee, along with his parents. Although he did not have memories of his birthplace, Constantinople nevertheless haunted him all his life. As a schoolboy in Pennsylvania in 1833, he gave his birthplace as his address. Eighteen years later, in 1852, when he was an editor of an educational journal in Ohio, he inserted into an issue a description of the legendary beauties of Constantine's imperial city. The fourteen letters of its name are conspicuously inscribed across his tombstone in a Boston cemetery.

The Zachos family encountered the expected hardships of life in revolutionary Greece. While Nicholas Zachos maintained and commanded a troop of Greek soldiers in the mountains of Thessaly, his wife and two small children faced the dangers and uncertainties of refugee life in a war-torn land. In 1824

Nicholas Zachos fell in battle, a hero in the sacred cause of Greek freedom. John, his only son, was then four years old.

A young widow with two children, Euphrosyne Zachos was responsible not only for them, but also for the family fortune. The shifting battle lines forced the fatherless family to move from place to place. When the mainland became unsafe, Mrs. Zachos bought a boat and sought safety for her family among the Aegean Islands, beyond the reach of the Turks.

Zachos later remembered his childhood in Greece and told his children about his first lessons under a fig tree. Much later, in 1913, his daughter Helena recalled this anecdote:

The schoolmaster sat under a large fig tree with a group of small children seated before him in a semi-circle. He had a long, tapering switch with which he kept order... The tree was laden with fruit, and from time to time the rich ripe figs would drop in the midst of the little school. Then would ensue a grabbing and scrambling for a few seconds until the prize disappeared into some eager mouth and order was restored by the long switch of the old pedagogue.

In view of Zachos' life-long career in education, it is interesting that one of his earliest memories is that of this primitive school.

Sometime before 1827 Euphrosyne Zachos remarried. Her second husband was Nicholas Silivergos, who later was secretary to Capodistrias, the first president of Greece. Through her husband's official connections, Zachos' mother became acquainted with Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, the philhellene from Boston who, in the fall of 1827, was in charge of distributing American relief to the destitute Greek population.

Mrs. Silivergos decided at this time to send her son to America, where he could get a better education than was available in Greece. Dr. Howe agreed to take John with him when he returned to America.

Other philhellenes had already brought Greek war orphans to the United States. About forty young Greeks came here during the Greek Revolution. Many of them later returned to Greece, but others, like John Zachos, George Colvocoressis, and Lucas Miller, remained in the New World. Zachos and Colvocoressis are among the handful of Greek-Americans in *The Dictionary of American Biography*.

On November 12, 1827 the American relief ship *Jane* sailed from Poros bound for New York. On board were Dr. Howe and four Greek children, including John Zachos and a little girl named Sappho, whom the Winthrops of Massachusetts adopted. Somewhere on the wintry Atlantic Ocean John celebrated his seventh birthday. Zachos had spent only the first seven years of his long life in Greek lands, scarcely long enough for a few faint memories. Yet to the end Zachos preserved his Greek identity. As far as I know he never went back to Greece.

After a slow voyage lasting almost two months, the *Jane* docked in New York on February 5, 1828. On that cold day America welcomed a seven-year-old immigrant from the ancient land of Greece. On that day John Zachos' American odyssey began. It ended seventy years later.

Dr. Howe took John to Boston and arranged for him to enter Mt. Pleasant Classical Institute in Amherst, Massachusetts. Located on a hill overlooking the village, the school was housed in a stately mansion adorned with columns. Far from the smiling, blue waves of the Aegean the Greek school-boy resumed his education. One of seventy boys, John remained here until 1833, when for unknown reasons the institute closed.

John's mother had paid for the first three years of his schooling. But, after her husband's extravagances at the court of King Otho had exhausted the Zachos fortune, she could no longer pay for her son's education. A mere boy, alone in a foreign country far from home, John Zachos was on his own, having to support and educate himself.

Working a short time as printer's boy, John made his way to Pennsylvania. In 1833 he enrolled in the Bristol Manual Labor College twenty miles north of Philadelphia. By combining study with labor the college enabled the students to be self-supporting. For young Zachos the college in Bristol was a blessing.

The college catalogue for 1833-34, now in the rare book room of the Library of Congress, contains a list of the students, most of whom came from Pennsylvania and nearby New York, Delaware, and Maryland. One exotic entry stands out in the list: "Ioannes Zachos, Constantinople, Asia Minor." After six years in America, the fourteen-year-old immigrant

still kept the Greek form of his baptismal name. That he gave Constantinople as his home address reveals his attachment to his birthplace.

Ioannes Zachos spent several years of his teens at this college, which proved to be an important crossroads in his life. His training there in mechanics enabled him later to perfect an invention which he first patented in 1876, and again in 1883 and 1886. And it was there that he met the Rev. Chauncey Colton, founder and president of Bristol College, who directed John to Kenyon College in Ohio.

In the 1830's Americans were moving west to take possession of a vast continent. Greek-born Zachos joined thousands of native Americans in the westward migration. Now, mountains as well as ocean would separate him from family and homeland. What were John's thoughts as he traveled west? Did he still think of returning to Greece? Or had the ancient homeland already turned into a childhood myth for him?

In 1837 John enrolled at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio as a member of the sophomore class. He was the second Greek to study at this Episcopalian college in a remote western village. John Anastakis, one of his shipmates on the *Jane*, had been the first, having been sent to Kenyon in April, 1828 by the Greek Committee of New York.

During his three years at Kenyon, Zachos followed the prescribed classical course. He particularly enjoyed the study of languages and literature, both modern and ancient. He was active in a debating society and helped establish a library for students. At Kenyon he developed the oratorical skills which won him the name "Greek Zachos of the Silver Tongue." In the western wilderness Zachos cultivated the eternal Greek passion for the spoken *logos*.

On August 5, 1840 Zachos graduated with honors from Kenyon College. At the commencement he proved himself a new Demosthenes, delivering two orations. The first, 'Ομηρος—the title appears in Greek letters on the program—was given in classical Greek; the second, "Greece: Influence of Her Memorials and Monuments," was delivered in English. Both orations testify to the speaker's Greek pride. The orator is listed as "John Zachos, Athens, Greece," revealing an immigrant's nostalgia.

From Gambier the new Bachelor of Arts went to Cincinnati with Stanley Matthews, a classmate and future United States senator and Supreme Court justice. There he lived with the Matthews, a congenial, academic family. Born in the "Queen City" on the Bosphorus, Zachos found his first American home in the "Queen City of the West."

A brash and booming metropolis in 1840, Cincinnati was the right place for bright young men. General William Henry Harrison's election to the presidency that fall symbolized the city's prestige and power. The first Greek to live in Cincinnati, Zachos must have heard how in 1824 General Harrison had been chairman of the local Greek Committee, and energetically supported the cause of Greek independence, even urging Congress to send the American fleet against the Turks.

At this time Cincinnati claimed to be the "Athens of the West." Her schools attracted students from all sections of the country. Literati busily published magazines and books. They organized lectures, libraries and societies. Unitarians challenged religious and social orthodoxy, and intellectuals opposed slavery and advocated reforms.

Aged twenty, Zachos became part of the city's exciting intellectual world. To support himself he taught school. At the same time he studied medicine with the world-famous surgeon, Reuben Mussey. In these years Zachos formed the liberal ideas that motivated him and inspired his life. Both idealist and optimist, Zachos believed in the perfectibility of the individual and society.

He was never afraid to take a position on controversial issues. In April, 1845 the young medical student published an article in a literary magazine in which he advocated the abolishment of capital punishment. His was an advanced opinion not shared by many. But Zachos justified his position by "moral principles which should govern man." Already the sanctity of life was for him one of those fundamental moral principles.

Zachos never took his medical degree. Having found the human soul and mind more interesting than the body, he abandoned medicine for a career in teaching. He preferred the teacher's chalk to the surgeon's scalpel; the schoolroom to the hospital. He obtained a Master of Arts degree from his alma mater and became for the rest of his life "Professor Zachos." Education proved to be his true vocation. He was destined

to participate in the three most significant experiments in democratic education of the nineteenth century in America. For more than fifty years his silver tongue was heard in the schoolrooms of Ohio, South Carolina, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York.

While other Americans rushed to the gold fields of California in 1849, John Zachos had settled down in Cincinnati. On July 26, 1849 he married a fellow-teacher, Harriet Canfield, a seventh generation American, the descendent of Thomas Canfield, who had landed at Plymouth early in the seventeenth century. Six children were born of the marriage. Nothing so settles an immigrant as marriage to a native. The Greek son-in-law of George Washington Canfield was now an American.

In October of the same year, Zachos and eleven other young intellectuals won immortality by founding the Literary Club, the country's oldest continuous literary society. On November 3, 1850 one of its members, Rutherford B. Hayes—who later became the nineteenth President of the United States—recorded in his diary that at a meeting of the club “Zachos made a good speech on teachers.” It was a subject dear to the speaker's heart.

By 1849, too, Zachos had advanced his profession. He was now co-owner and co-principal of the Cincinnati Female Seminary, highly regarded as one of the best schools for girls in the city. Persuaded of the value of the Socratic dialogue between teacher and pupil and always open to innovations, Professor Zachos repudiated the “commonplace routine with its feeble results.” He also recommended the study of mathematics for girls and henceforth strongly advocated equal education for women.

A successful teacher and administrator, Zachos became an author in 1851. The first of his books, *The New American Speaker*, was published in Cincinnati. Widely used, it went into four editions within three years. His second book followed in 1852. On its title page the author is identified as “A Native Greek.” Twenty-five years in the United States had strengthened Zachos' pride in his Greek heritage.

Also in 1851 Zachos became co-owner and principal of Cooper Female Institute in Dayton, Ohio. Intense professional activity marks this period of Zachos' academic career. From 1850 to 1854 he not only directed a well-known girl's school, but also figured prominently in a state-wide crusade to improve



schools and teacher training in Ohio. Professor Zachos was active in the newly organized Ohio State Teachers Association, and he organized the Association for the Advancement of Female Education. He was also an editor of the first two volumes of *The Ohio Journal of Education*. In addition, he frequently taught at teachers' institutes, exhorting teachers to excellence and reminding them of their importance in a democratic society.

In this fashion "A Native of Greece" became one of Ohio's most influential teachers. His blackboard stretched across an entire state. With the confidence of an experienced educator, Zachos did not hesitate to use blunt and critical language. On the ineffective teaching of languages he wrote:

The drawling over a language five or six years, with so little fruit of scholastic achievement, should not be tolerated; yet, I am afraid any such interference with the sacred right of dunces would strike a heavy blow at some of our schools and colleges.

Zachos' work for the improvement of education attracted the attention of Horace Mann, first president of the newly founded Antioch College. At Mann's invitation Zachos joined the faculty of Antioch in 1854, and was the principal of its preparatory department. For several years he worked closely with America's foremost educational reformer. He shared Mann's commitment to liberal education for men and women and his zeal to improve the training of teachers. The two tireless educators extended their work beyond Yellow Springs, traveling over the state to lecture at teachers' institutes. In the summer of 1855 Zachos taught at such an institute at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. Forty-two years later one of the teachers who heard Zachos recalled him with these words:

Zachos was a Greek of fine oriental temperament . . . he was then in the flush of young manhood . . . His hair was then jet black; his small, lithe, graceful body was clad in neat elegant attire; he wore a diamond and carried in his white hand an elastic cane, which seemed a part of him, so constantly did he use it in gesticulation...I retain a lively recollection of

his standing on a table in the campus of Miami University, and narrating with much vivacity, to a company of several hundred ladies and gentlemen, a series of myths and fairy tales.

As the teacher observes, Zachos indeed possessed a "vivid personality" which contributed to his success in the classroom.

The innocent victim of academic politics at Antioch, Zachos had to return to Cincinnati in 1857. Trying to force Mann to resign, the board of trustees twice refused to approve Mann's recommendation that Zachos be given a permanent appointment. Depressed by the loss of Zachos, "one of the best men we could have," Mann considered resigning, but remained to battle the trustees until his death two years later.

The next four or five years were probably difficult for the Zachos family. Economic depression and increasingly bitter sectional conflict added to the difficulties. During this period Zachos lectured and taught at various schools in the Queen City. Between 1858 and 1860 he also published four more books. The fourth of these, *Analytic Elocution*, was written "to promote the noble art of speaking." In the New World John Zachos fostered through his books, teaching and example a time-honored tradition of his Greek forefathers.

Early in 1862 Zachos left Ohio. He had come there as a college student in 1837. Twenty-five years later he left, having achieved a notable record of service in public and private education. Even after he left, his books continued to be used in Ohio schools. In 1871, a sixth grade student named William Howard Taft owned and used a book by Zachos.

The Civil War involved John Zachos in the extraordinary social and educational venture known in American history as the "Port Royal Experiment." Its success decided the future of blacks in the United States.

Abandoned by their masters, ten thousand slaves in South Carolina fell into Union hands in November, 1861. Neither slave nor free, these "contrabands of war" presented the North with a challenge. By educating and establishing these slaves as a free people, a small band of abolitionists proposed to prove once and for all that blacks could live in equality with whites. Even among friends of the blacks this was a bold, minority opinion. In the 1860's very few Americans believed in the equality of the races. To his credit and honor, John

Zachos was one of these few. Dr. Howe was another. The great emancipator, President Lincoln, was not yet himself convinced but reluctantly authorized the experiment at Port Royal.

On March 3, 1862, Zachos and fifty-two other carefully selected teachers and superintendents sailed from New York bound for the Sea Islands of South Carolina. The group consisted largely of New Englanders with a scattering of Pennsylvanians and Midwesterners. Unique among that brave missionary band was John Zachos.

These forty-one men and twelve women were determined to alter the racial status quo and to shape the American future in a more just and humane way. It was their immediate mission to liberate ten thousand black slaves from ignorance, and in the words of Susan Walker, a friend of Zachos, "to lift up into the glorious light of freedom the oppressed and benighted ones." Convinced that blacks no less than whites were created in God's image, Greek Zachos contributed to the historical achievements of the "Port Royal Experiment."

The teachers arrived at Port Royal on March 9, 1862. Four days later Zachos was superintendent on Parris Island, in sole charge of five cotton plantations and four hundred blacks. He was responsible for the production of cotton and the education of the ex-slaves. Significantly, the initiation of four hundred black Americans into freedom depended on him, an immigrant who had started life as Ioannes Zachos.

His first task was to clothe "this poor people" whom he found "all in rags, and in utter destitution." Within two weeks he had done so, won their confidence, and established two schools for children and one for adults on two different parts of the island. Zachos was the only white person on Parris Island, the sole teacher in its three schools. An old black man, the only black there who could read, assisted him.

Like other teachers, Zachos faced discouraging obstacles. They were all plagued by a hot humid climate in which fleas and fevers flourished. One young teacher, a medical student from Boston, died on duty in December, 1862. Barriers of custom, language and suspicion divided whites and blacks. Charlotte Forten considered her black pupils "the most dismal specimens I ever saw." Their language, a mixture of an African dialect and English, was unintelligible. Quick to suspect condescension and contempt, the blacks resented anything that

smacked of slavery.

Nevertheless, Zachos heroically persevered in his noble work for sixteen months. His faith and determination shine in his reports from Parris Island. After setting up his schools he wrote: "A large number will be able to read the Bible in three months from this time. Will that not be a triumph for them and for us!" Never doubting that blacks could learn as readily as whites, he hastened their progress by devising new methods for teaching them.

Zachos was much more than a planter and teacher. The four hundred blacks looked to him for everything. He ran the one store on the island and distributed goods sent by northern charities. He was also the island doctor, seeing six to ten patients daily. He was grateful for his medical training and remarked: "I never thought my studies in medicine would ever come so well into play." On Sundays he preached to his people, finding them a "most attentive and devotional audience."

With infinite patience, tact, and understanding Zachos started four hundred black Americans on the road to freedom. While admitting their faults, he defended them against unjust criticism:

It is nonsense, or worse, to say that these people will not work unless they are *made to*. They are just as industrious and willing to work as any class of white people I ever saw: and besides they are docile, affectionate, and grateful for anything you do for them. I am struck, constantly, with the *childhood* of this race.

A sensitive, humane teacher, Zachos understood that slavery had doomed the blacks to perpetual childhood. He perceived that it was his mission to guide them from childish dependency to independence and responsible adulthood.

Since prejudice and racism did not blind Zachos, he always treated blacks with respect. He recognized their rights to dignity: "Now I felt at once it was not proper to treat these people as paupers." Zachos gave them their first lessons in reading and in self-respect. No wonder he was regarded as "one of the best superintendents" in the Sea Islands.

On Thursday, January 1, 1863, in a magnificent grove of live oaks, blacks and whites joyfully celebrated together at Port Royal the day of freedom. "Professor Zachos, originally

a Greek," notes Charlotte Forten, wrote a poem for the occasion, and expressed his own joy as well as that of his four hundred black pupils.

In the summer of 1863 Zachos left Parris Island, exhausted by sixteen months of arduous service. The bold experiment in education and freedom had succeeded. Black people had learned to read and write, to live as free men on their own land. Liberal, humanitarian John Zachos, born in far-off Byzantium, had helped them begin a new life.

While he was still on the island, he wrote of his experience: "I was never more intensely occupied in my life or to more useful purpose. I am truly grateful to God for the opportunity." These two simple sentences reveal the goodness of John Zachos, the Greek immigrant who loved and served his fellow Americans, regardless of color, creed, race, or previous condition of servitude. It is one of history's fascinating surprises that the Moses who led four hundred blacks to the promised land of American freedom should have been a Greek immigrant, the son of a hero of the Greek War of Independence.

Zachos was now in middle age, forty-four years old, and his life began a circling movement back to the states where he had first lived in America. From South Carolina he went north to Massachusetts, where he had been a schoolboy from 1828 to 1833. Following a period of recuperation, he was ordained and installed as a minister in 1864 in the First Unitarian Society in West Newton, a village near Boston.

Religion and theology were not new interests. Long before in Cincinnati Zachos had discovered Unitarianism, whose liberalism and lack of dogma had appealed to his free spirit. In an essay written in 1852 he had equated true religion with good works and self-sacrifice. Zachos himself practiced a liberal and ethical Christianity. His life was an exercise in faith, hope and love.

While he preached in this suburban church, Zachos did not forget the blacks and their desperate need for education. In 1864 he published a book describing his new method for teaching illiterates to read. The book's long title eloquently proclaims the author's faith in education: *The Phonic Reader and Primer, Designed Chiefly for Use in Night-Schools Where*

*Adults Are Taught, and for the Myriads of Freed Men and Women, Whose First Rush from the Prison-House of Slavery Is to the Gates of the Temple of Knowledge.*

The circling direction of Zachos' odyssey next carried him back to Pennsylvania. In 1866 he became Professor of Sacred Rhetoric at Meadville Theological Seminary, in a college town ninety miles north of Pittsburgh. Himself a skilled orator, Zachos taught the *logos* to Unitarian seminarians. At the same time he occupied his second Unitarian pulpit. His church—a small, white Doric temple, severe and simple—still stands in Meadville. A history of the Church notes that there was “something of the schoolmaster” in his preaching. When he left Meadville in October, 1868, “his departure was generally lamented, as the loss of a faithful minister who was ready to devote himself to every good cause, and who had endeared himself to all classes by his affable manner and his kindness of heart.”

From Pennsylvania Zachos moved to Ithaca, New York, accepting a call from the Unitarian church there. Again he combined teaching and preaching. He lectured at Cornell University on elocution.

In 1871 Professor Zachos went to New York City, the place where he had landed forty-three years earlier as a seven-year-old Greek war orphan. The expanding metropolis, with its hundreds of thousands of immigrants pouring in from Europe, offered Zachos his last and largest schoolroom.

Invited by Peter Cooper, the genius-inventor and philanthropist, to be Professor of Literature and Curator of the Cooper Union Institute, Zachos soon became Cooper's trusted collaborator and friend. Kindred liberal spirits, Peter Cooper and John Zachos collaborated a dozen years in advancing America's first extensive experiment in adult education and vocational training for women. Once more, as in Ohio and Parris Island, Zachos committed all his energies, imagination, and talents to a new educational enterprise. The professor and the founder of the Union together presided over a new institution of knowledge, free and open to all.

An unlettered man, Cooper himself admired Zachos' magic with words. In 1877 Zachos wrote the inventor's biography and other essays for him. Cooper also attended Zachos' lectures and often invited guests. At Cooper's 'urgent request'

William Cullen Bryant, the eminent editor, poet, and translator of Homer, heard Zachos lecture on Burns in January, 1878. Afterwards, at Cooper's house, Bryant and Zachos argued about which was the most beautiful European language. Bryant claimed the honor for Italian, while Zachos championed Modern Greek. Recorded in Bryant's diary, this incident confirms Zachos' life-long loyalty to the language of his early childhood.

After Cooper's death in 1883, Zachos continued at the Union Institute for another fifteen years until his own death. A respected patriarch in the cause of democratic education, Professor Zachos grew old lecturing on literature, directing the literary department, and supervising the busy reading room and library. For twenty-seven years at Cooper Union John Zachos communicated to thousands his intense delight in the miracle of ideas and words, his love for freedom, and his faith in progress and humanity.

Fate had early decreed that the long and active life of John Zachos would be spent in many places, all far from his birth-place and ancestral land. But wherever he went, he rejoiced in hearty discourse with his fellow mortals. For more than half a century he was a gifted teacher. Americans of every color and creed were his pupils and friends. He contributed to the success of three notable experiments in democratic education, at Antioch College in Ohio, on Parris Island in South Carolina, and finally at Cooper Union Institute in New York.

The whole world was Professor Zachos' schoolroom, humanity his subject, the perfection of the human spirit and personality the steadfast purpose of his life. For more than fifty years Zachos dedicated his quick mind and generous heart, his silver tongue, his books and inventions to the sacred cause of better education for women, blacks, and the common people.

The little Greek war orphan whom Samuel Gridley Howe had brought to the United States early in 1828 fulfilled his destiny in his adopted country. His distinguished career in education does honor to both of his countries, old and new alike.

John Zachos died at his home on March 20, 1898 in New York, where seventy years earlier he had arrived on the American relief ship *Jane*.

He is buried in Newton Cemetery in Boston. On his plain

tombstone are inscribed large letters spelling the name of Constantinople, the holy city of Byzantium—final, indelible testimony of his lasting love for the place of his birth.

In 1976 we do well to remember John Zachos, a pioneer Greek-American and a noted educator of the nineteenth century. His humanitarian and progressive spirit lights the way into America's third century.



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## JUDAISM AND EASTERN ORTHODOXY: THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS

Seymour Siegel

### PRECIS

Eastern Orthodoxy and Judaism share common roots. Both developed before the impact of philosophy on Western intellectual and religious life, and both are "grounded in the experience and faith of the Community of Israel." The attitude on the part of all forms of Christians that Christianity supercedes Judaism has hampered theological dialogue between Christians and Jews. Anti-Semitism is the most serious issue producing ill will between Christians and Jews but, fortunately, some progress has been demonstrated on this issue.

Theological issues which it would be helpful to study include Orthodox and Jewish parallels on God's relationship to the world; the nature of the worshipping community as the basic authority; the place of tradition; the role of eschatology and messianism; and mysticism and ethnicism.

"Fly from dejection, children!" (Father Zossima in Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*).

"Atsvut (dejection) can do more damage to a soul than a multitude of transgressions" (Rebbe Abraham Joshua Heschel of Apt).

### *Common-ness of Roots*

Both the Eastern tradition in Christianity and the Jewish tradition are products of the non-Western experience. They flourished before the Hebraic mind was influenced by the Western traditions of philosophy and rationalism. Both attempted to maintain their "orthodoxy" (term which came into Judaism only in the nineteenth century) in the face of Western influence. Judaism experienced an impressive period of flourishing in the West. Jewish teachers produced impressive works of philosophy in which Jewish concepts and affirmations were defined, analyzed, and contrasted. However, it is fair to say that contemporary Judaism has returned to an approach which is organic and experience-oriented, and which recognizes that the reality of faith can be described, pointed to, and evoked—but it cannot be exhausted in any definition.

Western theology developed in a way in which the Eastern theology

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never developed. It [Western theology] is a theology of dialogue of definitions and counter-definitions, of precision. This is not the case with Eastern theology.<sup>1</sup>

The Torah is a symbolic system, expressing basic ideas, primarily in the form of commanded behavior. Whatever its basic theme, Judaism expresses it most naturally not in propositions, but in gesture; its ideas are formulated in a series of forms which must be acted out as in a pageant, not articulated in verbal assertions.<sup>2</sup>

This common-ness of roots, of course, cannot forget that both Judaism and Orthodoxy are grounded in the experience and faith of the Community of Israel.

### *Common Issues*

Yet, Orthodoxy, like Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, is a branch of Christianity. Judaism has important claims against Christianity. Or, to put it more precisely, Judaism realizes that Christianity must overcome certain narrowness of vision before the ecumenical dialogue can really be fully carried on.

As has been frequently noted, Christianity does not present a theological problem for Judaism. We realize that all people will not share the faith of our forebears. We expect the nations of the world to abide by the seven commandments of Noah—to be decent, God-fearing, and kind to God's creatures. However, Judaism does present a problem for Christianity—for Christianity claims to supercede Judaism. This means that Judaism is obsolete, anachronistic, and the product of stubbornness. This, of course, cannot but lead to a denigration of both Jews and Judaism. "These who have followed and will follow Christ are the true Israel, the children of the promise, the true successors of those Jews who found justification in times past."<sup>3</sup> This attitude, which may or may not be rooted in Christian scriptures, has been a stumbling block in the effort to begin theological dialogue.

The duty of Christianity (which happily has been undertaken in many circles, already) is to cleanse the church of anti-Jewish bias, to uproot the Christian roots of anti-Semitism. There is no doubt that the teachings of the church have added fuel to the ugly fires of anti-Jewish prejudice. Stories about the crucifixion, images and pictures of Judas, and the denigration of Jewish faith all have added to the teaching of contempt. This is now a

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<sup>1</sup>Alexander Schmemmann, "Some Reflections on Eastern Orthodox Theology and Encounter with the West," unpublished paper. Available from the Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 3080 Broadway, New York, NY 10027.

<sup>2</sup>Louis Finkelstein, "Judaism as a System of Symbols," in *Symbols and Values*, Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup>Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, translated, annotated, and notes by A. Lukyn Williams (London: SPCK, 1930), especially chapters 17 and 27.

commonplace in the frank and candid conversations that religious men and women have undertaken since the beginning of serious ecumenical effort. However, it must be repeated over and over again. Anti-Semitism (as is any kind of racial prejudice) is a sin. It is a doubly grievous sin if it is in any way fostered by the teachings of the church.

How paradoxical the Jewish destiny is! In fact we see them passionately seeking an earthly kingdom, without, however, possessing their own State, a privilege enjoyed by the most insignificant of peoples; they are fired with the messianic idea of their Election to which are related, however, contempt and persecution at the hands of other people; they reject the Cross as a temptation, while their whole history presents nothing but a perpetual crucifixion. Perhaps the saddest thing to admit is that those who rejected the Cross have to carry it, while those who welcomed it are often engaged in crucifying other.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, Jews have other issues to discuss with Christians. In Jewish eyes, doctrines such as the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Virgin Birth are against the teachings of strict monotheism which we understand to be the biblical heritage. We, of course, also cannot accept the notion that the hoped-for Messiah has come when the world so obviously exhibits cruelty, war, and oppression. These are issues which have been debated for centuries. They will never be resolved until the end of time when all the mysteries of God will be uncovered. But, the resolution of the problems raised by the denigration of Judaism and the fostering of hatred for Jews which has been part of a good deal of Christian life cannot be delayed. I am happy to say that there is abundant evidence that by and large Christians have recognized this problem and are seeking ways to solve it.

### *Theological Issues of Contrast and Contact*

There are several areas in which, it seems to me, theological study of the two traditions can be mutually enriching.

#### *A. God and the World*

It is the great intuition that God is the content of everything. Although God is different from the world, God is simply present. Now, we do not begin with pessimism moving then to a doctrine of salvation. We begin, rather, with a sort of cosmical thanksgiving and acceptance, and only in the light of this do we understand what evil is.<sup>5</sup>

The great intuition is, of course, at the basis of a great deal of religion. If God created the world, God must have some Presence within it. If God did

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<sup>4</sup>Nicholas Berdyaev, *Christianity and Anti-Semitism*, translated by Alan Spears and Victor Kanter (Aldington: Kent Publishing Company, 1952), p. 12.

<sup>5</sup>Schmemmann, "Some Reflections."

create the world, then the world is basically good. The recovery of the doctrine of creation for religion is important especially today when the world is denigrated and seen as an absurdity.

Each creature and being is actually considered naught and absolute nothingness in relation to the Activating Force and the breath of His mouth: which is in the created thing, continually calling it into existence and bringing it from absolute non-being into being.<sup>6</sup>

This affirmation of the world does not permit Judaism to foster monasticism or asceticism. The created world must be enjoyed—always recognizing the limitations put on this enjoyment by the Law—and therefore not abandoned or renounced. The distinction between the sacred and the profane is not an ontological one. The profane is the not-yet sanctified.

The peoples of the earth also believe that there are two worlds; . . . the difference is this; they understand the two worlds to be removed and cut off from each other. But Israel believes that the two worlds are one in their ground and they shall become one in their reality.<sup>7</sup>

### B. *The Nature of the Worshipping Community*

The church or the worshipping community is the locus of authority and the people of the church are the bearers of the Holy Spirit. It is the entire body of the People of God which is the Mystical Body, not some hierarchy. Especially interesting is the conception of the church given the Russian name, *sobornost*. "Khomyakov (the originator of this term) took the word 'Catholic' in the creed (in Slavonic *sobornyj*) not in the extensive sense but in the intensive sense; it is not the physical diffusion of the Church, but the free and perfect unity and unanimity of all the faithful."<sup>8</sup> This idea has affinities with the notion of the character of the community of Israel as the bearer of revelation and of the living influence of God. Solomon Schechter, in a celebrated passage has formulated the principle in this way:

It is not the revealed Bible that is of first importance to the Jew, but the Bible that repeats itself in history as it is interpreted by tradition. . . . Since the interpretation of Scripture, or the secondary meaning, is mainly a product of changing historical influences, the center of authority is actually removed from the Bible and placed in some living body which, by reason of its being in touch with the ideal aspirations and the religious needs of the age, is best able to determine the nature of the secondary meaning. . . . This living body, is not represented by any

<sup>6</sup>Likkute Amarim, Part II, Shaar Hayichud vехаemunah, English tr. (Brooklyn: Kehot Publishing Company), p. 21.

<sup>7</sup>Martin Buber, *Hasidism and Modern Man*, translated by Maurice Friedman (New York: Horizon Press, 1958), p. 37.

<sup>8</sup>Bernhard Schultze, in *Sacramentum Mundi*, q.v., Eastern Churches.

section of the nation, or by any corporate priesthood or rabbihood, but by the collective conscience of Catholic Israel as embodied in the Universal Synagogue.<sup>9</sup>

This statement by a great modern Jewish scholar has been widely influential in setting forth the understanding of the locus of authority in Jewish life and practice.

### C. *The Role of Tradition*

Orthodoxy is built on tradition. It sees tradition as a co-equal partner in the determination of practice and doctrine. The ongoing life of the religious community refines, redefines, and reformulates the life of the faithful. This idea of Tradition is at the very heart of rabbinic Judaism. The rabbis formulated this idea in their celebrated doctrine of the two *Torot*: the oral law and the written law. Both are given at Mount Sinai—that is they are of equal authority. Both the previous paragraph and this one are based on the idea of covenant.<sup>10</sup> This is the central category by means of which the community understands and defines itself. The covenant is an eternal promise. The Holy Spirit of God is therefore manifest in the ongoing life of the believing community.

### *Eschatology*

Eschatology is an important emphasis in Orthodoxy. It is an affirmation of the intimation of life with the Holy Spirit (through Jesus) and an expectation of the Parousia of the coming of the Messiah again to redeem the world and to resurrect the dead. But, this “eschatological tension cannot remain a passive and futuristic expectation. To the combined efforts of humanity to erect a better world . . . we Christians must participate, each in the place which is proper to him. . . .”<sup>11</sup>

The Messianic hope plays an important part in Judaism. The Jewish Messianic hope is related to concrete life, the social life of nations and persons. The rabbinic view of the future is not of some spiritual exaltation, but a hope for the return of the people from exile, the coming together of people and nations in love and friendship and a reconciliation of nature with God and the Cosmos with its creator.<sup>12</sup> It is a messianic hope that does not neglect the present. It is a turning toward the future without turning away

<sup>9</sup>Solomon Schechter, *Introduction to Studies in Judaism* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1911), pp. xi-xv.

<sup>10</sup>See Solomon Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* (London: A. and C. Black, 1909).

<sup>11</sup>R. P. Alexandre Turincev, *An Approach to Orthodox Eschatology*, tr. by David Black (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary, n.d.).

<sup>12</sup>See Louis Jacobs, *Principles of Jewish Faith* (New York: Basic Books, 1964), pp. 368-398.

from the present, as it is a duty to sanctify the present with a hope and an outlook toward the future. The eschatology of Judaism is painfully aware that the world is unredeemed. However, there is some intimation of what life will be like in the time of the fulfillment. A Jew who is called to read from the Torah during divine worship pronounces a blessing which praises the Almighty who has implanted within us eternal life. This refers to the promise, but it also refers to the Torah which is the source of Life to one who studies and fulfills it. Also the observance of the Sabbath is like the world to come. It is a foretaste of the coming fulfillment.

### *Mysticism*

The West has been fascinated by Eastern Mysticism. It is seen as one of the great contributions of the Eastern churches to the spirituality of humankind. The practices of the monks have been seen as being similar to Yoga meditation and other forms of discipline. The Jews have also been, of course, active in mystic contemplation. However, the mysticism of the Jews has been, by and large, directed toward the world, not away from it. The presence of God within us makes the holy sparks of divinity available to those who would see beyond the outer shell of reality.

### *Ethnicism*

One of the most interesting features of Orthodox spirituality, seen from a Jewish perspective, is the fact that ethnicism and holy community have been joined. I am sure that to some Orthodox theologians this seems to be a form of spiritual life which might be overcome. However, for the Jew this represents a parallel to the Jewish insight that the faith of Israel is bound up with the people of Israel, which is *am*, a people. The covenant of Israel is made with the members of a family, or more precisely with a group of families. Of course, others may join if they wish. But it is the people which is chosen as God's inheritance. This is why Jewish aspirations have always seen the possession of the Holy Land as a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the covenant. "We need our own soil in order to fulfill it [our mission]," wrote Martin Buber, "we need the freedom in order to order our life—no attempt can be made on foreign soil and under foreign statute. It cannot be that the soil and the freedom for fulfillment are denied us. We are not covetous; our one desire is that at last we may be able to obey."<sup>13</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Professor Heschel has seen Judaism as the "least known religion." In a

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<sup>13</sup>"An Answer to Gandhi," in Will Herbert, ed., *Writings of Martin Buber* (New York: Meridian Press, 1958), p. 283.

sense Eastern spirituality is a partner in being almost unknown. Judaism and Christianity are divided in many issues. But it is obvious that we can learn from one another as to how to live in the Presence of God. "If you love everything, you will perceive the divine mystery in things" (Father Zossima). "All that you are able to do, do it with your strength. As it is told of Enoch, that he was a cobbler and with every stitch of his awl, which sewed the upper leather to the sole, bound the holy God with the indwelling Glory."<sup>14</sup>

#### Study and Discussion Questions

1. What are the common roots of Judaism and Eastern Orthodoxy?
2. What is the significance of these common roots?
3. What attitude of Christianity stands in the way of dialogue with Judaism?
4. What might be done to change this attitude?
5. Describe the theological issues which are outlined and the parallels which are delineated.
6. What other parallels could be added and what other theological issues should be investigated?

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<sup>14</sup>Martin Buber, "The Baal Shem Tov's Instruction" in *Haidism and Modern Man*, pp. 179-222.



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GEORGE C. PAPADEMETRIOU

## JUDAISM AND GREEK ORTHODOXY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Greece and Israel represent the modern political embodiments of two of the world's most ancient and durable peoples. Both have survived despite great dangers of extermination at various times in their separate histories; and both have made lasting contributions to Western civilization—the Greeks through the development of a great body of philosophical thought and the Hebrews in the form of the Judaic Sacred Scriptures.

That the Greeks and Israelites came into contact as early as fourteen centuries before Christ cannot be doubted in the light of archaeological findings. Documents found in Egypt in 1887 mention traders who trafficked between Greece and Palestine. Providing other evidence, the Old Testament makes mention of Javan-Jevanin, a possible reference to Iones, and in the Septuagint, this has been translated as representative of the Greeks and Greece.<sup>1</sup> Common bonds have also been seen in the common roots of the Christian Bible in the Greek language and early Judaic theology.

The New Testament canon has its origin in the high regard with which Christians from the first viewed the logia of the Lord and the writings of apostles. Until A.D. 150, however, the only Bible of Christians was the Septuagint, the Greek Old Testament. This the Church had inherited from Judaism, and at first it sufficed.<sup>2</sup>

Hebrew sources point to still other evidences of early inter-relationships between the two people. The Spartans and Jews, according to these sources, were regarded by King Arius as

<sup>1</sup> Panayiotis Simotas, "Judaism and Greek Orthodoxy," in Greek, *Theologia*, 42 (1971), 354. Also see Cyrus H. Gordon, "Hellenes and Hebrews," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 12 (1966-1967), 135.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 21.

kinsmen having the same common ancestor, Abraham.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in the final analysis, the Philonian effort to express Hebrew monotheism in a framework of Greek philosophy marks the beginning of a great adventure of ideas on the European scene, one designed to bring into harmony revelation and natural reason.

The translation of the Old Testament into Greek had introduced Hebrew religious concepts and ideas to the Greeks. Conversely, the impact of Greek philosophy and ideas became evident in Hebrew literature, in particular in the book of the Wisdom of Solomon. The New Testament in effect, is built upon the tradition and structure of the Old, especially in the writings of Paul. The fact is that the Christian Church sprang from the bosom of Judaism and retained many essential Hebrew characteristics in the areas of worship and doctrine. Among the forms of worship carried over into Christianity are the reading of the Psalms and the particular use of the Old Testament in the Greek Orthodox Christian worship rituals.<sup>4</sup>

The patristic approach to Judaism has been polemic since the time of Tertullian (ca. 155 - ca. 245). One exception in the long, subsequent tradition of anti-Jewish literature—that body of writings that has become subsumed under the general descriptive title, “*Contra Judaios*”—was Justin Martyr, who conducted a dialogue with Trypho the Jew in the second century A. D. Other great fathers, including Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine, wrote treatises against the Jews. The Christian world became conditioned in this process to anti-Semitism, an attitude that led in the Middle Ages to mistreatment, vituperation, and at times barbarous persecution of the Jews as the bitter fruit of religious prejudice ripened.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> 2 12.20-23. See Gordon, *GOTR*, 12, p 138 Philo of Alexandria, speaking of Greece, says “. . . who engenders the heavenly plant, the divine shoot, a perfect growth, even reason so closely allied to knowledge, and the cause of this is naturally sharpened by the fineness of the air . . .” In *On Providence*, trans H. Colson, *The Loeb Classical Library*, vol 9 (Berlin 1897), pp 503-05

<sup>4</sup> Simotas, *Theologia*, 42, pp 355-58. See also George C. Papademetriou, “Jewish Rite in the Christian Church,” *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 26 (1973), 477-78

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 466-75. See also S. Kraus, “The Jews in the Works of the Fathers,” *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 5 (1893), 122-57, 6 (1894), 82-99, and 225-61, Robert Wilde, *The Treatment of the Jews In The Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1949), p 164. This is a very important book for an understanding of Greek Patristic views on Jews, Stanley S. Harakas, “The Relationship of Church and Synagogue in the Apostolic Fathers,” *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 11 (1967), 123-38. Harakas concludes that after the destruction of the

Against such a background a new dispensation is called for along with new study designed to reach new understandings. The concern of the present study is to investigate the historic encounter of the Jews and the Greek Orthodox faithful in the centuries of the Byzantine Empire, from the early 300's to the middle 1400's, when Constantinople fell under Turkish domination. Effort will be directed toward illumination of the theological relations between Jews and Greek Orthodox more than toward sociological and historical relations; but the latter will not be completely neglected. A summary of the canons and civil laws will be undertaken as a means of achieving better understanding of the theological attitudes of the Byzantines in the years of the early development of the Empire.

The hope is that in presenting the broad outlines of Greek theological attitudes toward Jews, a new synthesis may be reached. The theological thinking of today may be formed with conscious reference to the continuum of substantive philosophy and theology underlying modern attitudes—yet without taint of past prejudices and fanatical religious hatreds.

### THE CANONS OF THE COUNCILS

Of necessity, the canons that the Greek Orthodox Church adopted in Ecumenical Councils had a powerful influence on the development of the attitudes of Byzantine Christians toward Jews. Several canons went so far as to restrict Jewish activities and even movement.

The Councils were intended to serve an extraordinarily broad purpose. In historical perspective, the seven Councils recognized as *ecumenical* not only took place against the background of the circumstances surrounding the relationship of Rome to Byzantium, but the Councils also helped define that relationship.

...it is undeniable that as a result of these differences [between Constantinople and Rome] two opposing ecclesiologies began to take shape, each with its own view of what the primacy meant which all the world acknowledged belonged to Rome. For one side this primacy was of direct apostolic

Temple (A.D. 70) the Church and Synagogue went their separate ways. For the Christian, the Jewish past was a small past and looked for a great future in the pagan empire (p. 136). This article is significant for a full understanding of the Orthodox interpretation of the relations of the early Church and Synagogue; Veselin Kesich, "The Apostolic Council of Jerusalem," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 6 (1962), 108-17; Gregory Dix, *Jew and Greek* (London, 1967), p. 85. This is a well-documented work on the relations of Christians and Jews in the early Christian era.

and hence 'divine' origin, while for the other it was only a primacy of 'ecclesiastical law' and origin, the exact significance of which it was up to the councils to define and which in any case could only function with the consent of and subject to control by the other churches. The canons of the councils definitely favored the latter interpretation.<sup>6</sup>

The canons became very specific on matters of *pro forma* behavior. It was stated in the canons, for example, that Christians were not to celebrate the Feast of Easter with Jews. Christians were not to have anything to do with *the Jews, whose minds had been blinded*.<sup>7</sup> Several canons went so far as clearly to forbid any relations between Christians and Jews.

Many examples may be cited. Canon 37 of the Synod of Laodicea, convened sometime between 343 and 381, forbade Christians to feast with or receive offerings from Jews. Canon 11 of the Quinisext Council of 692 stated: "Jewish unleavened bread is to be refused. Whoever even calls in Jewish physicians or bathes with [Jews] is to be deposed."<sup>8</sup> Canon 14 of the Council of Chalcedon made specific what had been implied earlier: marriage between a Christian and a Jew was forbidden.<sup>9</sup> Another canon prohibited Jews from bringing any kind of accusations against Christians.<sup>10</sup> Canon 8 of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea expressly stated that Jews were not to be received as converts to the Christian faith unless there was proof of sincerity in the conversion—unless it had not been undertaken from personal, economic, or social motivations.<sup>11</sup> As Baron has acknowledged, however, in the Eastern Church "enforced baptism, never officially sanctioned by leading Church organs with respect to the wholesale conversion of Jewish communities, was doubly frowned upon when applied to indi-

<sup>6</sup> John Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church: Its Past and Its Role in the World Today* (New York, 1973), pp. 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> From the Emperor's Letter to those not present at the Council of Nicaea (325) as found in Eusebius' *Vita Constantini*, 3.18-20. Also see P. Schaff (ed.), *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: The Seven Ecumenical Councils*, vol. 14 (New York, 1953), p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, p. 370.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 278.

<sup>10</sup> Synod of Carthage (419), Canon 129, also, *ibid.*, p. 504.

<sup>11</sup> Amilkas Alivizatos, *The Holy Canons*, in Greek. (Athens, 1949), pp. 125-26. See also *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, p. 561.

viduals.”<sup>12</sup>

Such canonical references notwithstanding, other historical evidence points to an opposing trend of equal or greater importance. According to this evidence, the Byzantine Church was tolerant toward the Jews in spite of canonical admonitions. Significantly, the Byzantine state as government and body politic showed compassion for Jews and offered Jewish citizens equality of protection and opportunity.

The civil laws of Byzantium provide cases in point. The main civil laws that contained legislation referring to the Jews were the civil codes known as *Codex Iustinianus*, or Justinian Code, and *Codex Theodosianus*, or Theodosian Code. Both bodies of legislation had far-reaching influence on the attitudes and activities of the medieval world vis-à-vis Jews.

Under the Theodosian Code, Jews could assume roles in the civil government. A Jew could be nominated by the Senate to the Municipal Council, and the rulers of the Synagogue could be exempted from every public service. Harassment of Jewish converts to Christianity by their compatriots was also forbidden.<sup>13</sup> On the negative side, conversion from Christianity to Judaism was specified as punishable by law.<sup>14</sup> Significantly, it was stated:

No person shall be trampled upon when he is innocent, on the ground that he is a Jew, nor shall any religion cause any person to be exposed to contumely. Their synagogues and habitations shall not be burned indiscriminately nor shall they be injured wrongfully without any reason since . . . , even if any person should be implicated in crimes, nevertheless the vigor of our courts and the protection of public law appear to have been established in our midst for the purpose that no person should have the power to seek his own revenge.<sup>15</sup>

The Justinian Code contained other structures designed both to protect and to guide Jews. Among other offenses, Jews were

<sup>12</sup> Salo Wittmayer Baron, *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 3 (New York, 1967), p. 184. See also Joshua Starr, “An Iconodulic Legend and Its Historical Basis,” *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 503.

<sup>13</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, trans. and commentary C. Pharr, M. B. Pharr and T. S. Davidson (Princeton, 1952), 16.8, 3, 4, 5, p. 467.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.8, 7, p. 468.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.8, 32, pp. 469-70. See also James Parkes, *The Conflict of Church and Synagogue* (New York, 1969), pp. 231-55. Parkes points out that the treatment of Jews depended on the power of the civil or ecclesiastical authority, on religious ideas of the times, and on the economic importance of the Jewish community (p. 254).

cautioned against "indolence" and against commission of acts of disrespect toward the Christian religion. The burning and looting of synagogues was forbidden; those depriving Jews of property by stealth or force were admonished to return what was taken. By contrast, new construction of synagogues was not permitted even while the Jews were assured that those synagogues that they possessed would not be taken from them.<sup>16</sup> Neither a Christian nor a person of another sect could be sold as a slave to a Jew; nor should any non-Semite be circumcised. The person suffering the latter indignity was to be given his freedom.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the interior life of the Jewish communities, the Justinian Code required that the Jews individually read the Greek-language Scriptures: such reading, and worship in the Greek language as well, was intended to make it possible for all present, over time, to understand Greek.<sup>18</sup>

The Byzantine Church and state gradually merged, with the patriarchs assuming control over many of the political functions of the Eastern Empire.

This centralized control over the Byzantine world achieved by the ecumenical patriarchs . . . has been effective in making the Orthodox Church 'Byzantine' somewhat in the same way that the Catholic Church in the West was dominated by Rome . . . This process of Byzantinization may be observed in both the liturgical and the devotional as well as in the canonical spheres.<sup>19</sup>

As time went on, despite aberrations, this church-state revealed itself as more tolerant of the Jews than other societies of the Middle Ages. As Sharf has pointed out, Byzantine life was different from that of countries lying farther to the West: a non-Jewish environment was created that was exceptional for that age.<sup>20</sup> Further, Byzantine economic resources enabled authorities to maintain a remarkable educational establishment. This was true despite Justinian's decree closing Athens' pagan school of philosophy.

<sup>16</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 16.8, 25, p. 470.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.9, 1, 2, p. 471. Pagans, however, were outlawed and absolutely forbidden to worship (*ibid.*, 16.10).

<sup>18</sup> *Codex Iustinianus*, ed. Rudolf Schoell, *Corpus juris civilis*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1894), pp. 714-17.

<sup>19</sup> Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 66.

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry* (New York, 1971), p. 4.

Encapsulizing the Eastern Empire's approach to education, about A.D. 425 Justinian opened the University of Constantinople. Here professors were paid by the state and were free from taxation. The purpose of the university was to train administrators for governmental service. In the eleventh century the focus of educational stress lay on classical learning.<sup>21</sup> Sharf, speaking of the University of Constantinople, wrote:

Not only basic literacy but a knowledge (as well) of arithmetic, grammar, and Greek literature were the general rules in any relatively well-to-do family. The most important characteristic of this structure was that it was wholly secular both as regards subject matter and purpose. Theology and training for the priesthood were the business of quite separate institutions. Thus Byzantine education produced an educated public.<sup>22</sup>

The same author noted that "professional civil service left no place for the Western sort of feudal aristocracy," adding that "... there was considerable social flexibility."<sup>23</sup>

In this authoritative view Byzantine institutions were seen as influencing Byzantine Jewry in at least two fundamental ways.<sup>24</sup> One proved to be the absence of rigid social hierarchies under the supreme politico-religious institution, a format that meant that there were no special categories—as in the West—into which Jews had to fit. "Jews could own houses and land; they could be farmers;" also, "the Jews followed many occupations."<sup>25</sup> In a second instance in which influence became pronounced, the Christian ruling institution at many times, in many ways, imposed restrictions on the Jews. Thus two opposing forces were at work: the opportunities of a comparatively open society and the ever present, inherent threat implied in the existence of a theologically oriented ruling institution.<sup>26</sup>

Attempts have been made to show that intolerance and persecution were the lot of the Jews under the Byzantine Empire. Starr has authored one such study. He provided examples of

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*



emperors who brought destruction to the Jews and the Jewish community.<sup>27</sup> Later findings, however, along with more penetrating scholarship have provided modern generations with later evidence that shows the Byzantines to have been much more tolerant than Starr was able to record. As Sharf notes, "in fact, Byzantine Jews enjoyed the same freedom of movement that all citizens had, both within the Empire and, when circumstances allowed, beyond its frontiers."<sup>28</sup>

There is evidence to indicate that the Byzantine Church followed a basic policy of compassion toward the Jews and, at times, even offered protection to the followers of Judaism. Yet there were enthusiastic prelates who attempted to convert the Jews to Christianity. An example may be cited from the sixth century: Archbishop Gregentius of Ethiopia emerged in public dispute with Herbanus, a Jewish teacher of the law, in an effort to convert Ethiopia's Jews to Christianity. The public debate, known as a *dialogos*, was proposed by Gregentius to the Emperor as a means of persuading the Jews to accept Christianity. The Emperor threatened that those who refused conversion were to be destroyed. The Archbishop suggested a *dialogos* basically as a means of convincing the Jews of the truth instead of simply forcing them to baptism. The record shows that Herbanus eventually became convinced and embraced the Christian faith.<sup>29</sup>

Another example, that of Nikon the Metanoete in the tenth century, appears atypical of the policies of the Byzantine pre-lacy. Nikon came to Sparta from the eastern provinces and convinced the people there that they should expel the Jews. However, not all the people concurred in the project; some actively objected. Nikon, who was known for the miracles he performed, was needed in Sparta to cure an epidemic that threatened the existence of the whole city. Nikon's demands then were simple. expel the Jews from Sparta and he would pray for a miracle. The Jews were expelled and the danger of sickness of plague proportions was averted.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Joshua Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204* (Athens, 1939), pp. 1-10. See also Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 3: 174-90.

<sup>28</sup> Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 116.

<sup>29</sup> Gregentius, *Dialogos Meta tou Herbanou*, text, trans. and commentary in Modern Greek by Theodosius E. Sakellariou (Thessalonike, 1953), pp. 12-14.

<sup>30</sup> Tasos A. Gritsopoulos, "Nikon," in Greek, *Threskeutike Kai Ethike Enkyklopaideia*, 9, col. 554. See also Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, pp. 9 and 167.

Inevitably, undercurrents of anti-Semitism were found in Byzantine arts and letters. The classic hymnodist of Byzantium, Romanos the Melodist, often expressed such anti-Semitic sentiments in his music. He went so far as to insinuate in his hymns that he was a Jewish convert to Christianity. His anti-Semitic expressions may be interpreted as modes of aggressive retaliation against his former co-religionists—after the manner of St. Paul.

Scholarly opinions regarding the actual origins of Romanos differ. He appears to have made his home initially in Beirut, Lebanon, where, at the time, a multiethnic center existed. Some authorities have claimed that he was of Greek origin and that he had an excellent knowledge of the Scriptures and of Jewish lore. There is, however, no conclusive evidence of his ethnic origins. If one wished to accept internal evidence from his songs, the "Semitisms" from his *Kontakia*, or Canticles, would be acceptable.<sup>31</sup> But undeniably he ranked as a poet who greatly influenced the development of Greek Orthodox religious hymnology. His hymns are sung in Orthodox Churches today. The worship forms of the Eastern Church, it should be appended, are closely related to those of the Temple of Jerusalem and to Hebrew worship modalities in general.

### TEXTS AND WORSHIP FORMS

The interrelationships between Byzantine music and worship forms and Hebraic forms as preserved by the Temple worship deserve more penetrating scrutiny. The early Christian hymns and canticles were those of the synagogue. The antiphonal chanting of the Psalter by alternating choirs—a common practice in the Orthodox Church today—was, according to Philo Judaios, a widespread practice in the Jewish worship of that ancient time. The Orthodox Church carried over from the Temple and synagogue worship such important elements as chanting, various specific rites, holy days, readings, hymns, the use of water, oil, bread, and wine, and other practices that give witness still to the Judaic influence. A contemporary Greek

<sup>31</sup> Alexandros S. Korakides, *The Problem of the Origin of Romanos the Melodist*, in Greek (Athenai, 1971), pp. 11-20. Korakides claims that Romanos was of Greek origin and that his Semitisms and anti-Semitisms are normal expressions of the times and not a special feature of Romanos alone. However, the ethnic origin of Romanos is beyond the scope of the present research.

theologian has claimed that Christianity as a monotheistic religion had inevitably to adopt Hebrew worship forms since the latter were characteristic of monotheistic creeds.<sup>32</sup> There is even commemoration of Old Testament events in the Orthodox Church calendar: the dedication of the Seven Maccabee Martyrs falls on the First of August.<sup>33</sup> The Maccabees, it should be noted, are held in special reverence by the Greek Orthodox faithful because they are associated with the Maccabees' own sufferings and martyrdoms for their religious beliefs.<sup>34</sup>

On the negative side, some anti-Semitism has been detected in the liturgical texts of the Orthodox Church. Attempts to remove such vestiges of prejudice have been undertaken by modern scholars. Especially offensive, in the opinions of some authorities, are the reference to the "lawless Judas" in the Holy Week texts and the descriptions of the "evil disposition" of the Scribes and Pharisees toward Jesus of Nazareth. Alivizatos has pointed out the need for a commission working under the direction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to expurgate examples of language offensive to the Jews in the hymns of the Orthodox Church. The same writer has maintained that all those who acknowledge Christ as the Messiah should be allowed to remain Jewish if such is their desire—just as others of other nationalities maintained their ethnic identity.

The principle underlying such efforts toward expurgation is clear. The negative language of the liturgical texts of the Church arouses hatred and, *in extremis*, destructive initiatives toward Jews. For this reason it has become imperative for serious Christians to behave with justice, fairness, and Christian compassion toward all peoples of all creeds. No adequate justification can be advanced for retention of offensive texts; the fact is that Orthodoxy is rich in liturgical forms that can be purged, without serious loss, of language that engenders hatred.<sup>35</sup> History

<sup>32</sup> Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 35-36. See also Simotas, *Theologia*, 42, pp. 357-58; C.W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue Upon the Divine Office* (Westminster, 1964), p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> Simotas, *Theologia*, 42, p. 357

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 359. See also Demetrios J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968), p. 21. He says, "Next to God, the Byzantines were advised to imitate the great patriarchs of the Old Testament in works of hospitality" (p. 21).

<sup>35</sup> Hamilkas Alivizatos, "The Need for the Correction of the Liturgical Texts," in Greek, *Orthodoxos Skepsis* (1960), 5-8. By the same author, "Religion and Nation," in Greek, *Gregorios Palamas*, 46 (1963), 7-21.

has seen such changes and emendations before

The Christian liturgy has been given various forms and these in turn have gone through various transformations in the course of history, in both East and West, in response to new conditions and in accordance with the peculiar genius of different peoples. The Church of Constantinople, for example, did not have any liturgical tradition of its own prior to the fourth century <sup>36</sup>

Altmann, a contemporary Jewish philosopher, has noted the close "affinity between Eastern Christianity and medieval Jewish thought" <sup>37</sup> It may be assumed that that affinity encouraged Byzantine tolerance of Jews and Judaism. Elias of Nisibis wrote of such tolerance in his work, *Proofs of the Truth of the Faith*

The Romans (Byzantines) tolerate many Jews as residents of their countries, they protect them and allow them to hold public religious services and to build synagogues. In this State the Jews can freely declare 'I am a Jew.' Every one of them is free to follow his religion and to pray in public without being called to account and without meeting any obstacle <sup>38</sup>

In consequence, the Jews lived in Byzantium, for the most part, as free citizens with great economic opportunities

Cross-fertilization of the literatures and liturgies of the Greek Orthodox Church and of Judaism appears to have been constant and mutual, with influences working in both directions. As Krause noted concerning the influence of the Byzantines: "No State has left such profound traces in the poetry, the liturgy, and the rabbinical and religious writings of the Jews as the medieval empire of the East" <sup>39</sup> The Jews of Byzantium were well integrated, thus "as a result of the policy (liberal for that age) pursued by the Byzantines toward the Jews, the latter were better assimilated (into) the Christian population in the Eastern Empire than in any other state of the Middle Ages" <sup>40</sup> Krause believed, too, that the Byzantine instances of anti-Semitism

<sup>36</sup> Meyendorff, *The Orthodox Church*, p. 66

<sup>37</sup> Alexander Altmann, "Judaism and World Philosophy," in *The Jews: Their History, Culture and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein, vol. 1 (New York, 1949), p. 654

<sup>38</sup> A. Andreades, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire," *Economic History* (a Supplement to *The Economic Journal*) 3 (1934), p. 16

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* See also George Ostrogosky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), p. 161, especially where he states: "The persecution of the Jews under Leo III" was "one of the relatively rare persecutions in Byzantine history"

were the exception and that they were never accompanied by slaughter, expulsion, or confiscation of property. Krause could find only four cases of attempts to baptize forcibly in the more than ten centuries of Byzantine hegemony.<sup>41</sup>

In justice it must be noted that voices were raised in opposition to this general thesis. Starr, writing in *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, gave the impression that the Jews of Byzantium were treated with intolerance.<sup>42</sup> Such findings appear untenable in the light of new research and scholarship that points to the existence of an atmosphere of real tolerance and even of protective concern for the Jews; these citizens were to be regarded as having rights equal to those enjoyed by other groups in this diverse multicultural society.<sup>43</sup> The Jews represented about one percent of the total population of Byzantium—some 15,000 persons in a population of less than 15 million. The percentage was itself significant; it indicated a high degree of acceptance for those times in comparison with other nations in history, with the possible exception of the United States.<sup>44</sup>

Unquestionably, there were sporadic outbursts of anti-Semitism in Byzantium. But in general, the Jews fared well in the Eastern Empire. Occasional Church and civil laws bore signs of anti-Semitic feeling; yet the intellectual climate was one of openness. Steady geographic growth, a development that continually brought in different ethnic groups to swell the numbers of those already residing within the Empire, dictated administrative caution that would avert discontent among citizens, and in the long view, would avert insurgence and the kinds of revolutions that destroy nations. The Byzantine goal, as a rule, was to create a diversified culture and a unified people.

### THEOLOGICAL-PHILOSOPHICAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

The theological-philosophical interrelationships existing between the Orthodox Church and Judaism in the Byzantine Empire attracted the attention of a number of theologians,

<sup>41</sup> Quoted by Andreades, *Economic History*, 3, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Starr, *Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, p. 1. He reviews the occasions (pp. 1-10).

<sup>43</sup> Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, p. 116. The anti-Semitic canons and civil laws were rhetoric in that they were not carried out to the fullest extent (p. 90).

<sup>44</sup> Andreades, *Economic History*, 3, p. 5, n. 2. Andreades points out that up to 1840 the Jewish population in the United States was the same as of the Byzantine Empire under the Comnenoi.

among them Gregory Palamas, one of the great religious theorists of the late Byzantine period. Palamas has been ranked among the Church Fathers despite his appearance on the stage of history in the fourteenth century.

Who were these church fathers who have extended the apostolic traditions of the church? . . . There are views within Orthodoxy which insist that the period of the fathers must be seen in an open-ended way, which would include such later Byzantine theologians at St. Simeon . . . and St. Gregory Palamas.<sup>45</sup>

Palamas entered the shadow world of Christian-Jewish-Muslim relations by accident. The theologian was on his way to Constantinople, bringing peace between two factions of the Empire, when he was captured by Turkish pirates and taken to Asia Minor as a prisoner. While in captivity he was allowed to move about freely and to visit with local Christian communities. At Bursa he met the grandson of the Great Emir, Ismael by name, and took part in a discussion of Christianity and Islam. Hearing of the theological acumen of Palamas, the Emir formed the notion that the theologian should meet the Chiones (*Χῖνες*), erudite Muslims who had converted from Judaism.

A dialogue, or *dialexis*, took place between Palamas and the Chiones. A Greek physician attached to the Emir's court became friendly with Palamas and recorded the important discussion between Gregory and his interlocutors. The Chiones, according to Palamas, were Jews. They had apparently converted to the Muslim religion and, in consequence, aroused in Palamas some contempt. Yet the questions that they asked the theologian are interesting in themselves, and may even be ranked as important for the discussion of certain points of Christian doctrine. The answers Palamas returned were theological in nature, and of great importance to an articulation of the Orthodox doctrine of God in relation to the Jewish-Christian-Muslim understanding of God.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Carnegie Samuel Calian, *Icon and Pulpit: The Protestant-Orthodox Encounter* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 35.

<sup>46</sup> A. J. Sakellion published the *Dialexis* in the periodical *Soter*, 15 (1892), 140-46; M. Treu published Palamas' letter to David Disypatos in *Deltion tes historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias tes Hellados*, 3 (1889), 227-34; the letter of Palamas to his flock in Thessalonica was published by Konstantinos Dyobouniotes, *Neos Hellenomnemon* 14, (1922), 7-21. Arnakis argues that the Chiones were members of a militant Turkish Guild, "Akhiyan," with theological interests; see George Georgiades Arnakis, *Hoi Protoi Othomanoi* (Athens, 1947), p. 18; G. Arnakis, "Gregory Palamas

The *Dialexis* refers to a highly theological debate between Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, and the Chiones. The latter began the dialogue by stating that the Ten Commandments that Moses taught were also observed by the Turks. For that reason they had abandoned their former faith and had become Muslims. The Archbishop suggested that only God is eternal; that only He remains in eternity, without beginning, unchanging, without end, unaltered, unconfused, without boundaries, or infinite; that all that is created is corruptible and changeable; and that that which has a beginning undergoes a change from non-being and becomes reality. Palamas continued, saying that God, Who is the only One without beginning, is not without reason; the same God Who is the only One without beginning is not without wisdom; therefore, the reason (*logos*) of God and His wisdom are *of* God; wisdom is in reason and without reason there cannot be wisdom.

If reason and wisdom were at any time not part of God, there existed a time when God was without reason (*ἄλογος*) without wisdom (*ἄσοφος*), which is an impious thought and impossible. Therefore the reason (*logos*) of God is without beginning; and God's wisdom is inseparable from Him. But reason is never found without spirit: . . . God thus has reason (*logos*) and spirit (*pneuma*) existing eternally together. God is never without spirit (*ἄπνους*) and without reason. One subsists in three and three in One. Reason and spirit are not in God as in our human essence but in a God-befitting (*θεοπρεπῶς*) way. Palamas cited the example of the sun: the sun's reflection emerges from it, and the ray proceeds from it until it reaches us. The sun's ray and the reflection do not separate from the sun's disc. In the same way God's reason (*logos*) and spirit (*pneuma*) is no other than the one God. This is the same God of Whom Moses spoke in the Decalogue and Whom the Chiones also accepted.

Creation itself was defined by Palamas as an act of God's

Among the Turks and Documents of His Captivity as Historical Sources," *Speculum*, 26 (1951), 114; Arnakis, "Gregory Palamas, the Chiones, and the Fall of Gallipoli," *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), 305-12. Paul Wittek objects to this interpretation. He identifies Chiones with the *hodjas* or *akhond* which means "teacher" or "theologian." In "Χίονες," *Byzantion*, 21 (1951), 421-23. John Meyendorff claims that the Chiones were originally Christians who were converted to Judaism and finally to Islam. He quotes several non-Palamite documents to prove his point. See *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. George Lawrence (London, 1964), p. 106. Nevertheless, as appears from the Palamite documents, the Chiones were Jews converted to Islam. The *Dialexis* is an important theological document for a dialogue between Christians, Jews, and Muslims.

reason (*logos*) and will. The Chiones, for their part, objected: How could Christ be called God when he was born as man? The Archbishop again answered in an indirect way: God is not only almighty, He is also just. Every creation of God possesses justice inherently. The sun's ray inherently possesses life-producing power as well as light and heat. In the same way God's energy has both inherent divine power and inherent divine justice.

Palamas went on to speak of man as a free creation of God. Man was given a free will, and the fall of Adam represented disobedience: Adam had disobeyed the divine will. The objection came: How could God be born of woman? Palamas, replying, said that God is not a great mass, matter or body, but incorporeal and ubiquitous; He dwells in all. Asked why Christians did not practice circumcision, a practice ordained by God Himself, Palamas replied that the law that was given by God to the Jews was not practiced in its entirety. By the same token the Sabbath was also ordained, and sacrifices in the Temple were to be performed only by the priests and members of the Tabernacle. All these were given by God; but why were they not practiced anymore, even by Jews?

The Chiones asked why Christians worship icons, or images, in their churches when these are in opposition to the Commandments of God. The Commandments, it was stated, absolutely forbid image worship. The Archbishop replied that friends reverence one another without ever making gods of each other. Moses acted in the way he did to protect the purity of monotheism. Yet even he made icons or images, as in the case of the veil of the Tabernacle, wherein he employed an earthly paradigm, or image, and type of the heavenly reality. The images had actually been forbidden so that they would not be worshipped as gods. The ancient Greeks praised images as if they were gods; the Christians praised the glory of God.

The *dialexis* ended with the Turks and the Chiones completely satisfied. The Archbishop greeted each individual as they left. But, as Taronites has reported, an incident occurred: one of the Chiones remained behind, insulted the theologian, and struck him. The doctor who reported the *dialexis* noted that he heard that the Turks punished the offender for his insolent act.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>47</sup> The above *Dialexis* is taken from: Taronites, *Dialexis* (Dialogue), ed. A. J. Sakellion, in *Soter*, 15 (1892), 140-46. This was made available to the present writer through the courtesy of the National Library of Greece.



### CHRISTIAN CONCERN FOR JEWS

Significantly, in more recent centuries the historical record indicates that Greek Christians have practiced compassion toward Jews and have showed deep concern for their fate. Such compassion and concern represent "a response to Christ's person and teaching from those who feel at home in the Hellenistic philosophical and artistic tradition."<sup>48</sup> At the core of such brotherly feeling lies a "remarkable inner unity" whose existence transcends the harsh realities of the Eastern Church's struggle for survival:

The history of the Christian East presents a complex and variegated picture: the Church of the martyrs struggling for survival; the Church of the Ecumenical Councils absorbed in doctrinal disputes and torn asunder by fratricidal struggle; the Church engaged in rivalry with Rome and attacked by the Crusaders; the Church oppressed by the Turks and molested by the Mongols; the Church in its Russian branch claiming universal leadership in the art of Christian living.<sup>49</sup>

Inevitably, incidents violated the pattern of Christian concern for the welfare of the Jews in the Middle East. The encyclical letter of Patriarch Metrophanes III of Constantinople to the Greek Orthodox Christians represents a crucial stage in one such incident; one that is important to understand if one is to comprehend the basic nature of the Greek Orthodox relationship to the Jews. In 1567, the Jews of Crete complained that the Christians on that island had mistreated them. Metrophanes III, then Patriarch, becoming aware of the situation, sent an encyclical to the Greeks in Crete in which he excommunicated all those who had violated the Christian law of love. The Patriarch also proclaimed some doctrinal principles of inter-personal relations that were unknown to the civil authorities of the time. For example, the encyclical stated that the Gospel forbids injustice and slander; that structure must be applied in relation to all people regardless of their religious affiliations. Such behavior is not to be practiced on the pretext that it may be employed toward the heterodox (Jews); injustice remains im-

<sup>48</sup> Simotas, *Theologia*, 42, p. 364. See also Joshua Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete Under the Rule of Venice," reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 12 (1942), 70-71.

<sup>49</sup> Nicholas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom* (New York, 1961), p. 297.

piety regardless of whether the object of injustice is Christian or not.<sup>50</sup>

A similarly important act of the Church was the encyclical of the Holy Synod of Greece in 1891. In this encyclical the Synod condemned the destruction by fire of an image of Judas during the Easter season, an act that suggested Jewish guilt in the death of Christ. The act, the encyclical indicated, had been used by certain fanatics to arouse crowd emotions against the Jews. The Synod excoriated the act as the ultimate insult toward fellow citizens of Jewish extraction and as a provocation of hatred among religious fanatics.<sup>51</sup>

In 1918 the Holy Synod again sent an encyclical forbidding all those customs that by implication or otherwise attack Jewish religious consciousness. Such customs were taken advantage of by religious fanatics to sow discord between Orthodox Christian and Jewish citizens; the customs were absolutely forbidden because they insult the honor of "our fellow citizens," the Israelites.<sup>52</sup>

The Second World War produced other examples of Greek Orthodox concern for Jewish welfare, at a time when the Nazi government was exterminating Jews by the tens-of-thousands. Archbishop Damaskenos of Athens sent an encyclical to all the faithful requesting protection of Jews in line with the teachings of the Church. Many members of the clergy and lay Christian Orthodox Greeks lost their lives in the process of saving Jewish friends.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Simotas, *Theologia*, 42, pp. 364-65, states that an encyclical of 1910 in which The Holy Synod instructed the hierarchs of Greece to stop people from committing "this insolent act" which is "contradictory to the faith" which teaches love for all.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 365.

<sup>52</sup> Philip Friedman, "The Jews of Greece During the Second World War," in Abraham G. Duker, ed., *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), p. 241. He points out that in 1940 there were about 76,000 Jews in Greece; after the holocaust 9,500 to 10,000 Jews were left (p. 241). See also L. S. Stavrianos, "The Jews in Greece," *Journal of Central European Affairs* (October 1948), 256-69; Jacob Bernard Agus, *Dialogue and Tradition* (New York, 1971), p. 599, n. 10. Professor Agus says, "Yet few Catholics and Protestants combatted Nazism as a matter of principle as long as they themselves were not the target of Teutonic fury. With less education and more inspiration, the Yugoslav Orthodox priests bravely protested against anti-Jewish atrocities. In May 1943 alone, 600 Greek Orthodox priests were arrested because they refused to preach anti-Jewish sermons."

<sup>53</sup> Eusebius A. Stephanou, "Do We Know Our Debt to the Jews?" *The Logos*, 5, No. 3 (March 1972), 18.

The process of historical survey and analysis leads to a question: In what direction is one to proceed today? The 1972 theological dialogue between Greek Orthodox and Jewish theologians in New York City has set the stage for a climate of mutual respect and openness; one can, today, talk of equality. It should be understood that 'dialogue' in the modern usage does not mean *dialexis* or *dialogos* in the older sense; centuries ago *dialexis* meant an effort to convert another or to persuade him that he was adhering to false doctrine, with the aim eventually of convincing the other to accept one's own religion. By contrast, in today's meaning dialogue is a discussion of doctrines that have similarities and differences. The end result should be understanding of the other and of the right of the other to exist, whether he agrees with one's own beliefs or not. The common capacity for endurance among both Greeks and Jews must be understood so that both participants can promote a mutual interest in living together as humans fathered by a common Creator God.

The Greek Orthodox-Jewish Dialogue held in New York City on 25 January 1972, was arranged by Father Robert Stephanopoulos and Rabbi Marc H. Tenebaum. In essence it provides an example of the willingness of modern members of the Greek Orthodox and the Jewish faiths to discuss common problems. A joint statement released at the time stated that "the Greek Orthodox and Jewish communities have a great deal in common. They are both bearers of the imposing classical, religious and cultural traditions that have decisively shaped Western civilization."<sup>54</sup>

Such declarations may set the tone for future relations between Greek Orthodox and Jewish faithful. The opportunity given today, in a contemporary setting, to members of both faiths to sit together and pray as people of God is indeed unique in the annals of Greek Orthodox-Jewish relations. The present writer thus wholeheartedly supports the need to establish a true and enduring dialogue on the basis of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

Unquestionably there are voices being raised in opposition—voices that condemn the participation of Greek Orthodox theologians in a dialogue with Jews. These voices would rather see theologians proclaim the Gospel for the purpose of conversion. As E. Stephanou writes:

The power of God that came through the Cross of Calvary is made available to every man first through a kerygmatic declaration. There is nothing apostolic about dialogues. Dialogues with unbelievers betray lack of conviction. They reveal lack of faith in the power that is hidden in the Word of God.<sup>55</sup>

From the Jewish side have come similar statements in opposition to dialogue. Vogel has pointed out that in some Jewish quarters, hellenistically grounded Christianity is another form of 'paganism,' the arch-enemy of Judaism.<sup>56</sup>

The truth of the situation appears to lie elsewhere—in rapprochement. The problems of the world are themselves so monstrous in nature that parochial differences should logically be ruled out.

Modern civilization presents two crucial problems of history with new urgency: the creation of a political order that could safeguard the freedom of the individual whilst making him a disciplined and responsible member of a universal society, and the wise, the generous distribution of the gifts of the earth for the benefit of all . . . Both (problems) in their present form arose within the context of Christian belief in the unity of the human family and its filial relationship with the Creator of the universe.<sup>57</sup>

Thus dialogue should proceed along lines that acknowledge man's common problems and challenges: it should seek recognition of the need for the self-understanding among the Jewish people and among all others. Rabbi Agus states:

The Judeo-Christian tradition has taught us to recognize God in history. The Hellenic tradition found Him in the *logos*, the

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18. This article is disappointing in that it preaches conversion of the Jew at all costs. Dialogue and understanding of the two communities and their self-understanding has no meaning for the author of this article.

<sup>56</sup>Manfred H. Vogel, "The Problem of Dialogue Between Judaism and Christianity" *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 4 (1967), 690.

<sup>57</sup>Zernov, *Eastern Christendom*, p. 299.

structure of reason that is inherent in nature. St. Paul recognized the need of harmonizing the truths that derive from these two sources—the communal tradition and the universal mind.<sup>58</sup>

For Greek Orthodox faithful the presence of Jews should not be a thorn in the side but a witness to the faithfulness of God.

Great voices cry for such a dialogue. Among the members of the Greek Orthodox faith these voices call for mutual concern for the Jewish community that is still alive and active in the modern world. A call to repentance for the mistreatment of the Jews that took place during the Middle Ages and in other periods of history has been sounded by sincere Christian leaders.

The approach of Lev Gillet, a Greek Orthodox priest residing in England, is important. Father Gillet advocates 'dialogue' instead of 'mission' to Israel. He notes that "... by dialogue I mean that, if Christianity has a definite mission to bring to Judaism, Judaism also has a message to bring to Christianity."<sup>59</sup>

The reality of a Jewish community existing today points to another reality. That of self-awareness in the members of that community. That fact points in turn to the need for open and direct conversation between Greek Orthodox and Jewish faithful, not a one-sided discussion by 'experts' on Judaism, if Jews are truly to relate to Christians. The future of Jewish and Greek Orthodox relations must be governed by the principles of love and concern for the truth; each participant must understand that there are non-negotiable doctrines on both sides. In discussing even these doctrines each one must understand the other; the end result will be a greater appreciation.

We must realize that God has a mysterious way with His people. Christians and Jews, as His people, must be obedient to

<sup>58</sup> Agus, *Dialogue and Tradition*, p. 96 Agus' opening statement in the preface expresses the desire for dialogue. He writes "We are now entering the Age of the Dialogue." This voluminous book is of great importance to establishment of a dialogue with the Jews and to understanding of Judaism.

<sup>59</sup> Lev Gillet, *Communion in the Messiah* (London, 1942), p. 10. For a contemporary understanding of Judaism and an extensive bibliography, see Hans Kung, *The Church*, trans. Ray and Rosaleen Ockenden (New York, 1967), pp. 132-50. For valuable articles on contemporary Jewish-Christian relations, see the *Journal of Church and State*, 13 (1971). The whole volume is dedicated to Jewish-Christian relations by contemporary prominent scholars and contains a selected annotated bibliography, pp. 317-40. See also Monika Hellwig, *Proposal Toward Theology of Israel as a Religious Community Contemporary with the Christian* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 177.

His will and love one another as He loves us, in spite of our weaknesses. Let us recognize the failures and sinfulness of the past and repent before the will of God. Many things of the past do not require blanket endorsement of all the actions of our forefathers. Our concerns should be to remain faithful to God's will and to become truly liberated from any inner prejudices and compulsions.

My hope is not to convert Jews to Christianity. It is to convert Christians to Christianity in obedience to divine law. In that state of acceptance we can await the *eschaton*, when all men will abide with God's will, "hating evil and loving good." In reconciliation among the races and religions may be found a higher understanding of goodness, justice, and wisdom, the divine attributes toward which men must strive as toward the light. That process of furthering understanding may itself have the force of an affirmation concerning God and His role in the affairs of men; it may provide witness to the truth that all men are indeed brothers. Once again man may know that God lives and blesses those who acknowledge His omnipotence in deed as well as in belief.

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# JUDAISM AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

Jacob B. Agus

## PRECIS

The components which form the common theological ground of Judaism and Christianity are the Hebrew Bible, the reverence for Wisdom, and the genius of prophetic inspiration. The latter is particularly important for the Jewish approach to the Christian scriptures.

The historical approach, i.e., the recognition of the importance of the context of events, permits Jews and Christians to rediscover their kinship. Christians have recognized the need to study Judaism as their foundation; Jews have not similarly studied the New Testament although it describes the beginnings of the Christian branch.

The growing recognition of the diversity of historic Judaism, including New Testament Judaism, has led to a renewed interest in the New Testament among Jews. Therein is described how the central concepts of Judaism were transferred beyond Judaism with, in the process, the resultant rejection of Judaism. The effect of this development both on the Jewish image and on Jewish self-understanding cannot be minimized.

The author outlines six theses emerging from the Jewish study of the New Testament. Central to these theses is the position that the rejection of Judaism represents only a later stage of the tradition and was caused in large measure by Gnostic and Gentile influences. There is a real need for Judaism to reclaim the New Testament and to develop a theology of Christianity.

Father Florovsky summed up the challenge of an interfaith dialogue in these well-chosen words—"It is delicate and painful, but not hopeless." The subject of this paper illustrates the aptness of his judgment. The long centuries of historic hostility demonstrate the anguish, yet the essence of both testaments, as Paul understood it, was precisely hope (Acts 28:20; Eph. 2:12).

Judaism and Christianity meet theologically on the following common ground: The Hebrew Bible, the reverence for Wisdom, and the genius of prophetic inspiration. Beginning with the last element, we note that rabbinic Judaism maintained that biblical prophecy had come to an end. Yet, it also asserted that the Holy Spirit guided the deliberations of the sages. Hillel attributed this blessing to all pious Israelites—"You may rely upon the Israelites, the Holy Spirit is upon them. If they are not prophets, they are sons of prophets."<sup>1</sup> The deliberations of the sages were aided by a

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<sup>1</sup>Tosefta, Pesahim 4,13. Jer. Talmud 6,1. The version of the Babylonian Talmud, Pesahim 66b, does not mention the Holy Spirit.

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divine echo.<sup>2</sup> The medieval philosopher, Judah Halevi, expressed the general belief when he asserted that the Mishnah and Talmud were composed with divine assistance (*The Kuzari* 3:73).

The concept of prophetic inspiration consisted in attempting to penetrate the deeper meaning of the Torah and the concomitant belief that God works through history, generating ever greater understanding of God's revelation. So, in the rabbinic tradition a prophet could not set aside a *halachah*, or establish a new *halachah*, but could decide which *halachot* were to be applied to that day.<sup>3</sup> Divine inspiration in the interpretation of a biblical book was claimed by the writers of the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>4</sup>

A parallel development of the operation of the Holy Spirit lies at the very heart of Christianity. Whether the view prevailed that the Holy Spirit worked through the community as a whole or through the bishops or through the papacy or through the mystics, the obligation of penetrating to the deeper meaning of the Bible was incumbent upon every generation. And Jesus illustrated this obligation by the comment on divorce, sifting the divine intent from "the hardness of the heart," which conditioned an earlier saying.<sup>5</sup> We dare say that in every faith deriving from the Bible a renaissance took place whenever theologians returned to a fresh study of Holy Writ. The reinterpretation of scripture, in the light of the prophetic emphasis on justice, compassion, and love, is the common task of Jews and Christians.

In our day, we bring to the study of the scriptures in particular, and the past generally, certain tools and insights that were scarcely available in previous generations—which brings us to the second component of theological common ground, the element of Wisdom. The obligation to pursue the quest of Wisdom in order to understand the implications of faith is of the essence of biblical religion, since the books of Wisdom formed part of Holy Writ. The sages formulated the matter succinctly—"If there is no wisdom, there is no piety; if there is no piety, there is no wisdom" (Abot 3:14). Similarly in Christianity Wisdom was extolled, and Greek philosophy preoccupied the attention of the Fathers beginning with Cle-

<sup>2</sup>The reference to Hillel in Tosefta Sota 13,3. Pesikta Rabbati, Ch. 35. The relation of Halachah to prophecy is examined in detail by A. Urbach in *Tarbitz*, 1947.

<sup>3</sup>B. T. Shabbat 104a. He could revive a law that was forgotten. The term used here is "Tsofim," which means mystical visionaries. In this sense, the sages were considered to be the heirs of the prophets. [B. T. Baba Bathra 12a. where the strange comment is given—"A Sage is better than a prophet." A prophet's authority did not extend to concessions to idolatry, even as a temporary expedient (Sanhedrin 90a).]

<sup>4</sup>"The Habakkuk Commentary," *Pesher Habakkuk*, is a case in point. Note particularly this sentence, "And as for what it says, *that he may run who reads it*, this means the teacher of righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets" [Millar Burrows, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York, 1955), p. 368]. The ideal of the prophet has continued in Judaism, down to our own day. See my essay, "The Prophet in Modern Hebrew Literature" in *Dialogue and Tradition*, p. 385.

<sup>5</sup>Mt. 19:8. A similar view is stated in the Talmud, Kiddushim 21b, in reference to the law described in Deut. 21:10-14.

ment of Alexandria.

Wisdom today has the added dimension of history-mindedness in all its facets—a recognition of the context in which every event must be viewed, a critical and comparative approach to all documents, an understanding of the fluidity of meaning, and its determination by psychological and sociological factors.

The duty to study history in order to understand the meaning of providence is already stated in Deut. 32:7. But while history was in the past the handmaiden of theology, it now asserts its own independent validity, compelling theology to take account of its data. History-mindedness need not degenerate into an all-questioning historicism; on the contrary, by deepening our awareness of our human limitations, as individuals and as heirs of a specific tradition, it heightens our appreciation of the third part of the prophet Micah's admonition, "to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with the Lord, thy God" (6:8).

When we speak of Judaism in relation to the New Testament, we have to make clear that we view Judaism as a river which contains many trends and flows on several levels. Modern Judaism contains a broad range of views, from a tenuous attachment of those who are primarily ethnicists to a whole-souled, mystical absorption in Torah as the embodiment of the divine will. We speak of three main branches of the Jewish faith—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. But, in actuality, each of these divisions is a loose grouping of diverse views. On the whole, there is greater emphasis today on the historical-cultural matrix of faith, hence a willingness to include within the tradition sects, trends, and opinions that were previously excluded. We include the Qaraites, for instance, and appreciate the boldness of their founder's slogan—"Search well in the Torah, and do not rely on my opinions." These audacious rebels against the rule of the Talmud articulated a Jewish ideal, although their maxim proved to be impractical. By the same token, we look upon the spectrum of Jewish groups in New Testament times without identifying ourselves completely with any one of them.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls expanded further our awareness of the immense fermentation in the spiritual life of ancient Israel. The Qumran sectarians drew a sharp line between "the children of light and the children of darkness," but in modern Israel their writings are ensconced in a special building, *Bet Hasefer*, as a great national treasure. Each sectarian group considered itself to be "the true Israel," as did the Pharisees, who spoke of their teachers as *hachmai Yisroel*, the sages of Israel; the Sadducees who stigmatized their opponents as Pharisees, or separatists; the Zealots; the Essenes; the Samaritans; and the Apostolic Jewish-Christian community in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> The Pharisees captured the loyalty of the mas-

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<sup>6</sup>The Pharisees, it had been noted long ago, do not refer to themselves under that title. On the time and the issues that brought about the split between Pharisees and Sadducees, see

ses of the people even before the Great Revolt and, following that disaster, the Hillelite school of Pharisaic thought came to predominate. Because of a series of catastrophes, the treasures of Hellenistic Judaism were neglected. The sages at Yavneh were compelled to constrict the range of holy books, eliminating the apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphic works.<sup>7</sup> They acted in order to lower the fever of messianic speculation and provide a protective shield against the inroads of Gnostic sectarians.

Ever since the opening of the modern era, Jewish scholars endeavored to reclaim the works of Philo, the books of the Maccabees, and the entire range of inter-testamentary literature. Judah Maccabee, unmentioned in rabbinic literature, was reclaimed as an exemplary hero. It is now evident that the apocalyptic writers formed circles or schools within either the Pharisaic or the Essenic movements. And Philo's thought is now regarded as essentially and authentically Jewish.<sup>8</sup> We see it today, the tannaitic sages of the Hillelite school did not approve of all that the Pharisaic order represented, either in fact or in popular fancy.<sup>9</sup> As to the high priestly hierarchy, it consisted largely of Sadducees, and the Talmud contains ample evidence of the resentment they aroused among the people (Pesahim 57a, Yoma 18b, Kiddushin 66a.). Considerable latitude was allowed for differences of opinion among the tannaitic rabbis, heirs of the Pharisees. It was considered a blessing that "disputes for the sake of heaven" would endure (Abot 5:20).

In the historical interpretation of Judaism, which was begun in the nineteenth century, we take it as our task to acknowledge the dark shadows as well as the bright glories of the Pharisaic movement. We are also aware of the distortions and perversions that crept into the two Talmuds by reason of the fact that they were not edited, with the result that unworthy and unhistorical references to Jesus and Christianity found their way into the Talmud and Midrashim. We regard such passages as the debris of folk-myths, rather than as teachings of the faith. Modern Jewish scholars can find ample justification for this attitude in the authoritative works of the

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S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Jewish State*, vol. I Prolegomena. L. Finkelstein, "Haperushim VeAnshai Keneset Hagedolah" (1950), p. 81, note 243.

<sup>7</sup>Rabbi Akiba favored proclaiming the exclusion from *Olam Haba* of those who read "external books" (Sanhedrin 100b), but there is considerable uncertainty as to the meaning of "external books." The only example offered in both the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds is the work of Sirach, or Ben Sira, yet Sirach was quoted in the Talmuds. It seems that Rabbi Akiba's maxim was his own private opinion. In the Midrashim, echoes of apocalyptic writings are heard. Even the books of Enoch, so close to New Testament thought, are praised in Zoharic writings, which contain echoes of the ideas of pharisaic circles in the first century. It is noteworthy that the Tossafot assert that in some areas we follow the teaching of "the external books," as against the Talmuds (Berochot 18a, Zohar, Bereshit 72b., 37b., Shemot 55a., Vayikra 10b. See also the Jerusalem Targum on Gen. 5:24.

<sup>8</sup>See Harry A. Wolfson's *Philo*, in two volumes (Harvard University Press).

<sup>9</sup>The description of "Pharisaic Plagues" in the Babylonian Talmud is already undecipherable (Sota 22a). Clearly, the condemnation referred to external acts of piety which were contrasted with "the Pharisee out of love," who follows the example of Abraham.

rabbinic tradition.<sup>10</sup>

From all the above, it is clear that the theological spectrum of historic Judaism is far bigger and more diverse than either Bousset's concentration on the Apocrypha or Moore's concept of "normative Judaism" would suggest. Schechter's stress on rabbinic Judaism and Moore's classic description of the ideas implied in rabbinic literature were needed correctives of the previously prevailing views, especially among German scholars, which described first-century Judaism largely in terms of the Apocrypha. On the other hand, it is equally one-sided to ignore Philonic and inter-testamentary literature.

The great historian, F. Baer, has proposed the thesis that a synthesis of Judaism and classical Hellenism was effected by the sages of the fourth and third pre-Christian centuries, when the ideal of a *Hassid* emerged as a blend of the Greek philosopher and the prophetic disciple. There was born the concept of an earthly society of ascetics, striving heroically for spiritual perfection and for the establishment of a perfect society here on earth, mirroring the harmony prevailing in the cosmos. Even if Baer's theory is not accepted in its totality, we cannot doubt that for generations Greek philosophers and Jewish sages recognized one another as kindred in spirit.<sup>11</sup>

Philo, then, was not an exceptional figure who undertook an impossible task, but the heir of a long tradition to which, as a matter of fact, he refers from time to time. The Alexandrian school of Jewish thought helps us to see the roots of the New Testament in the teachings of diaspora synagogues. There is, for instance, the distinction in Philo between God who is unknowable, and God's manifest powers, chief of which was the Logos.<sup>12</sup> Whether the origin of the "heavenly man" be sought in Persia or in Greece, this concept was employed by Philo in his description of the creation of Adam and Eve (Philo, *Legum Allegoria*, I, XII, 31, Ed. Loeb Classics).

The Alexandrian Jews and Christian historians were convinced that Plato and Aristotle were disciples of the biblical prophets.<sup>13</sup> A bold, uni-

<sup>10</sup>That some raw passages were inserted by "immature disciples" was already acknowledged by Judah Halevi (1085-1141) in *The Kuzari*, III, 73. Maimonides in the Introduction to the "Guide of the Perplexed," and in First Part, Chapter 59. Nahman Krochmal devoted chapter 14 of his classic work to this problem, *Moreh Nebuhai Hazeman*. In regard to the Pharisees, he stressed that they represented normative tradition only in a general way, not insofar as they defended their own sectarian interests (ibid., ch. 10, Edition Lemberg, 1863, p. 51).

<sup>11</sup>F. Baer's studies appeared in the Hebrew magazine, *Zion*, vol. 27-28 (1952-1953), and vol. 37 (1962); in *Molad* (1964); and in his small book, summarizing his position, *Yisroel Bo-amim* (Jerusalem, 1956).

<sup>12</sup>Harry A. Wolfson points out that God's "unknowability" was Philo's contribution to religious philosophy. While Philo considered that the human mind was closest to the Logos, he insisted that our mind is not self-activating, but that it reflects divine power and initiative. See *Legum Allegoria*, II, 69. Harry A. Wolfson, *Philo* (Harvard University Press), II, p. 110.

<sup>13</sup>Josephus, "Contra Apionem," I, 22. Eusebius, *Præp. Evangelica* XIII, 12.

versalistic outreach to all people informs the entire range of Hellenistic-Jewish literature—from Philo to the author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.<sup>14</sup> Philo interprets “the reasons of the commandments” in purely human terms, as sign-posts for the human soul in its struggle to attain perfection. Even the name “Israel” is for him a title, rather than an ethnic designation—the mark of one who has attained the vision of God.<sup>15</sup> Philo’s use of the allegorical method to discover the inner meaning of Torah is today no longer regarded as an alien importation into Judaism. The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls employed a similar method. Furthermore, Hillel or his teachers did not scruple to adopt the methods of Alexandrian grammarians in the interpretation of the written law.<sup>16</sup>

Philo’s description of the Therapeutae, Josephus’ description of the Essenes, and the Dead Sea Scrolls allow us glimpses of the variety of schools within first-century Judaism. We now recognize the tremendous polarity between a gentle, all-embracing humanism and a fanatical dogmatism seeking to limit the circles of the “elect.” In the Babylonian Talmud itself we encounter the two contrasting attitudes—the constricting one, limiting the rewards of heaven to the few pietists, and the outreaching one, opening its blessings to all “who direct their hearts to heaven.”<sup>17</sup>

From the standpoint of historical Judaism, the documents of the New Testament acquire a special importance. They reflect the process whereby the central concepts of the Jewish religion were transferred to the great non-Jewish world. Yet this transfer was carried out in a way which cast the Jewish people in the role of a dark, satanic force. This double effect—an acceptance of the Jewish message in essence, and a rejection of the Jewish messenger in fact—has determined the character and destiny of Jewish history. Hence, there is a renewed interest in the study of the New Testament and its ancillary literature on the part of Jewish scholars.

For a long time, Jewish scholars studied the New Testament only for the purpose of holding their own in debates with Christian counterparts. Such disputations centered on the meaning of certain proof-tests or, as Nahmanides and Albo pointed out, on the logical tenability of certain Christian dogmas.<sup>18</sup> By far, the vast majority of medieval rabbis ignored

<sup>14</sup>The universalist note in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is particularly striking. Test. of Benjamin, IX, 2; Test. of Naphtali, II, 5; Test. of Levi XIV, 4.

<sup>15</sup>*De Spec. Leg.* I, 58. “Quod Deus sit Immort.,” 30, 144. Good and holy men of all nations are called by him, “Sons of God,” *De Spec. Leg.* I, 318.

<sup>16</sup>Saul Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1950), chapter on “Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture.” David Daube, “Rabbinic Methods of Interpretation and Hellenic Rhetoric,” *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 22 (1949): 239ff.

<sup>17</sup>Berachot 18b. “. . . for I run, and they run. I run to the life of World to Come, and they run to the pit of destruction.” Berachot 17a. “. . . The Sages of Yavne used to say, ‘I am a creature and my colleagues (who do not study Torah) are creatures. . . . Lest you say, ‘I do more and he does less,’ we have learned. Alike are those who do more and those who do less, for all depends on the directing of one’s heart to heaven. . . .”

<sup>18</sup>Joseph Albo, “The Book of Principles” allows that two religions may coexist at one time

the New Testament and shunned interfaith discussions for fear of being accused of blasphemy. Even in our day, some rabbis maintain that, while Christianity must take account of Judaism, the latter does not have to evaluate the import and truth of the former. While for Christianity Judaism is the foundation, they say, for Judaism Christianity is simply a development outside its own walls.

Indeed, the Orthodox, who are comfortable with dogmatic walls, frequently take this view. But, if our self-awareness as Jews is determined by our overview of Jewish history, we cannot but regard the emergence of the Christian branch out of the Jewish stem as the most momentous event in our millennial experience. The Jewish self-image is largely affected by this development, as well as the image of the Jew among the nations. The "big idea" of our heritage was demonstrated in this phenomenon, in that "the God of Israel" triumphed over the pagan deities and all their works. But also the "big burden" of Jewish life was here heaped upon our shoulders, since the Jew was in effect compelled to wear the sign of Cain. While in actuality the Jewish spirit achieved a magnificent triumph, this process was associated with a systematic denigration, even the demonization, of the Jew.

Hence, the thoughtful Jew who desires to follow the ancient counsel, "know thyself," must grapple with the many riddles posed by a study of the New Testament. To begin with, the Jew knows that the entire New Testament was composed by Jews. Luke was probably a convert to Judaism before he joined the Christian community. Yet, the Jew also knows that the various documents constituting the New Testament were edited by Christians at a time when the church consisted largely of Gentiles and was engaged in bitter fights against Jews. The two communities broke apart in the generation following the destruction of the Holy Temple (70 A.D.), amidst bitter curses and implacable hatred.<sup>19</sup> We cannot tell whether the *birchat Haminim* of the Jews preceded or followed the anathemas of the Christians. In any case, neutrality appeared impossible to

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and be equally divine. However, he disputes the validity of Catholic doctrine in his time, the beginning of the fifteenth century, on the ground of its logical impossibility. See I. Husik's edition, published by the J.P.S., volume III, chap. 25. Nahmanides argued at Barcelona, in 1263, as follows:

The core of the true dispute among us is not the concept of the Messiah . . . but the crux of the issue and the reason for the argument between Jews and Christians is the fact that you impute to the Deity things which are exceedingly repugnant. . . . For what you state, and this is the essence of your faith, reason cannot accept, nature does not permit, and the prophets never implied . . . (*Sefer Havikuah Lehoramban*, 12).

<sup>19</sup>In a series of books, S. G. F. Brandon sought to uncover the implications of the catastrophic fall of Jerusalem on the formation and crystallization of the New Testament. His major works are *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church*, *Jesus and the Zealots*, and *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth*. The disappearance of the mother church of Jerusalem is, in his judgment, the crucial fact.

both sides. The historical approach makes it possible for us to rediscover our kinship with one another, while repudiating the seeds of malice that the duststorms of history have scattered over the pages of sacred scripture.

The central theses that emerge from the study of the New Testament in the context of Jewish rabbinic literature include:

*First*, that the teaching of Jesus did not imply the repudiation either of Judaism or of the Jewish people.

*Second*, that the closer we come to the Apostolic community centered in Jerusalem, the less we encounter any suggestion of the "rejection" of Israel.

*Third*, That the New Testament passages implying the "rejection" of the Jewish people, as a reversal of their having previously been chosen, were superimposed upon the earlier traditions of the church after the fall of Jerusalem; that the essence of Christian teaching, according to medieval interpreters, consisted in the repudiation of Judaism.

*Fourth*, that all such anti-Judaism and anti-Jewish passages resulted in part from the gradual transference of the Gospel tradition from the Jewish to the Hellenistic culture sphere, during the seventy-year period, 65-135 A.D., and in part from the impassioned bitterness of the second and third centuries when the New Testament canon attained its present form.

*Fifth*, that it is incumbent upon Christian scholars, as seekers of truth in love and love in truth, to eliminate anti-Jewish and anti-Judaism inferences from their interpretation of the New Testament.

*Sixth*, that it is incumbent upon Jewish scholars to reclaim the New Testament as an integral part of their domain of study and to develop the implications of the teaching that Christianity is an "ecclesia for the sake of heaven," employed by God as an instrument whereby humanity is being prepared for "the kingdom of heaven," *malchut shomayim*.

1. The first thesis has been established for several generations among Jewish scholars. Jesus was a supremely original personality, and his views did not coincide completely with those of any of the movements that existed in his day, but the building-blocks of his spiritual edifice were taken from the Jewish world of that day. Jesus stood closest to the Pharisees, in that he believed in the resurrection, in angels, in the worship of the synagogue, and in the role of providence within the life of the individual and within Israel; but he was also close to the Essenes, as is evident in his ethics, in his relation to John the Baptist, in his closeness to the apocalyptic circles, and in the life of the Apostolic community of Jerusalem.

But Jesus differed with *some* of the Pharisaic leaders. After all, James the Elder testifies that many Pharisees had joined the early Christian

community without giving up their zeal for the Law (Acts 21:20). Jesus' arguments with the Pharisees referred to specific issues of the oral law, which were probably topics of disputation in the schools. His critique of the high priests reflected popular sentiments that are also echoed in the Talmud (Pesahim 57a.). Jesus' chief complaint was the non-recognition on the part of most Pharisaic leaders of his claim to be the apocalyptic Messiah.<sup>20</sup> As we learn from occasional references in the Talmud, some apocalyptic circles taught that the Messiah would bring down the Holy Temple from heaven and put it in the place of the earthly one.<sup>21</sup>

2. The second thesis is proved by scholars through the comparative textual analysis of the Gospels. Paul Winter, in his book *On the Trial of Jesus*, puts side by side the various references to the enemies of Jesus. He takes the passion chapters of Mark to be the most ancient portion, and he concludes his analysis as follows (p. 124):

*The oldest synoptic tradition (however restyled it may have become in the process of literary formulation) does not include the Pharisees among the enemies of Jesus at all; there is not a single instance in which Pharisaic hostility towards Jesus finds mention.*

A similar view was already put forward by the famous scholar, Daniel Chwolson, who suggested that the second-century editors changed in many places the word "scribes" for the word "Pharisees," since in their day there were no longer Sadducee scribes.<sup>22</sup> Joseph Klausner pointed out that Jesus debated as a member of the Pharisaic movement. Paul Winter argues similarly: "Yet in historical reality, Jesus was a Pharisee . . . when an eschatological emphasis may have pervaded Pharisaic thought more strongly than in the tannaitic age" (p. 133).

The viewpoint of Jewish scholars was summarized in the old *Jewish Encyclopedia*, published in the first decade of the twentieth century (article on the New Testament):

. . . that the old and the more genuine the records, written or unwritten, of the doings and teachings of Jesus, the more they betray close kinship with and friendly relations to Jews and Judaism; but that the more remote they are from the time and activity of Jesus, the more they show of hostility to the Jewish people and of antagonism to the Mosaic Law.

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<sup>20</sup>Ezekiel Kaufman elaborates this view in his monumental study, *Goleh Venaichar*, vol. I, chap. 8.

<sup>21</sup>"Jerusalem that is above" in II Enoch 55, 2. The heavenly Temple in B. T. Hagigah 12b. Jer. T. Berochot 4,5. B. T. Sukkah 41a. Rashi's Commentary.

<sup>22</sup>*Das letzte Passamahl Christi u. der Tag seines Todes* (1892, 1908), p. 118. Jesus' condemnation of evil Pharisees (in Talmud, "Pharisaic plagues," Mishin Sota 3,4) was generalized by later copyists. This was also the view of M. Friedlander, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu* (1905).



The gulf between the Jews and Christians was deepened by the lynching of Stephen, and the persecutions directed by the Sadducee high priest were opposed by Rabban Gamaliel the Elder. Agrippa probably followed the counsel of the Sadducees. The Pharisees still resented the execution of James the Elder, but with the approach of the Great Revolt (65-70 A.D.) tempers were inflamed throughout the Jewish world. In some places, Jewish leaders sought to remove the protective mantle of Judaism, as a *religio licita*, from the proliferating Christian churches. Thus, the soil was prepared for Nero's persecutions. With the outbreak of the Revolt, which was spurred by intense messianic expectations, and punctuated by outbreaks of pogroms throughout Syria, the Christians left Jerusalem, according to a tradition recorded by Eusebius.

With the disappearance of the mother church in Jerusalem, leadership fell into the hands of Gentile Christians. The remnant of Jewish Christians were beset by pressures from both Jews and Christians. The Jewish curse formulated by Rabban Gamaliel the Second and the Christian anathema combined to crush the middle position. In addition, when the Roman Empire imposed a special tax upon Jews, the Christians were exempt; and when Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was friendly to Jews, he was implacably hostile to Christians. The course of history raised a high barrier of hostility between the two communities just at the time when their respective traditions were taking firm shape. But it was the rise of Gnosticism that contributed most effectively to the introduction of mythological anti-Semitism in Christianity.

3. The third thesis points to the most persistent anti-Jewish animus that is inculcated almost unconsciously by the New Testament. To illustrate its dark impetus, I will cite a recent popular scientific commentary on Matthew, edited by the late Professor Albright, who yielded to no one in his stout defense of Judaism and the Jewish people. Yet, in commenting on Matt. 9:17, he wrote (p. 108):

Romans IX-XI is evidence of the great concern felt about the precise relationship of the Messianic Community to Judaism. On the view that vss. 16-17 are to be regarded as Jesus' teaching on the relationship of his Community to Judaism, then the final clause "*and both are preserved*" is either editorial comment, or a misplaced saying from another context in an attempt to deal with the question.

But this must be regarded as unsatisfactory. The whole tenor of Jesus' teaching, in all four gospels, makes it hardly possible to suppose that he looked to a continuance of his Messianic Community and Judaism side by side.

So, even Albright assumes that the establishment of the Messianic community implied the rejection of those who did not join it. But, is not this attitude a retrojection of later attitudes? If Paul could not reconcile himself

to such a rejection, could Jesus, whose Jewish roots were far deeper, adopt such a judgment? Whether or not we adopt Schweitzer's interpretation of Jesus' eschatological attitude, we cannot deny that Jesus' central concern was to preach "the good news" to his own people. And his few acts of benevolence toward Gentiles were entirely in keeping with the teaching of Jewish ethics, certainly not a repudiation of his people. But the pervasive feeling to which Albright calls attention embodies an impetus, deep and strong. What is its source? The answer uncovers a fundamental struggle which continues to the present.

The canonization of the New Testament was brought about through the partial rejection and the partial acceptance of two contending philosophies—Judaism and Gnosticism. Marcion formed the first canon, and he excluded the Old Testament altogether, consigning the God of Israel and God's Law to the sinister role of demiurge, the creator of this world and its numberless evils. Jesus was the Son and Messenger of the good, trans-worldly realm, whose followers, by repudiating this world and all its works, would inherit that glorious realm. Marcion was repudiated by the emergent Catholic Church, but Gnosticism was too insidious and too deep-rooted to be altogether eliminated. The Church looked for the middle way between Judaism and Gnosticism.

What were the essential differences between these two poles of the spirit? We take Gnosticism to be the opposite of classical Hellenism as well as of prophetic Judaism. While the stars were "gods" to the Hellenes and noble creations of God, or angels, to Jews, they were part of the evil order of reality to the Gnostics.<sup>23</sup> The essence of Gnosticism is the myth of catastrophe, describing how Sophia, or the heavenly one, or supernal light was imprisoned by Satanic forces, and the belief that the way of redemption depends on a special knowledge deriving from beyond this world, whereby the soul reverses its path and ascends to heaven. Hence, the polarity is threefold—whether or not truth is co-extensive with natural human powers of reason; whether or not goodness is that of human effort and conscience; and whether or not certain people are provided from birth with a pneumatic soul, rendering them capable of redemption. Gnosticism asserts the *discontinuity* of human wisdom and redemptive knowledge, of sanctification through deeds and intentions, or through an inner spirit and Divine Grace. Similarly it asserts the dichotomy of the human race between ordinary people and pneumatics.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>One blesses God, "The Creator of the beginnings," on seeing the stars (Berachot 59b). While the stars were occasionally made responsible for a person's fate (mazel), this dependence did not apply to Israel (Shabbat 156a).

<sup>24</sup>Jaroslav Pelican, *The Christian Tradition* (University of Chicago Press), vol. I, p. 85. The ascription of marriage to Satan by the Encratites was the clearest expression of their unworldliness. The supposition of a third mediating kind of human being was a compromise to give substance to conversion. Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* (New York, 1970), p. 266.

Paul wavered between Judaism and Gnosticism, inclining sufficiently to the latter pole to provide a handle to Marcion. Some portions of John contain the reverberations of Gnostic rhetoric. Generally, the Gnostics were bitterly anti-Judaistic and anti-Jewish. Within Christianity the Gnostic orientation, identifying the divine with the discontinuous, the transcendental, and the ascetic, triumphed especially in heretical movements. But, it frequently generated a powerful undertow, even within the official forms of the faith. And whenever Gnostic anti-Judaism prevailed, anti-Jewishness was always the result.

The Gnostic theory of pneumatics is easily translatable into mystical racism. Fichte showed the way, stigmatizing the Jews as the children of worldly cleverness, *Verstand*, and elevating the Teutons to the rank of people of *Vernunft*.<sup>25</sup> A great deal of modern biblical study expatiated on the contrasts between Jewish "good deeds" and Christian grace; between Jewish intellectualism, which is presumably barren, and the noble intuition of Teutons, or Nordics, or Aryans; between the Jewish ideal of equality before the Law and the arbitrary "election" of the Gentiles.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, in German Gnosticism, the Slavs and the Greeks are condemned equally with the Jews, though a special hell on earth was reserved for those who were "chosen" by the evil Creator. Ideas are "carried over" from religion to politics and back again. Gnostic, that is non-Hellenic and non-Jewish, was the asserted discontinuity between the Old Testament and the New Testament, between the Old Covenant and the New, between the old Israel and the New, between the Old Morality and the New, between Jew and Gentile. It is time to allay this metaphysical mythology, wherever it appears—in Christian as in Jewish thought.

4. The fourth thesis purports to explain how what was originally a fervently Jewish faith became so bitterly anti-Jewish. In part, the answer is simply the transference of the same rhetoric from a Jewish to a Gentile popular base. When an Isaiah or a Jeremiah castigates his people, he does not infer that they are indeed degenerate and God-forsaken. The prophet demands so much because he trusts the essential nobility of his people, and his words are preserved by the people as expressions of their own conscience. But, when the same words are taken out of context by external enemies, they add up to a verdict of condemnation.

A contemporary Jesuit scholar summarizes the import of the biblical prophets as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> F. G. Fichte, *Characteristics of the Present Age* (1849).

<sup>26</sup> It has long been noted that the prophets of Teutonism were also exponents of "cultural despair." Such men as Ludwig Jahn, Julius Langbehn, Paul de Lagarde, Richard Wagner, Eugen Dühring, and Oswald Spengler were agreed that the values of the democratic West were all degenerate. They looked for the awakening of a dark, slumbering soul, a peculiar racial psyche.

Ancient Israel was played out and had to go. . . . This new Israel could, however, only be born of the downfall of the old. . . . The salvation of the new people of God was the reverse of the divine judgment passed on the ancient people of God.<sup>27</sup>

Yet, note that the same words which convey this meaning to the Catholic scholar were cherished by Jews as "the hope of Israel."

So, the occasional bitter outcries of Jesus or Paul or Matthew or John were spoken in the revered vein of prophetic admonition, but their Gentile editors, living in a different milieu, edited them in keeping with their own lights. Following the fall of Jerusalem, the mother church fell apart, and the branches in the Gentile world had to establish their legitimacy on their own grounds, despite the fact that they were worshipping one who was condemned and executed by Rome. Modifications and qualifications that existed in the original document, describing various personalities within the Jewish community, were all generalized into the term which made sense only in the new social environment—i.e., the term "Jews" was substituted for "witnesses" or "crowds" or "opponents" or "skeptics."<sup>28</sup>

In part, this editorial policy was a reflection of the bitter animosity between Jews and Gentiles during the Civil Wars of 65 to 135 A.D. By the middle of the second century the Jewish Christians were reduced to a marginal minority. How could the hatred of Jews coexist with the love of so much of the Jewish literary and spiritual heritage? The sad truths of human nature provide the answer, and history corroborates the insights of psychology. Josephus tells us that in Damascus the Syrian women were "God-fearers," attending the synagogues on the Sabbath, while many of their husbands were Jew-haters, planning physical massacres of their Jewish neighbors.<sup>29</sup>

5. The fifth thesis is an appeal to Christian conscience and truthfulness. There is absolutely no reason to interpret the documents of the New Testament in such a way as to teach that the Jews are condemned or accursed or rejected, much less that they are eternally guilty of deicide. The Catholic Church is to be heartily commended for its decisiveness in confronting this issue. I can say without fear of contradiction that no passage in the New Testament gives aid or comfort to anti-Semitism, if it is seen in the light of the social-cultural context of contemporary Jewish life.

The disputations with Pharisaic leaders are instructive examples of the

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<sup>27</sup>Henry Renckens, *The Religion of Israel* (New York, 1966), pp. 238-239.

<sup>28</sup>The Gospel of Mark was believed to have been written in Rome after 70 A.D. It includes older Aramaic logia and personal reminiscences, but it was composed within the aim of separating the Christian community from the odium that was then attached to Jewish people.

<sup>29</sup>Josephus, *Wars of the Jews*, II, 20,2.

arguments that went on in the schools. Their general import is an emphasis on inwardness and principle that is indeed laudable and by no means rare in Jewish tradition. The numerous parables, so rich in meaning, are all-human, not Jewish-Gentile in reference. Always the concept of Israel included an all-human dimension in hope and faith. And the narration of Jesus' life and death, read in context, is free of any anti-Jewish animus.

By way of example, the sentence of Matthew 27:25 which served as the foundation for the myth of deicide can be easily understood in its Jewish context. As it reads it is utterly incomprehensible. "All the people" could only refer to the crowd actually present. Why should people voluntarily take guilt upon their children as well as upon themselves? The medieval mind understood this action as the work of Satan, but medieval myths have a way of persisting beneath modern rationalizations.

If we see the crucifixion in the light of the practices then prevailing, then we know that witnesses were indeed warned, prior to the execution of the defendant, that the guilt for that death and the death of any potential descendants down to the end of time would rest upon them. In turn, the witnesses would reassert their testimony and say they are so sure that they are willing to assume this blame.<sup>30</sup> Now, Jesus was condemned on the basis of the presumed testimony of witnesses, or of those present in the house of Caiaphas. The followers of the high priest, then, stated their willingness to be judged in heaven for the blood of Jesus and his potential descendants. When this incident was transferred to the milieu of a different culture, "his children" seemed blasphemous; if Jesus were God, and the term "witnesses" were simply generalized to the phrase "all the people" as in most other cases, the specific term was generalized to the all-inclusive category, "Jews."

A similar example may be taken from John 8:44, wherein the devil is said to be the father of the Jews. We have here a sermon, given presumably in a synagogue, with Jesus addressing "those Jews who had believed him" (8:31). The author dramatized the tension between belief and unbelief within the soul of Jewish people. When this inner dialogue is transferred into a Gentile-Christian universe of discourse, the inner voice of admonition is transformed into an external verdict of condemnation.<sup>31</sup>

## 6. The first part of the sixth thesis deals with the reclamation of the

<sup>30</sup>B. T. Sanhedrin 37a. and 44b. There was no independent rabbinic tradition regarding the crucifixion, else there would have been some consistency at least in regard to the time or the place of execution. But the time is supposed to be roughly a hundred years before, and the place Lydda, instead of Jerusalem (Sanhedrin 43a; 107b).

<sup>31</sup>Raymond E. Brown, in his introduction to his commentary on the Gospel of John, *Anchor Bible*, vol. 29, p. LXXI, writes as follows:

... there is one stratum of Johanne material, particularly evident in XI-XII, where the term, Jews, simply refers to Judeans... the Fourth Gospel uses "the Jews" as almost a technical title for the religious authorities, particularly those in Jerusalem, who are hostile to Jesus.

New Testament. It is part of Jewish history as literature and life, but with respect to the sacred heritage it marks the boundary between Judaism and Christianity. Frequently, we can see how the same words acquired different meaning as they were transferred from the Jewish to the Hellenistic context.

So the name "son of God" was applied to Jewish people generally, to righteous men, to the kings of the house of David, and by implication, also to the Messiah.<sup>32</sup> But, within the ideological context of Judaism, the concept of divine unity precluded any notion of a "son of God" in any essential sense. Precisely because Jews lived in a society where Caesar was proclaimed son of God and *Kyrios*, Jewish opposition to this notion was firmly established. Philo could speak of God being three in appearance—i.e., God's sovereignty, benevolence, and unknowable being—but he added that, to the thoughtful, God is One.<sup>33</sup> So, the same series of titles of "Messiah," "son of Man," "Son of God," and "Kyrios" could by degrees acquire totally different meaning as the Jewish culture-context was replaced by the Hellenistic.<sup>34</sup>

Similarly, the concepts of redemption, faith, the Law and its inner meaning, the ideal congregation of Israel, the salvation of Gentiles, the replacement of the sacrificial ritual by deeds of "steadfast love"—all these and many more—are observed in the process of transformation.

In one century, the nascent Christian community underwent several transformations, brought about by a series of "scandals." The first "scandal" was felt within the Apostolic community, which was almost entirely Jewish—the Messiah came unto his own people, and "they" rejected him. "They," in this case, meant the leaders and teachers, the Pharisaic masters "who sit in Moses' seat." In the light of this "scandal," the differences between Jesus and the Pharisaic teachers were magnified, but the belief prevailed that this resistance of Jewish leaders and their followers was provisional and temporary. The second "scandal" was felt on the boundary between Jewry and the Hellenistic world as a result of the progressive

<sup>32</sup>The messianic interpretations of Psalms 2 and 110 occur in the late Midrash Tehillim, ed. Bober, but with the qualification that "sonship" is metaphorical, "as when a Master says to his slave, 'you are my son'" (Ps. 2:54). Midrash Tehillim, ed. Bober, 110, 14. The Yalkut on Tehillim, 110, 869, speaks of the Messiah sitting to the right of God, with Abraham sitting at God's left.

<sup>33</sup>Referring to Abraham's vision of the three angels, Philo writes:

Rather, as anyone who has approached nearest to the truth would say, the central place is held by the Father of the Universe, Who in the sacred scriptures is called 'He that is,' as His proper name, while on either side of Him are the senior potencies, the nearest to Him, the creative and the kingly. . . .

. . . presents to the mind which has vision the appearance sometime of one, sometimes of three (Philo, *De Abrahamo*, XXIV, 121, 122).

<sup>34</sup>W. D. Davies, in *Christian Origins and Judaism and Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, demonstrates that Paul's ideas were rooted in Judaism, though they were transformed in later years into concepts that could no longer be fitted within a Jewish ideological context.

transference of biblical and rabbinic ideas to the Hellenistic realm of thought. What was "unthinkable" in Judaism became the mark of a transcendent wisdom, the sign of a fresh upsurge of the Holy Spirit in the churches which continued to develop the ideas of Paul and John, particularly after the church became entirely Hellenistic. While Philo represented the synthesis of Judaism and Hellenic philosophy, the Pauline churches represented the blend of Judaism and Hellenistic religion. The third "scandal" was felt by the Gentile converts, following the fall of Jerusalem. How could they adore one who was convicted and executed by Roman authority? Gradually, the notion prevailed that Jesus was condemned by the Jews, while Pontius Pilate was the passive reluctant agent of Jewish, or demonic, fury.

In the modern world, all of us are bidden to live in two universes of discourse—within our traditions and in spirit, in an all-embracing universe of discourse. *On the Boundary* is the title of Paul Tillich's autobiography. And to live "on the boundary" is part of our universal experience.

The second portion of the sixth thesis might be called a Jewish theology of Christianity. This task will be carried out in diverse ways by the theologians of present and future generations if the contemporary irenic orientation within the Christian and Jewish worlds is maintained and deepened. It takes time for old ideas to fade away totally. Who can tell whether the old demons will arise from their graves and once again point to Jewry as anti-Christ, whose sin is the free intellect or a conscience geared into universal law or piety ossified in ritual? If the ecumenical movement endures, we can expect a deepening of the sentiment of community in the family of God's children. Let me outline some of the sign-posts of a Jewish theology of Christianity:

- a. God judges individuals, one by one, as well as groups as a whole. A rabbi who lived through the siege of Jerusalem taught "that the pious among the nations share in the World to Come," even if they are not converted. According to their personal merit, the Holy Spirit rests upon them. Pious Gentiles are described in the Talmud as examples for Jews.<sup>35</sup>
- b. Christianity, in all its variations, was declared by the Tossafists to be a monotheistic faith. Gentiles were allowed to associate other divine beings with God in the worship (*shittuf*), though this practice was not permitted to Jews. The "curse of heretics" (*birkhat haminim*) was not included in the prayers of European Jews, since

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<sup>35</sup>Tosefta, Sanhedrin, 13. Rabbi Joshua ben Hanania's opinion. The twelfth-century authors of *Tossafot* on the B. T. Avoda Zara, 2a, declare that Christianity does not fall under the category of idolatry. The contrary opinion of Maimonides in his Code is mitigated by his letter to R. Hisdai Halevi, in which he points out that "God seeks the heart." Of Gentiles as examples, Jerusalem, Peah I,1. B. T. Kiddushin 31a.

the close of the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>36</sup>

- c. Occasional hints of a still more affirmative relation to Christianity should now be developed systematically and in depth. Such an orientation is contained *in nuce* in the rabbinic characterization of the church as an "ecclesia for the sake of heaven" that God causes to endure and expand through the vicissitudes of history.<sup>37</sup> This estimation of the church as a divine instrument by no means implies the ending of Israel's role. The high purposes of God require many instruments for their "fulfillment." So, we return to the view of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, as recorded in Acts 5:33, and to the opinion of James, "the brother of Jesus" (Acts 15:13-21). Highly significant is the imagery of the twelfth-century philosopher, Judah Halevi, who spoke of Israel as "the heart"; other faiths, like other internal organs, are equally necessary for life. He also employed the figure of a tree with three branches, growing out of the same seed (*The Kuzari* 4:23).
- d. While Jews cannot accept the dogmatic framework of the New Testament, they can and do recognize its sublime teachings. Many scholars, including preeminently Martin Buber, saw in the revivals of Jewish pietism at various times, and particularly in Polish-Russian Hassidism, a similar efflorescence of religious genius—an emphasis on inwardness, an aspiration for "the nearness of God," an anticipation in the present of the glories of the blessed future. Some modern Jewish philosophers regarded Christianity as the outstretched arm of the Jewish faith, seeking to redeem humankind.<sup>38</sup>

Above all, the historical approach with its strong dash of relativism orients our thinking along the lines of pragmatism. Truth *is* as truth *works*. Does any proposed idea really motivate people to sow the seeds of justice and truth, of faith, hope, and love? Indeed, Jesus anticipated this mode of thinking in the maxim, "By their fruits shall ye know them" (Mt. 7:16).

In the pragmatic orientation we focus our attention on the task that faces us, the task of regaining for the living Word of God a society which is so largely atheistic, materialistic, and bitterly cynical. It is an overwhelming task, far more "delicate and painful" than the interfaith dialogue, but by no means "hopeless."

All of us are called upon to share in the covenant of the spirit which transcends all ritualistic and historical differences. It is in this way that we

<sup>36</sup>Avodo Zara 2a. The Palestinian version of "*birchat haminim*," which specifically includes Christians, was unknown to the Jews of Europe prior to its discovery by S. Schechter in the Cairo *Genizah*.

<sup>37</sup>This application of a maxim in the *Ethics of the Fathers* (IV,14) is offered by the eighteenth-century sage, Rabbi Jacob Emen, in his commentary, "*Aitz Avot*."

<sup>38</sup>See the original edition of Martin Buber's *Reden*. Solomon Formstecher in the nineteenth century and Franz Rosenzweig in the twentieth century used the image of the sun and its rays as symbolizing the respective roles of Judaism and Christianity.



see the contemporary meaning of Jeremiah's "*berit Hadashah*," which underlies the term "New Testament" (Jer. 31:30). Neither the old ritual nor the new is in itself decisive. What is decisive is the spirit in which rites are performed and the consequences that flow from them (Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25). To the extent that any of us individually or collectively achieves the prophetic ideal, we share in an enterprise that is eternal. Whether we derive our inspiration through the rabbinic tradition, which in turn is linked to the Hebrew Bible, or through the Christian tradition and the New Testament, which are also linked to the same sacred scriptures, our ultimate quest is the same—*malchut shomayim*, the Reign of heaven in our hearts and in society.

### Study and Discussion Questions

1. Is there in Jewish thought a fundamental principle that would permit the New Testament to be called in any way "inspired"? Discuss.
2. Give examples of the sectarianism of historic Judaism. Why does the author think that this is an important consideration for contemporary Jewish-Christian dialogue?
3. Do you agree that Jewish scholars have generally looked at the New Testament only in polemical terms and have not sufficiently attempted to find in it its Jewishness? Discuss.
4. Summarize the six theses that emerge from a study of the New Testament in the context of Jewish rabbinic literature.
5. The author suggests that only later New Testament writings contain the "rejection of Israel" theme. Do you accept this as proved? If so, do you accept the assumption that what is later is less acceptable than what is earlier in the tradition? Discuss.
6. "The rise of Gnosticism contributed most effectively to the introduction of mythological anti-Semitism in Christianity." Discuss.
7. How do you react to the author's contention that the New Testament represents a Gnostic compromise between Marcionism and Judaism?
8. According to the author, in what way might there be fashioned a Jewish theology of Christianity?

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and has allowed married bishops; but this does *not* permit us to conclude that the Church has allowed priests to be twice married. Yet Father Constantelos does just this. Only by so doing can he categorically maintain (p. 84) that "any change to allow marriage after ordination *or a second marriage for a widowed priest* or a married bishop would be in full accord not only with the faith and practice of the Apostolic Church but of the Church of the first seven centuries of our era" (my italics).

This question of remarriage of clergy may seem a small point. Certainly criticisms at this point should not obscure the real merits of a book that frankly and openly deals with a number of controversial issues. Yet this one point does serve to indicate the weaknesses of an approach that would simply "provide the facts and the evidence . . . and let the reader draw the conclusions for himself." Fr. Constantelos is right when he observes that we Orthodox frequently "avoid the issues and invoke the authority of tradition." But the solution does not lie in discarding the authority of tradition for the specious authority of "the facts and the evidence." Rather, the perspective of the Church's living tradition must illumine our investigation of "the life of the Church through history."

John H. Erickson  
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*Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence: A Historical Re-Evaluation of His Personality.* Byzantine Texts and Studies 14. By Constantine N. Tsirpanlis. Thessaloniki: Center for Byzantine Research, 1974. Pp. 125.

Mark Eugenicus (1391/2-1445), Metropolitan of Ephesos, was the leading Greek representative at the Council of Florence (1438-1439), who did not sign the decree of union between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. A very important figure in the late history of Byzantium and in East-West relations, he has been the subject of considerable vigorous investigation in recent times and is especially relevant in this ecumenical age. Dr. Tsirpanlis believes that in the West Mark of Ephesos has not been given his proper due. Accused of fanaticism, demagoguery, extremism, and anti-Unionism by the

West, he has been officially recognized as a saint by the Byzantine Church and the traditionalist theologians and intellectuals of Eastern Orthodoxy. It is Dr. Tsirpanlis's purpose in his compact book, based on Mark's own writings and utilizing the *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos as a principal source, the *Acta Graeca*, the *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectis* of Mansi, the *Acta Latina*, and primary sources like Scholarios, Bessarion, John Eugenikos, Agallianos, Amiroutzes, Balsamon, Gregory the Confessor, and Joseph of Methone (John Plousiadinos), to attempt to prove that Mark was not an intransigent, narrow-minded monk who was bitterly opposed to union from the beginning of the Council of Ferrara to its final conclusion for the Greeks in the Council of Florence, but rather to demonstrate that he was favorably disposed toward the Latins and even showed good will towards his opponents until such time as "When he perceived, however, the political opportunism of the Emperor's Party, on the one hand, the stubbornness and the intention of the Latins to subdue the Orthodox Church, on the other, then and only then, did Mark become a bitter opponent to union" (p. 104).

In five crisply written chapters that are marked by absolute clarity and demonstrable documentation, Dr. Tsirpanlis discusses the political-ecclesiastical situation in fourteenth and fifteenth century Byzantium; the sources for the life of Mark of Ephesos; an outline of that life; Mark's relations with the Emperor, the Pope, the Patriarch, Bessarion, Scholarios, and Syropoulos; Mark's political views; the information and testimony of his younger brother John concerning the Council of Florence and Mark's participation in it; a re-evaluation of Mark's views on purgatory and the *filioque*; and a criticism of modern views of Mark Eugenikos. There is a very useful bibliography at the front of the book (preceded by a list of abbreviations of principle sources used), a brief conclusion, an appendix of published and unpublished works by Mark, and an index.

Dr. Tsirpanlis very effectively demonstrates that Mark was not himself the cause of the failure of the Council of Florence but rather that the Florentine union could not become a reality because Mark's fellow countrymen saw in him the embodiment of their religious and national history. Dr. Tsirpanlis believes that Mark of Ephesos became the "symbolical figure of the heroic

defenders and martyrs of the immaculate Orthodox faith and tradition, the faithful successor of Gregory Palamas and Athanasios" (p. 104). The Union of Florence failed to materialize because it was not based on proper canonical procedure nor on an independent, free pursuit of the truth but rather on the premature expectations of the political and religious leaders of the day without the appropriate psychological preparation and support of the people. Professor Tsirpanlis finds Mark's convictions characterized by integrity, truthfulness, and consistency. It is because of his adamant pursuit of the truth that Mark Eugenikos was motivated to oppose the Florentine Union in the name of pure doctrine and tradition of the Orthodox Church.

Though Professor Tsirpanlis rightly and fairly presents the case for Mark as one for whom the *raison d'être* of the Byzantine Empire was the living truth and faith of the Orthodox, there are other contemporary historians (e.g., D. J. Geanakoplos) who would argue that the failure to accomplish union was, in the final analysis, a costly tragedy and that such a union (without compromising the Orthodoxy of the Byzantine East) could have been achieved if wiser heads had prevailed and a broader historical vision had triumphed. As it was, East and West were not to be united and the East was to fall to the Ottoman Muslim Turks who would destroy the Byzantine Empire, Islamize most of its territories, and reduce its surviving Christians to the degrading rank of second-class citizens for four centuries. Byzantium and Eastern Christianity were to pay dearly for their mistakes and sins and the international spread and effectiveness of Orthodox Christianity would be greatly reduced.

Dr. Tsirpanlis's *Mark Eugenikos and the Council of Florence* is a book that deserves the careful attention of all students of late Byzantine history, Orthodox-Catholic relations, and of the ecumenical movement.

John E. Rexine

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Yet, this is an important book which deals honestly and seriously with perhaps the most important theoretical question in Christian ethics. Students of ethics, whether in schools of theology, universities, or parishes will find it provocative, enlightening, and well worth reading.

Stanley S. Harakas

*Holy Cross School of Theology*

*Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective*, by Demetrios J. Constantelos. Minneapolis, Minn., Light and Life Publishing Company, 1975. Pp.93. Paper \$3.95.

The book's title and its cover, adorned with the photo of a handsome young bride and groom, are somewhat misleading. *Marriage, Sexuality and Celibacy: A Greek Orthodox Perspective* is not intended to be a systematic presentation of the Orthodox Church's understanding of marriage and related subjects or a guide for those contemplating marriage or involved in pastoral counseling. As the introduction warns (p. 8) : "The reader will soon realize that this is not intended to serve as a pattern of behavior or as guidelines for pastoral ministry. In my writings, it has been my practice to provide the facts and the evidence and let the reader draw conclusions for himself. In this work, too, I examine three areas of human concern and indicate how marriage, sexuality, and celibacy have fared in the life of the Church through history."

Yet this statement also needs qualification. The book is based on papers delivered by the author on three different occasions to different audiences and under different circumstances. Hence its presentation of "the facts and the evidence" is neither exhaustive nor uniform. While some topics receive close attention, others—perhaps more important ones—go unmentioned. A further difficulty arises from the way in which "historical approach" (p.7) is employed. Facts and evidence seldom are self-explanatory. Their very selection and arrangement demand a broader perspective. Unfortunately, the book, despite its subtitle, often lacks this needed perspective. Some sections (I have in mind that entitled "Theological Foundations and the Purpose of Marriage") do successfully integrate the raw historical

data into the framework suggested by the Church's vision of marriage. But, elsewhere, as in the long digression on pornography in Byzantium, "the facts and the evidence" accumulate without significantly contributing to a solution of the concrete problems which Fr. Constantelos bravely sets out to examine.

Closer examination of one point may serve to illustrate these limitations. Over the centuries the Orthodox Church has upheld perpetual monogamy as its norm: one marriage enduring, like the union of Christ and His Church, unto eternity, not just "till death do us part." Hence the canons prescribe a period of penance for those entering into second or third marriages and altogether forbid a fourth; the "Order for Second Marriage" in the service books prescribes prayers of a penitential nature; the canons and the New Testament itself exclude those married more than once from the clergy ("Now a bishop must be above reproach, married only once . . . I Tim 3:2). These are "the facts and the evidence," though they go unmentioned by Fr. Constantelos. Their significance within the Orthodox perspective on marriage has been brought out by modern scholars like Fr. John Meyendorff (whose well-known study of *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* [1971, rev. ed. 1975] also goes unmentioned). They indicate that the Orthodox Church's prohibition of remarriage for widowed priests is based on its theology of marriage and not on arbitrary disciplinary considerations. But Father Constantelos implies quite the opposite by linking the problem of remarriage of widowed clergy with the other two problems which, again on the basis of historical evidence, must be regarded as strictly disciplinary: advancement of married men to the episcopate and permission of unmarried clergy to marry. His conflation and confusion of the historical data on this point is remarkable. Thus (p. 77): "... Jerome confirmed that even in the Western Church, there were clergy who married after ordination. The Council of Elvira decreed that a repetition of matrimony was to be forbidden for the clergy and that any bigamous priest was to be excluded from holy orders. Nevertheless, married bishops attended the Synod of Rimini as well as other councils. Thus, in both East and West, the Church was lax and there were married clergymen in all ranks." From such evidence we may conclude—and rightly—that the Church has allowed clergy to marry after ordination



and has allowed married bishops; but this does *not* permit us to conclude that the Church has allowed priests to be twice married. Yet Father Constantelos does just this. Only by so doing can he categorically maintain (p. 84) that "any change to allow marriage after ordination *or a second marriage for a widowed priest* or a married bishop would be in full accord not only with the faith and practice of the Apostolic Church but of the Church of the first seven centuries of our era" (my italics).

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FRANK E. WOZNIAK

## THE METAPHYSICS OF BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY IN THE RELATIONS OF THE BYZANTINES AND BULGARIANS; 880's-920's

The Byzantine Empire for the largest part of its history pursued a diplomacy of balancing various countervailing external forces. The resulting diplomatic pattern often appears hypocritical and excessively obtuse when examined by modern historians. Nonetheless, all too often there seem to emerge good grounds for the pejorative use of the term 'byzantine diplomacy,' which implies devious, unethical, and uncourageous actions; yet the triple factors of Imperium, monarchy, and Christianity show other aspects of Byzantine motives and their accompanying ideology.<sup>1</sup>

The problems of the development of a foreign policy and its implementation by a universal, Christian empire taxed the formulators of policy at frequent intervals. There was no time where this was more characteristic than during the forty-year period straddling the year 900 from which we have the writings of Leo VI the Wise and the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos. Therefore this paper will examine the *Tactica* of Leo VI, particularly the 18th chapter, which deals with foreign states and ethnic groups, and the letters of Nicholas Mystikos to the Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this paper is to define one of the premises which influenced the formulation of Byzantine diplomacy. It seems from an examination of studies on Byzantine diplomacy by Obolensky and others that the dominant factors in the development of policy were the Graeco-Roman concepts of Imperium and monarchy to which Christianity was usefully added in the time of Constantine.<sup>3</sup> As a result, Christianity has

<sup>1</sup> This study is a revised version of a paper read at the First Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Cleveland, Ohio.

<sup>2</sup> Leo VI The Wise, *Tactica*, PG 107:945-90; Nicholas I Mystikos, Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, ed. and trans. R.J.H. Jenkins and L.G. Westerink, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, VI (Dumbarton Oaks, 1973).

<sup>3</sup> Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, Eastern Europe, 500-1453* (New York, 1971); Dimitri Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> congrès international d'études byzantines*, I (Belgrade, 1964), 43-61; Louis Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1949), 229-62; Francis Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 2 vols.

generally been considered only insofar as it reinforced the Imperium and the monarchy. In any study of the basic preconceptions of Byzantine diplomacy, some of the important considerations would be the contrast between the concept of imperium and the obvious independence of most states over whom the Empire claimed sovereignty, and secondly, the contrast of *real politik* with Christian principles. Because I am particularly interested here in the problem of the clash of Christian morality with the apparent parameters of foreign policy, this paper will concern itself only tangentially with the questions of Imperium and monarchy.

The contrast of Christian morality and the essentials of diplomacy is nowhere better expressed than in the sections of 18th chapter of the *Tactica* of Leo the Wise, which deals with the Bulgarians.<sup>4</sup> The underlying concepts which motivated the advice given—rather than the tactics themselves—are of importance for this paper; of particular interest are the paragraphs on the Byzantine-Bulgarian war of 894/895 and on the suggested means to counter Bulgarian tactics.<sup>5</sup> These two paragraphs are chosen because they best bring out the Emperor's concern with Christian moral principles when dealing with the Bulgarians, the other Christian state in the Balkans. Because Leo discussed the Bulgarians in conjunction with the Turks (i.e. Magyars), the nearly innate prejudice of the Byzantians towards those who were not *Romanoi*, even if Christian, is quite obviously present; nonetheless the Christianization of the Bulgarians seems to have made a substantial difference when the Emperor does discuss them.

In the section on the Byzantine-Bulgarian war, the often cynical imperial diplomatic attitude was present when the Emperor stated that by using the Magyars to attack the Bulgarians from the rear he avoided the shedding of Christian

(Dumbarton Oaks, 1966); Julius Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren aus der Geschichte des Nationalbewusstseins* (Leipzig, 1923); Patricia Karlin-Hayter, "When Military Affairs Were in Leo's Hands: A Note on Byzantine Foreign Policy (886-912)," *Traditio*, 23 (1967), 15-40; Kilian Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantinen* (Munich, 1954); George Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," *Slavonic and East European Review*, 35 (1956/57), 1-14; Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im hofischen Zeremoniell vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken* (Jena, 1938).

<sup>4</sup> Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica*, 18.42-45, 956-57.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.42.

blood by Christians<sup>6</sup> (we will find this same concern over the shedding of Christian blood in a different context in the letters of Nicholas Mystikos). In the matter of the Bulgarians, Leo was on the horns of a dilemma, whether to use barbarians to fight the Bulgarians or to use Roman Christian soldiers; regarding both options the Emperor had serious reservations. The use of barbarians against fellow Christians opened the way for reproaches on the part of the Bulgarians against their spiritual exemplars, the Byzantine Greeks. It seems from the sarcastic justification he gave in his comment on the war of 894/95 that Leo felt the sting of their reproaches.

The problem of wars between Christian peoples—especially between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians—was a concern in the formulation of foreign policy. It was a problem of which Leo himself was aware, as demonstrated in the second paragraph in the *Tactica*.<sup>7</sup> In that paragraph Leo stated that he would not suggest Byzantine countermeasures against the Bulgarian tactics or even describe Bulgarian tactics. His reason was that the Byzantines and the Bulgarians were brothers by virtue of their common faith and that consequently the Byzantines had no intention of fighting a war against the Bulgarians.

That Leo had reservations about the incidence of war between these two Christian peoples is of the utmost importance in understanding the parameters of Byzantine diplomacy toward the Bulgarians. As we know these reservations did not prevent the use of barbarians against the Bulgarians either by Leo VI or the regency for Constantine VII;<sup>8</sup> nevertheless because they were Christians, the Imperial government seems to have considered a war between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians unacceptable. (As we will see later the Tsar Symeon appears to have played on these often unstated and often ignored reservations when corresponding with the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos.)

Moreover, the Emperor Leo was also influenced by the idea of the innate wrongness of the employment of even barbarians against Bulgarians. These reservations apparently did not

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 18.44.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (Berkeley, 1975), 54-78.

extend to other Christian peoples whether Western European or Armenian,<sup>9</sup> according to other parts of chapter eighteen; therefore it seems likely that the Bulgarians were seen as having some special relationship with the Byzantines particularly during the reigns of Boris/Michael and Symeon. This relationship seems connected with the very recent conversion of the Bulgarians by the Greeks, the involvement of the newly Christianized Bulgarians as pawns to the struggle of the Patriarchate and the Papacy, and the Christian and Graeco-Roman education that Symeon received in Constantinople.<sup>10</sup>

The letters of the Patriarch Nicholas Mystikos shed further light on the question of this special relationship of Christian Byzantines and Bulgarians, as well as on the general question of Christian moral principles and their place in foreign policy. The letters of Nicholas demonstrate at various places the more widely assumed principles inherent in Byzantine diplomacy (i.e. cleverness, manipulation, and cynical realism).<sup>11</sup> But the admonitions of the Patriarch to Symeon are not dominated by this so-called realism, rather Nicholas seems to be attempting to work within a realism that takes account the special relationship of Bulgarians and Romans based upon a common Christianity; in fact, he seems to do so largely without the overtones of subordination that are often present in the relationship between the Christian Roman Empire and newly converted peoples.<sup>12</sup> The military threat of the Bulgarian state to the Byzantine possessions in the Balkans was an obvious reason for the delicate handling of the Bulgarians advised by both Leo and Nicholas; but for Nicholas and Leo, it seems that the factor of Christianity also played a role, which becomes particularly apparent in the letters of Nicholas Mystikos.

A constant theme in the letters to Symeon was the wrongness of the wars between the Romans and the Bulgarians.<sup>13</sup> They were after all brothers in Christ and as such should not spill the

<sup>9</sup> Leo VI the Wise, *Tactica*, 18.1-19, 78-108.

<sup>10</sup> Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria*, 55-68.

<sup>11</sup> Jules Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas le Mystique et son rôle politique," *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, I (Paris, 1930), 91-100; I. Konstantinides, *Nikolaos A., ho Mystikos* (ca. 852-925 m. Ch.) *Patriarches Konstantinoupoleos* (901-907, 912-925) (Athens, 1967).

<sup>12</sup> See footnote number 3.

blood of fellow Christians. Nicholas admitted that both sides were at fault in bringing about the war, but the continuation of the war year after year became the responsibility of the ruler of Bulgaria. The roots of Symeon's action lay in the evil influence of others and in his own pride-ridden attempts to assume the throne of the godly established Empire.<sup>14</sup> The question of attempted usurpation of Symeon and his overstepping of the bounds of a Christian brother and son became especially acute after the establishment of Romanos I on the throne at Constantinople.<sup>15</sup> But both during the regency and during the rule of Romanos, Nicholas repeatedly called for an adherence to Christian principles on the part of Symeon and imperial officials and demonstrated, at least in words, the Patriarch's own attempts to see that the imperial government was at least aware of and even in part acted according to an understanding of the Christian relationship of the Romans and the Bulgarians.

The Patriarch seems to have consistently urged both parties to listen to his exhortations in the name of Christ and not to sustain the intentions of the devil by continuing the war.<sup>16</sup> Again the special relationship of the Christian Bulgarians and Romans seemed to play a decisive role for Nicholas. It was the duty of the Patriarch as the spiritual father of both peoples to bring peace between them and thwart the aims of the devil.

Nicholas was not unaware of the usefulness of physical threats to the Bulgarians to end the war, particularly the use of steppe peoples to attack the Bulgarians from their rear. In two letters Nicholas warned Symeon of imperial intentions to use the barbarians as well as several mobilizations of regular Byzantine forces against the Bulgarians.<sup>17</sup> In all instances Nicholas not only disassociated himself from the actions of his government, but also had attempted to prevent the use of barbarian threats. He did so because he wished to bring about a restoration of peace between these two Christian peoples, rather than to further embitter the struggle. This tactic could be seen as a subtle threat by indirection or, as seems more likely, a genuine Christian concern of the Patriarch to end the war without the reprehensible employment of pagan barbarians.

In contrast to physical threats, Nicholas Mystikos preferred

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., nos. 5, 8, 14, 19, 21, 23, 24 and 25.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., nos. 18, 19, 21, 23, 24 and 25.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., nos. 5-11, 14-25 (esp. 8, 9 and 14).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., nos. 9 and 23.

first exhortations to Symeon to return to Christian principles and then religious warnings.<sup>18</sup> On several occasions Nicholas contrasted the language and behavior of pagan or Muslim leaders toward the Empire with Symeon's sarcastic replies to the Patriarch and Symeon's continued determination to wage war against the Romans. On numerous occasions he urged Symeon to heed Christ's example, and not to continue to try God's patience because it was not inexhaustable.<sup>19</sup> He warned Symeon that in his continued wars and attempted usurpation God would ultimately judge against him.

Parallel with this exhortation to heed the words of God and similar admonitions on the role of the devil in bringing this split between Christians, there were several varieties of religious threats or warnings to Symeon. Nicholas warned Symeon of the vicissitudes of war and the necessity of leaving it to God to judge the actions of both parties without reversion to war; in this regard Nicholas on a number of occasions warned Symeon not to claim that God supported his claim because he, Symeon, was victorious. Such a claim was contradicted by the fact that the Romans were citizens of an Empire which God established and protected, and if Symeon were so confident of his own favor with God, then he ought to allow God to intervene and settle matters between the two parties. This matter of the special relationship between God and the Empire was pursued consistently by Nicholas in his letters to Symeon.<sup>20</sup>

As important as this complex secular-religious theme was the purely religious conclusion Nicholas drew from these warnings; the Patriarch was bothered by the condition of the religious danger within which Symeon was operating. Nicholas constantly urged him to look not only to his own salvation, but to that of his people.<sup>21</sup> By the continued prosecution of the war of Christians against Christians, the actions of Symeon were endangering his hopes for salvation when he came before the judgment of God. Nicholas was willing to admit the faults of his own government in bringing about the war in 913 and even admit that they were more responsible for the war than the Bulgarians, but as the war continued year after year this respon-

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., nos. 5-11, 14-31 (esp. 5, 6, 8, 9, 14, 16, 20, 23, 25 and 31).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., nos. 5, 8, 9, 11, 15, 18, 21, 23, 24 and 29.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., nos. 8, 10, 14, 16, 18 and 25.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., nos. 5, 8, 11, 17, 20, 24 and 29.



sibility had diminished; Symeon emerged as the only obstacle to peace because of his desire for revenge and the demand to be raised to the imperial throne. Years of war had more than given Symeon his revenge, and the establishment of Romanos on the throne by God made the other factors superfluous.<sup>22</sup> In all of these matters Nicholas rested his arguments humbly on his own position of spiritual leadership and on the genuine Christian desire for peace between these two Christian peoples. It is remarkable that in all of the letters of Nicholas to Symeon there are only two occasions when Nicholas referred to his ultimate religious sanction of excommunication,<sup>23</sup> in large part Nicholas urged Symeon to heed his fatherly advice because of the religious principles which were being violated.

This correspondence of Patriarch Nicholas with the Bulgarian ruler, which lasted from 913 to 924, was dominated by the religious theme of the sorrow that the shedding of Christian blood by other Christians brought to Christ, who had suffered so much for the salvation of man; these two Christian peoples were engaged in a fratricidal struggle that was endangering the salvation of so many people, but particularly of Symeon. As the correspondence progressed Symeon's responses apparently became more sarcastic and his demands more intransigent following the ultimate frustration of his goals by the usurpation of Romanos I Lecapenos. After 921, there entered an increasing bitterness and frustration in Nicholas' exhortations to Symeon to change his ways and return to a Christian attitude.<sup>24</sup> Finally the insincerity of Symeon had completely frustrated Nicholas and he ended his last letter with prayers for peace by an old priest.<sup>25</sup>

The secular threats by the Byzantine government which the Patriarch's correspondence relayed to Symeon and Nicholas' justification for the actions of the Byzantine government, which violated the very principles that the Patriarch was advocating to Symeon, reveal the extremely tenuous place which these principles held even in the minds of the Byzantines. But Nicholas

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24 and 25.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 5 and 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 23-31.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 31.

was in large part not attempting to manipulate Symeon so as to reinforce the Imperium, but rather seeking to restore peace between the Christian Bulgarians and Romans. Nicholás was Patriarch of Constantinople and an extremely important participant in governmental decisions from 913 to 924, but he also seems to have seen his duty of spiritual advisor to Symeon as being of great importance as well. While the benefits of peace with the Bulgarians, because of the inept handling of the war by the Imperial government, would have been enormous for the Romans, it does not seem that Nicholas pursued his line of exhortation to Symeon solely or even largely because of the secular advantages to the Byzantine government, but because of a concern for his duties as Patriarch of Constantinople and as spiritual father of the Bulgarians. Obviously I have not exhausted all of the implications of Nicholas' letters to Symeon, but I have rather tried to point out an important and often neglected facet, Christianity, which must be taken into account when discussing the relationship of the Byzantines and the Bulgarians.

It is often too easy to explain the Christian ideas presented by Leo VI and Nicholas as simply cynical attempts to justify the actions of their own governments or hypocritical attempts to use Christian ideals as a means to manipulate foreigners for the benefit of the Empire.

In this instance the concern for the wrongness of Christians killing other Christians seems at times to have weighed heavily on both Leo VI and Nicholas. This is not to say that either of these two individuals saw these particular Christian ideals as always being operative in relationship with foreigners. In particular they did not apply to pagan steppe barbarians or even to most Christians. Nor were Leo and Nicholas naive enough to hold that these Christian attitudes were representative of the premises of all government actions, or that these principles were always operative even in the realm of Byzantine-Bulgarian relations. Instead it seems that the special relationship between the Christian Bulgarians and Byzantines was a deeply held ideal at least during the reigns of Boris/Michael and Symeon. It was an ideal that influenced the actions of the Byzantine government during this period, but it was obviously not the only or even the dominant motivation of the Imperial government, as Nicholas most readily admitted when he deplored the actions

of that Imperial government. The adherence to independent Christian principles in the Imperial relationship with the Bulgarians was often and even usually overshadowed by the concepts of Christian Imperium and Christian monarchy; but often and repeated allusions by Leo and Nicholas to the wrongness of slaughtering other Christians were at least an ideal that played a role in the formulation of policy. This concern for the special relationship of Christian Bulgarians and Romans had disintegrated by the time Constantine VII wrote the *De Administrando Imperium* where the Bulgarians were the potential victims of a blatantly manipulative diplomacy,<sup>26</sup> and most certainly this concern had disappeared by the time of the wars of Basil II and Samuel. Yet at least during the reign of the first two Christian Bulgarian rulers, the problem of Christian principles in the relationship of the Romans with the Bulgarians had played an important, though admittedly not decisive, role and was thus a factor which must be considered in analyzing the foreign policy of the Romans toward the Bulgarians.

<sup>26</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. (with English transl. and commentary) Gy. Moravcsik and R.J.H. Jenkins, 2 vols. (London, 1962 and Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), I, 52-53.

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*COSTAS M. PROUSSIS*

## MODERN GREEK POETRY IN AMERICA

Modern Greek poetry is, in a way, the intellectual product of the struggle of the Greek people for freedom, and has its roots in Greek folk-poetry. From that point of view, it is a poetry that very naturally can be near the soul of a people that two hundred years ago fought for liberty and strove for justice in this land.

It is also a poetry that, inevitably, contains a long poetical tradition, the longest in Europe. It might also draw the interest, or at least the curiosity, of an America imbued with classical ideas or pretending to be inspired by ancient Greek positions.

A third characteristic of modern Greek poetry is that it comes from a people that is very responsive to conditions of today prevailing not only in Greece but everywhere in the world, not only from the point of view of its subjects, but also as it concerns the form of modern poetry everywhere. So, modern Greek poetry is a literary vehicle that interprets modern life in about the same terms as the poetry elsewhere in the world.

However, modern Greek poetry entered neither easily nor early into this country. Its recognition here as a worthwhile object of study and enjoyment only lately became possible after long and strenuous endeavors of many pioneers. It is those endeavors that we shall try to trace in this brief survey.

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The advent of modern Greek language into this country began at the end of the last century and did not have much impact on the social and cultural life of the American people in general. It was a private characteristic of a small segment of the population, i.e. the Greek immigrants (who then began to enter America in relatively considerable numbers) and their descendants. And it has remained a private concern for them only.

Likewise, modern Greek poetry and modern Greek literature

in general entered America with considerable force rather recently. But, unlike modern Greek language, modern Greek poetry has already drawn the active interest of many people here, men of letters and scholars—so much so that this interest has been extended to the modern Greek language, too.

However, the scarcity of modern Greek presence notwithstanding, the fact of the establishment of a free modern Greek state in the early nineteenth century caused then some interest in modern Greek language and literature here. Modern Greek language especially became very early the object of serious study in America, albeit on a very small scale. In 1828, *A Grammar of the Modern Greek Language* (katharevousa) by Alexander Negris was published in Boston, while the *Romaic or Modern Greek Grammar* of Harvard Professor Evangelinos Apostolides Sophocles underwent several editions since its first one in 1842 (Hartford, 1857; 1860 in Boston). And of course, the *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100* (Boston, 1870, reprinted many times, even recently) of Sophocles is a well-known major work of scholarship regarding the post-classical studies anywhere at that time.

Instrumental in creating some interest in modern Greek literature in America at that time was another Harvard professor, Cornelius C. Felton (died 1862). With his lectures and publications,<sup>1</sup> his voyages to Greece, his many acquaintances there, and his interest in modern Greek education and culture in general, he played a leading role in somehow acquainting Americans with contemporary Greek intellectual and cultural life. His books, *Select Modern Greek Poems* (Cambridge, 1838) and *Selections from Modern Greek Writers in Prose and Poetry* (Cambridge, 1855) were well received in America; in fact, the latter realized several editions. Of course, Felton's modern Greek anthology was elementary, not really representative of the best in modern Greek literature, of modern Greek poetry in particular. Yet, it was the first voice of modern Greek literature heard in this country.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For instance: *Greece Ancient and Modern*. 2 vols. Boston, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. later, the book of Florence McPherson, *Poetry of Modern Greece*. Specimen and extracts. London, 1884; cf. also English editions of Greek folk poetry.

But there was no continuity to that well-started endeavor. After that good beginning, there was a long lapse of silence and inactivity, a vast vacuum of time during which modern Greek literature did not interest America at all. The only hopeful activity was that at that time, as already mentioned, Evangelinos Apostolides Sophocles was working at Harvard on his famous Lexicon of the Greek language. Also, he—much more than Felton—was collecting and carefully reading modern Greek books, as one may attest by examining the collection of his books bequeathed to the Harvard College Library.

But one has to come to the second decade of the twentieth century to find a really successful attempt at cultivating again interest in modern Greek literature, and particularly at initiating the American reader into modern Greek poetry. That was done by Professor Aristides Phoutrides (1887-1923) with his teaching at Yale and Harvard, his excellent—for the time, at least—translations of Palamas' poetry, and his essays on modern Greek literature. His untimely death at the age of thirty-six in 1923 was a great loss for both modern Greek literature and American cultural life. His translations are: *Kostas Palamas, Life Immovable* (Harvard U.P., 1919); *A Hundred Voices and Other Poems from the Second Part of 'Life Immovable'* (Harvard U.P., 1921); also Palamas' play, *Royal Blossom*, or *Trisevyene* (New Haven, 1923); and his short story, *A Man's Death* (Athens, 1934). He also collaborated with Demetra Vaka in the translation of "the first anthology of modern Greek short stories in the United States" (D. Vaka and A. Phoutrides, *Modern Greek Stories*, New York, 1920).<sup>3</sup>

These translations were accompanied by very interesting introductions: essays and notes by Phoutrides which, as well as his many relevant essays and articles published in various American magazines, attest not only to his scholarship and erudition but also to his delicate feeling for poetry and his genuine love for modern Greek literature. It is true that his translations are found by some critics today to be "flat" and uninspiring. Yet, they are generally good, true to the original, although of course not equal to it in poetical beauty. They

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Layton, "The Modern Greek Collection in Harvard College Library," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XIX, 3 (July 1971), 12.

are certainly much better than some later translations of Palamas perpetrated by certain professors. At least, Phoutrides' translations were faithful and did not betray or misunderstand the original Greek text.

Interest in Palamas' poetry grew considerably then in America—and internationally, too—as the possibility of awarding the Nobel Prize for Literature to the Greek poet presented itself. Thus, in 1928 the first Greek edition of Palamas' *Verses Mild and Harsh* (Δειλοί καὶ Σκληροὶ Στίχοι) was published in Chicago with important introductions in English by American scholars. Also in Chicago, in 1930 Palamas' moving book, *The Grave* (Ὁ Τάφος) was published in translation by Demetrios Michalaros. Later, during World War II a small collection of Angelos Sikelianos' poems was published in Greek and English, *The Acritan Songs* (New York, 1944; Paul Nord, trans.)

In the meantime, Michalaros (a remarkable Greek-American poet, philosopher, editor and translator whose biography has not yet been written and whose vast work has not yet been evaluated or appreciated properly) for twenty-seven years until his death in 1967 edited and published in Chicago *Athene* (1940-1967), "the American Magazine of Hellenic Thought," as he liked to subtitle it. In *Athene*, modern Greek poetry was regularly, if not systematically, presented in translations, studies, reviews, and in special issues for certain poets like Solomos, Palamas, Sikelianos and others. Although the poetical and other literary material of *Athene* was often unequal and haphazard, it very often was also of great literary value. Viewed in retrospect, Michalaros' endeavor in promoting modern Greek literature in America was, if not altogether successful, truly interesting and worthwhile.

However, those manifestations of earnest interest (by Phoutrides, Michalaros and others) in modern Greek poetry and in modern Greek literature in general did not have, at that time, great success in promoting modern Greek poetry in this country, not even among contemporary American poets and men of letters. And the situation did not improve much with the additional incentive provided by good translations of, and excellent studies on, modern Greek poetry published in England by British scholars and poets during the period between the two World Wars and later. As a matter of fact, Solomos, Calvos,



Palamas, Sikelianos, Cavafis and Seferis were better known and appreciated there than in this country.

So, since Phoutrides' pioneering work, some twenty-five years passed by before interest in modern Greek poetry became again lively, productive and systematic in America. In 1949 a very important work was published in New York. It was an anthology of modern Greek poetry, the labor of love of Rae Dalven, who some years earlier (New York, 1944) translated from the Greek the *Poems* of Joseph Eliyia, a Greek poet of Jewish extraction. Her anthology had the plain title, *Modern Greek Poetry*, and contained translations of folk songs and of poems of forty-four Greek poets from Kornaros to Elytis. Relevant essays and biographical and bibliographical notes were added to help the uninitiated foreign reader. Also, two brief statements by the American poets and critics, William Rose Benet and Mark Van Doren, were used as forewords. Unfortunately, the book has many mistakes in translation and factual information that limit its usefulness. Those serious shortcomings were not corrected before the publication of its second edition some years ago. However, its basic importance as the first comprehensive anthology of modern Greek poetry translated into English and published in America cannot be denied.

Rae Dalven translated in 1961 *The Complete Poems of C.P. Cavafy*, with an Introduction by the poet W.H. Auden. However, the first complete translation of *The Poems of C.P. Cavafy*, by John Mavrogordato (with an Introduction by Professor Rex Warner), was published ten years earlier (1951) in London. As we will see below, the poetry of Cavafis has attracted several much better translators (Keeley, Sherrard, Savidis, Friar).<sup>4</sup>

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During the last twenty-five years the intellectual atmosphere in America (and elsewhere) concerning modern Greek poetry has altogether changed—for the better. The feeling today is that modern Greek poetry is of primary importance in world literature. As Keeley and Sherrard wrote in the "Preface" of their *Six Poets of Modern Greece* (1960), p. 9: "During recent years

<sup>4</sup>One of the first to translate poems of Cavafis into English in America was Professor Raphael Demos, who, one year after Cavafis' death, published translations of "Two Poems from Modern Greek: In Expectation of the Barbarians. Thermopylae," in *The New Republic* 77 (1934) 355; cf. E. Layton, op. cit., p. 21, n. 40.

there has been a steadily growing awareness that the Greek world is still producing poetry of a distinction and urgency that command attention—an awareness revealed in the increasing number of isolated translations of individual poets and in the publication of critical studies and appreciations.”

Indeed, during the last twenty-five years many more sustained efforts have been exerted in this country in two directions: first, to present modern Greek culture (and, therefore, modern Greek poetry) in magazines and books, and through group organized action; and secondly, to establish modern Greek studies as a worthwhile and respected discipline in American institutions of higher learning. It is not my intention to give now a full list of those endeavors. I only report here on what pertains to America's steadily increasing acquaintance with modern Greek poetry.

In 1951 the authoritative American magazine *Poetry* dedicated forty of its limited pages to “Greek Poems of the 20th Century” translated by Kimon Friar. It was an auspicious beginning. A few years later, in 1958, Friar translated the great work of Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Odyssey: A Modern Sequel*, and two years later *The Saviors of God* of Kazantzakis. Furthermore, his translations of, and studies on, other modern Greek poets have often appeared in several magazines and anthologies and in separate books—as we will see below—so that Friar's contribution to the expansion and solidification of knowledge of modern Greek poetry in America is indeed of cardinal importance.

Of course, the spectacular success that Kazantzakis' fictions had then in America (and elsewhere) was reason enough to make modern Greek literature a matter of surprise and curiosity at first, and gradually of real interest and sincere appreciation. Moreover, the awarding of the Nobel Prize for literature to George Seferis in 1963 caused a substantial international recognition of modern Greek poetry. Thus, since then translations of modern Greek poetry have appeared in unprecedented quantity and remarkable quality. Kavafis, Kazantzakis, Seferis, Elytis, Ritsos and other contemporary Greek poets have been excellently translated, and many important studies have been written about them and about modern Greek poetry in general. We will review below some of the most significant of those editions.

During the last twenty-five years many magazines also played

a leading role in developing among a wider public an interest in modern Greek literature. Besides the veteran *Athene* (1940-1967), other new magazines concentrated their attention on and directed their endeavors to modern Greek culture. There is no doubt, however, that *The Charioteer*, published continually since 1960, first as a quarterly and later as "an Annual Review of Modern Greek Culture," has been the best, most serious, and most systematic. Among the other magazines we may mention are: *Greek Heritage* (it ceased publication years ago), *Neo-Hellenika*, *Journal of Hellenic Diaspora*, *Modern Greek Society Newsletter*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Mandatoforos* (England), *Omphalos* (Athens), and *Folia Neohellenica* (Germany). Furthermore, "the British magazines *Agenda* and *Modern Poetry in Translation*, and the American: *Atlantic Monthly*, *Chicago Review*, *Micromegas*, *Arion's Dolphin*, *The Literary Review*," *Journal of Modern Literature*, *Partisan Review*, *Paris Review*, *Books Abroad*, and others, not only have often published studies on and/or translations of Greek poets but also "have dedicated whole issues to modern Greek poetry, and literature in general."<sup>5</sup>

Before speaking about works of individual poets translated in English and published in book form we must say a few words about anthologies. After the small and not well known book of Th. Stephanides and George Katsimbali, *Modern Greek Poetry* (London, 1926), and the comprehensive but unreliable anthology of Rae Dalven under the same title (1949, 1971), the next anthology is the one by Constantine A. Trypanis, *Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* (Oxford, 1951), with Greek text and a good introduction in English. Twenty years later Trypanis published a more inclusive and useful anthology, *The Penguin Book of Greek Verse* (1971), with an excellent introduction, the Greek text of the poems, and plain prose translation in English. The translation is faithful and clear. This anthology serves effectively another purpose: it shows Greek poetry living continually for three thousand years from ancient times until now, from Homer to Elytis; and it asserts once again that "a thing of beauty is a joy forever."

5 M.B. Raizis, in *Balkan Studies*, v. 14, 1973, p. 234.

The very good anthology of Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, *Six Poets of Modern Greece* (1960), is orientated towards contemporary trends of poetry, as are the anthologies that have followed it. For instance *Modern European Poetry* (Bantam Books, 1966), editors W. Barnstone et al, contains more than eighty pages of modern Greek poetry translated by Kimon Friar. Another collection of Greek poems, again translated by Friar, formed the last and most important part of an otherwise unfortunate edition in the Twayne Series, the book of Mary Gianos, *Introduction to Modern Greek Literature: An Anthology of Fiction, Drama and Poetry* (1969). But the culmination of Friar's excellent and really exemplary translation work is his *Modern Greek Poetry* (1973), an imposing volume of 800 pages containing translations of 450 poems by thirty Greek poets. The introduction and the biographical and bibliographical notes and commentary, combined with the faithful and truly poetic translation of the poems—a true recreation in English—make this work the indispensable guide to modern Greek poetry. A companion volume of *Contemporary Greek Poetry* is in preparation. We have already spoken about his brilliant work on Kazantzakis. And we will see below that Friar is rendering even more services to modern Greek poetry in other areas.

There is another recently published anthology, the *Poems from Modern Greek* (Nicosia, Cyprus, 1976) translated by Jack Gaist, a small but very characteristic selection of poems by fourteen Modern Greek poets.

One may also mention here three other anthologies: three books of translation of Cypriot poetry which, of course, is Greek poetry. Two of these were edited under my supervision in collaboration with other persons and published here in America: *The Voice of Cyprus* (1965), containing many poems and short stories translated by several persons,<sup>6</sup> and the second, *Poems of Cyprus*, selected poems of Vasilis Michaelides and Dimitri Lipertis, translated by A. Anagnostopoulos, Ruth Whitman, and Kinnereth Gensler. The third book, *Anthology of Cypriot Poetry* (1974), was translated by Amy Mims.

<sup>6</sup> This book is in fact a reprint of *The Charioteer*, Nos. 7, 8 (1965), published by Parnassos, Greek Cultural Society of New York. The whole issue was dedicated to "Cyprus: Its poetry, prose, and art from ancient times to the present."

During the last twenty-five (or so) years, the works of several Greek poets have been published in book form in good English translations here in America and in other countries. We have already mentioned Sikelianos' translation by Paul Nord, Kazantzakis' translations by Friar, and Cavafis' by John Mavrogordato and Rae Dalven.

But although the grand old man of Greek poetry, Kostas Palamas, is not fashionable today, some of his poems continue to draw the attention of competent and incompetent translators. After Phoutrides' somewhat satisfactory translations around 1920 and the few selected *Poems* of Palamas translated by Stephanides and Katsimbalis (London, 1925), there was a kind of inaction (or, perhaps, a conspiracy of silence) concerning Palamas' translation. But suddenly, in the ten years 1964-1974 his great work, 'Ο Δωδεκάλογος τοῦ Γύφτου, was translated into English three times. In 1964, Frederic Will translated the work with the title, *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy* (University of Nebraska Press); later *The Twelve Lays of the Gypsy* (London, 1969) by George Thomson appeared. Unfortunately, both of these translations are gross betrayals of the original, and are therefore useless; even worse, they are harmful to Palamas and to modern Greek poetry in general. However, we have now this masterpiece of Palamas in another very good translation by the team of Th. Stephanides and G. Katsimbalis (London, 1974). This translation was also published in a bilingual edition (with the Greek text juxtaposed with the English translation in pages facing each other) by Memphis State University (1975). Very good also is their translation of *Three Poems* of Palamas (London, 1969).<sup>7</sup> But Frederic Will's translation of another Palamas' masterpiece, *The King's Flute* (University of Nebraska Press, 1967), is as bad as his aforementioned translation, *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy*.

In the field of Palamic essays, we have to mention the excellent study *Kostis Palamas*, by Thanasis Maskaleris, published in the well-known Twayne's World Authors Series (1972). It is a brilliant introduction into and comprehensive analysis

<sup>7</sup> Stephanides and Katsimbalis have just published another excellent translation: From Palamas' *Life Immovable* they translated *A Hundred Voices* (London, 1976).

of Palamas' work. (Perhaps here I may add my small contribution to Palamic studies: an essay, "Kostis Palamas," published in *The Byzantine Fellowship Lectures* (1974, and in separate booklet), and two shorter ones, "Platonic Elements in Palamas" and "Lucretius and Palamas" in *Stasinou* (1973).)

However, Cavafis' poetry of understatement, moral indiscretion, escape into the historical past and dramatic stoicism seems to attract many more readers today in America than the work of any other modern Greek poet—perhaps because it is compatible with the predilections and the spirit-vacuum of our time. In any case, he is widely read and discussed, and new translations of his poems are proliferating. Usually they are better translations than the two already mentioned, and appear not only in anthologies such as those of Keeley-Sherrard and Friar, but also in separate books. I am referring of course to his *Passions and Ancient Days* (1971) translated by E. Keeley and George Savidis and his *Selected Poems* (1972) translated by Keeley and Sherrard. Also, numerous essays and other studies on Cavafis have been published in magazines, booklets and books.<sup>8</sup>

Next to Kazantzakis and Cavafis, Seferis and Elytis (and Ritsos lately) are the most translated and read modern Greek poets. All three of them have been fortunate to have excellent translators into English and competent commentators.

The first, preliminary so to speak, translation of Seferis in book form was published in England: *The King of Asine and Other Poems* translated by Bernard Spencer, Nanos Valaoritis and Lawrence Durrell (London, 1948). In 1960 a more representative collection of his *Poems*, translated by Rex Warner, was published in America. And in 1967 his complete *Collected Poems, 1924-1955* appeared here again in a Princeton University Press bilingual edition: the Greek text and on the opposite pages the English translation by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. His last collection, *Three Secret Poems*, was translated by Walter Kaiser and published in a bilingual edition in 1969 by Harvard University Press. Moreover, one collection

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Peter Bien, *Constantine Cavafy* (1964); and the relevant chapters in Ph. Sherrard, *The Marble Threshing Floor* (1956); Keeley-Bien (MGSA), *Modern Greek Writers* (1972), etc.

of Seferis' essays, *On the Greek Style*, translated by Th. Frangopoulos and Rex Warner, was published in 1966, and part of his diary, *A Poet's Journal*, translated by Athan Anagnostopoulos, was published by Harvard University Press, in 1974.

Seferis' poetry (besides being concise, frugal in its means, and teeming with tragic truth) exemplifies—perhaps better than anybody else's poetry—the unique character of modern Greek poetry, which is both national and universal. Also, Seferis' poetry responds to the inner doubts, questions and inclinations of modern man in a way both understandably human and mystically inexhaustible. It is for these reasons that he is really considered one of the the main spokesmen of our time. It is no wonder, then, that the Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to Seferis in 1963. And it is very appropriate that the chair for Modern Greek Studies—recently established at Harvard University with the financial aid of the Greek Government—has been named after Seferis. We only hope and wish that it may soon start for a great future worthy of its name.

Two books of Odysseus Elytis' poetry were published in America in 1974: a bilingual edition of his great work, *The Axion Esti*, translated by Edmund Keeley and George Savidis, and *The Sovereign Sun: Selected Poems*, translated and with an introduction and notes by Kimon Friar. These two books, together with the special issue of the quarterly *Books Abroad* (Autumn, 1975), dedicated to Odysseus Elytis, are a major breakthrough for the Greek poetry in the American literary world of today. For Elytis, too, is a poet both national and universal.

The first poems of Elytis were characterized by a healthy surrealism—a surrealism interpreted through the clear Greek mind and the joyful heart of the poet. His was the poetry of Greek youth and of love, of the sunny, refreshing Aegean Sea, and of an invigorating joy in life: sentiments which, though personal and local, are also general and all-encompassing. But the war and its aftermath gave to the poet another perspective of life: tragic and national, human and humane, almost a religious aspect of life. His art is now much more mature and intricate in form and expression, and in meaning and scope. Elytis is the Greek poet of today—the poetical quintessence of three thousand years of vigorous Greek life—the Greek poet

who is destined to become (in fact, he has already started to become) the poetical voice of man everywhere.

We must not be surprised if Elytis becomes in the near future the second Greek recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature—unless Yannis Ritsos earns this honor for Greece before Elytis.

Ritsos is a prolific poet. From his voluminous work only select parts have been translated, into many languages indeed, but relatively little into English. In 1969 his famous *Romiosini* was translated (by O. Laos), as well as his *Selected Poems*. In 1971 Nicos Stangos translated the *Gestures* of Ritsos, and in 1974 his *Selected Poems*. In 1974 also Amy Mims translated his *Eighteen Short Songs of the Bitter Motherland*, with an inspiring introduction by Professor Theofanis Stavrou. Finally, Ritsos' *Moonlight Sonata* was translated by John Stathatos in 1975. Moreover, very often a good many translations of his poems are published in magazines, so that Ritsos has become well known all over the world and is considered as one of the most important poets of today. However, there is much misunderstanding of his work, especially because of its obvious political implications and of the poet's frequent clashes with the Greek authoritarian regimes. In fact, Ritsos is much more a genuine lyrical poet with epic tendencies than a political polemicist. But this is another story.

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This account is by no means complete; it was not intended to be. But in concluding, we may state some general observations:

Certain American poets remind us of certain Greek poets, while the reverse is also true. This does not mean that there is direct influence one way or another; most of the time, one group is unaware of the other. Rather, it is a matter of common atmosphere—poetical, spiritual atmosphere. It is the connecting link between the poets of Greece and America, and in fact, of poets everywhere.

Furthermore, as we have already hinted, the entire spectrum of human interest and life permeates modern Greek poetry, too; it may be narrowly personal, but also widely universal; lightly descriptive and expository, but problematic and anguished too. It is



both traditional and revolutionary in its means and substance, in its forms and themes.

Most contemporary Greek poets are also serious thinkers, careful observers and analysts of life, persons actively interested in the general problems of today and anxiously pondering them. Also, many of them are deeply religious in their thinking; they are not just Orthodox Christians only, but rather are persons anxiously asking religious questions and seriously trying to answer them. I do not refer only to deeply Christian Orthodox poets like G. Veritis, but especially many others with troubled consciences who tried not to accommodate themselves by compromising their beliefs or unbeliefs, but bared their tormented souls to the view and thought of the Supreme Creator. For instance, Kazantzakis' basic problem is religious, not social or artistic or philosophical. Sikelianos' inspiration is religious and appears as nurtured by both ancient Greek Orphism (and other occult beliefs) and gentle Christianity. The poetry of Papatsonis, Themelis, Vafopoulos, Zoe Karelli, Pendzikis, Sarandaris, and several others has deep and strong religious ramifications; it deals with basic problems of the existence and destination of man, with his fears and hopes, and his relation with God.

In retrospect, with the intrinsic values and aesthetic enjoyment it lavishly provides, and with its unique character as Hellenic poetry as well as an expression of universal aspirations and tendencies, modern Greek poetry has taken its due place in the world literature of today. In this bicentennial year it is good to remember the separate and combined endeavors of America and Greece for liberty of their lands and of their spirits. Modern Greek poetry is an excellent vehicle for that task.

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# NATIONALISM AND RELIGION IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD\*

Salo Wittmayer Baron

## PRECIS

The author analyzes aspects of the relationship between religion and nationalism, which long has been very close. Several centuries ago religion played an overtly more dominant role, but in more recent times nationalism has become the more directive force. Hence, religion has often been manipulated by nationalistic forces, e.g., colonial missionaries. After the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, the *culus regio elius religio* principle was replaced by *culus regio elius natio*, leading today, e.g., to the oppression of the Ibos in Nigeria and Indians in Kenya. Moreover, the stature of the monotheistic religions is lessening in face of the Afro-Asian population explosion.

The cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century appears to be waning before a more political brand. However, as post-war Germany and Japan and also Israel prove, an educated and technologically trained population is the most important resource of a nation.

Race complicated the development of nations and the relationship between religion and nationalism. Nevertheless race has historically been subordinated to nationalism. Black Americans appear to be developing into a quasi-ethnic group, but the outcome is doubtful since American Blacks have no common language, cultural heritage, or history.

As the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 marked the demise of the *culus regio elius religio* principle, so perhaps the end of the "Thirty Years' War" of the twentieth century will also bring the dissolution of the substitute principle of *culus regio elius natio*; the fact that the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are not homogenous nation-states encourages such hope. So too does the growing cooperation between previously hostile religions. Perhaps the founding of a world organization with representatives from all religions could further the creative cooperation between religions and nations.

Since the completion of the present paper in its revised form in the Spring of 1972 the interrelations between nationalism and religion have taken on new forms, sometimes leading to very serious complications. For the last two years the world has watched with horror the sanguinary civil war in Lebanon, where the sociopolitical antagonisms were deeply per-

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\*The original lecture was delivered in German at the Institut für Judaistik of the University of Vienna on June 16, 1969, on the occasion of the University's conferral upon the author of the honorary "Golden Doctorate." This lecture (revised and annotated) appeared under the title of "Nationalismus und Religion in der heutigen Welt" in *Saeculum* XXII, Nos. 2-3 (1971), 305-316. Further revised and enlarged, it was delivered in 1972 in English translation, with the kind permission of that journal, at the Jewish-Greek Orthodox colloquium. Again the author expresses his gratitude to the University of Vienna and especially to Professor Kurt Schubert and his coworkers at the aforementioned Institute, for the great honor bestowed upon him and for their fine hospitality to him and his wife on that occasion.

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meated with the religious conflicts between the growing Muslim majority in the country and its economically more advanced Christian minority. The equally bloody confrontation between Catholics and Protestants in Ulster has been in many respects the residue left behind by the emergence of the Irish national state half a century ago. The recent electoral victory of the separatist movement in the province of Quebec and its threat to the unity of the Canadian state is but another example of the underlying national-religious disparity of the French-Catholic majority in that province and the predominantly Protestant and English-speaking majority in the other provinces. Nor must we gloss over lightly—as is often done in the press and the media—the newly resurgent Catholic-Croatian irredenta, however muted by the force of the totalitarian controls in Yugoslavia. Nor is even the mighty Soviet Union likely to escape much longer the impact of the national-religious disturbances, despite its half-a-century-old repression of religious movements, the attempts to create a new “Soviet man” living under the new semi-religion of communism, and the overt concessions to national self-determination belied by the growing assimilatory pressures of Russian nationalism. However, closer analysis of these trends would far transcend the scope of the essay which follows and must be relegated to another occasion.

Long before modern national movements were born, the relationship between national life and religious life in their ever-changing aspects has played a significant part in the shaping of history. Unwittingly or through conscious effort, through mutual complementation or through sharp tensions, this relationship has permanently influenced the destinies of many peoples. When the mood of the age was strongly religious and nationalism seemed to play but a subordinate role, the ruler nevertheless endowed the latter with sacral attributes, which was accomplished in particular through the concept of the “divine right of kings” or through the suppression of “heretical” movements which often cloaked existing national cleavages.

In recent times, the progressive secularization of life has reversed that relationship. The national factor became the decisive element, or what Wilhelm von Humboldt and Leopold von Ranke called the “dominant tendencies” of modern history. But religious sanctions have not completely lost their importance. Sometimes, as under fascism with its apotheosis of the state, the very condition of belonging to the state-people entity was shrouded in sacral forms and nationalism was elevated almost to the rank of a new religious creed.

Although there exists a very extensive literature about religion and nationalism, the past and present interaction between them has not been sufficiently investigated.<sup>1</sup> This is all the more regrettable since their mutual

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<sup>1</sup> See the older literature cited in my book, *Modern Nationalism and Religion* (New York, 1947, and later impressions and paperback reprints).

relations have again and again been subject to profound changes which, on the one hand, reflect the ever-shifting realities in modern societies and, on the other hand, are themselves often responsible for these changes.<sup>2</sup>

### *Religious-National Transformations*

One of the far-reaching changes which has occurred during the last fifty years has been the loss in stature sustained by the monotheistic religions. In terms of numbers, Christianity, Islam, and Judaism have never been embraced by more than a minority of the world population, but for several centuries the Christian civilization was clearly in the ascendance. By 1918, the frontiers of the British Empire expanded in the Old World from Capetown to Cairo and from Cairo to Calcutta and Borneo. At the same time, limitless possibilities were opened up to human growth in Canada and Australia. This development had its cultural counterpart in the so-called Westernization of the Afro-Asian lands. In the field of religion, too, Christian missions—Protestant as well as Catholic—made considerable progress.

Strangely enough, Islam was even more successful. Without large missions, actually without any organized missionary activity at all, Islam was winning new converts in various countries year after year. And through its successful emancipation Judaism, which is not mission-oriented, was entering a period of renewal which found its expression in an

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<sup>2</sup>The speed with which changes in this field have occurred during the last three decades was brought home to me on several occasions. These personal experiences illustrate graphically the extraordinary pace of transformations in the political picture of our times. In April, 1944, I delivered the first series of lectures on the subject (the Rauschenbusch Lectures) at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School. At that time the world was still in the midst of the agonies of the Second World War. When my book was published three years later, the world situation had changed in many fundamental ways. During these three years more than half a billion people had gained their national independence, while the United Nations had come into being amid exuberant hopes for the future.

In 1958, four South African universities invited me—strangely enough independently of one another—to deliver lectures on the same subject. This coincidence is less remarkable considering the great political and social importance of the complex racial situation and the deep national and religious cleavages among the white and Indian minorities in South Africa. On this occasion I had to review the entire problem all over again. It goes without saying that in my lectures I had to deal extensively with the dissolution of the British and French colonial empires and the resulting emergence of several new African nations between 1947 and 1958. Of particular interest to my special field of studies was, of course, the emergence of the state of Israel in 1948. Also, all of us had to give a great deal of thought to the increasing polarization of the world between East and West, which was only partially offset by the slow birth of the Third, or Neutral, World.

Since 1958, the divisive trends have become even more pronounced. At the same time new revolutionary movements have emerged. The number of member states of the United Nations has doubled in recent years. The profound (general) unrest and in particular the student revolts at many universities—for the first time not revolts out of universities against the governments but revolts directed against the universities themselves—has had a serious effect on the interaction between national and religious forces. All of these aspects merit renewed serious investigation.

increase in the numbers of its people as well as in its added economic and cultural importance. This state of affairs seemed to justify a variety of optimistic predictions.

However, doubters could point to a number of potential danger signals. Toward the end of the First World War, I participated in a seminar held by Professor Hans Kelsen at the University of Vienna on the subject of the "yellow peril." Yet despite such warnings, many Americans in particular believed that this "war to end all wars" would usher in a new era based on President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" including the self-determination of all nations and a general democratic order. But during the last few decades all this has changed completely. The great colonial empires have largely liquidated themselves. Their places have been taken by new nations and states which now make up the majority of the United Nations. Western technology, to be sure, has reached ever new heights of achievement, which the rest of the world is increasingly eager to adopt. Nevertheless Western civilization as a whole has been more and more on the defensive.

According to United Nations statistics, the population of the world was 3,483,000,000 in 1968. Asia's 1,946,000,000 amounted to almost fifty-six percent of the total<sup>3</sup> Three Asian countries alone—China, India, and Japan—now harbor almost forty percent of all humanity. With the rapid increase of their populations (except in Japan) they may account for more than fifty percent within the foreseeable future. The ideological chasm between the communistic East and the democratic West has, over the years, contributed further to the lessening of self-confidence and élan among the Western, monotheistically oriented nations.

This new state of affairs has also had an impact on the ever-changing relationships between religion and nationalism. About forty years ago, a Polish savant, himself a firm believer in the idea of nationalism, maintained that nationalism

in antiquity and especially in the Near East was on the whole more poignant, more passionate, and more irreducible than modern nationalism. At the same time, the balancing forces of international and supranational factors were much weaker in the ancient Near East than they are today. Especially lacking was the unity of civilization such as the Western world has inherited from the Roman Empire. The civilizations of the old Near East were national civilizations to a far greater extent than any of the later ones.<sup>4</sup>

In this pointed form the thesis is greatly exaggerated. From a religious point of view, however, the ties between state, nation, and faith were definitely closer than they are in modern Western states under the aegis of

<sup>3</sup>United Nations, *Statistical Yearbook for 1968*, p. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup>T. Welek-Czernecki, "Le rôle de la nationalité dans l'histoire de l'antiquité," *Bulletin of the International Committee for Historical Sciences* 2, part 2 (1929-1930), p. 307.

the supranational religions of Christianity and Islam. Each state had its own gods. After a successful war the general assumption was that the gods of the victorious country had proved themselves to be superior to the gods fighting for the losing army and, therefore, the vanquished peoples should bow before the conquering gods. Nevertheless Eduard Meyer, arguing from a different position, has rightly maintained that in antiquity there were only three nations in the modern sense—the Jews, the Persians, and the Greeks.<sup>5</sup>

One should not forget, however, that even under Christianity and Islam national conflicts, though less clearly defined than in modern times, often acquired a religious tinge. A quest for national self-preservation often appeared in the guise of sectarian disagreement. For example, Monophysitism helped keep alive Syrian and Egyptian national identities amidst the strongly assimilatory forces of Byzantine culture.<sup>6</sup>

Religious differences often had international significance as well. To mention only two examples from my special field of studies: For a long time it has been my contention that the conversion to Judaism of King Dhu Nuwas of South Arabia in the sixth century and of the Khazar king Bulan in the eighth century had political as well as religious motivations. In the divided world of that time the smaller nations were under constant political pressure to join either the Byzantine Empire or Sassanian Persia and therefore the Muslim Caliphate. No pagan religion could offer protection against this type of pressure, and so the acceptance of Judaism, a third recognized religion, appeared to both rulers the best way to preserve their neutrality. There is some resemblance between this method and the one adopted today by Third World countries which subscribe to neither communism nor American democracy. I have also long contended that in medieval Europe persecutions and expulsions of Jews from various countries largely depended on the particular national-religious make-up of the host countries. As soon as a country achieved the homogeneity of a national state it usually proceeded to attempt total assimilation of Jews, at that time attainable only through the conversion of the Jewish minority (in Spain, Portugal, and Sicily also of the Muslim minority) to Christianity.<sup>7</sup>

Even in the twentieth century religious affiliation was a criterion for determining nationality in many parts of the world. If two brothers were living in Istanbul, one remaining faithful to the Greek Orthodox religion, the other adopting the Islamic faith, they were generally considered to belong to two nationalities, the Greek and the Turkish. Even in the large-

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<sup>5</sup>Eduard Meyer, "Zur Theorie und Methodik der Geschichte," in *Kleine Schriften*, I, 2nd ed. (Halle, 1924), pp. 37ff., 41.

<sup>6</sup>E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and Nationalism in the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1916), pp. 43-44, 48.

<sup>7</sup>See my *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, Vols. I-XVI, 2nd ed. (New York, 1952-1976), esp. Vol. III, pp. 66ff.; Vol. XI, pp. 192ff.

scale population exchange between Greece and Turkey carried out by Fridtjof Nansen under the authority of the League of Nations, about 360,000 Turks, that is Muslims, were transferred from Greece to Turkey; and about 190,000 Greeks, that is Greek Orthodox Christians, from Smyrna and other Turkish regions, were transferred to Greece. Neither descent nor language counted.<sup>8</sup>

### *The Decline of Cultural Nationalism*

The lessening of the impact of monotheistic religion was accompanied by a weakening of the cultural component of the new nationalistic programs. As a matter of fact, the time was not auspicious for subjecting the awakened nationalism of peoples in Asia and Africa to the ideals of Western nationalism of the earlier type. In the West, too, the original messianic nationalism of Herder, Fichte, Jefferson, Mazzini, or Michiewicz had been replaced by the precepts of Mussolini's *sacro egoismo*. In Europe, too, people were hearing less about Fichte's ideal of the Nation of Humanity or about the teachings of Mazzini, who would propagate the unification of Italy primarily in terms of its contribution to the messianic redemption of humanity as a whole. These high ideals had increasingly been pushed aside by the naked struggle for power.

Nonetheless the old tradition of the Bible had not completely died out. The prophets of Israel had given the doctrine of the Chosen People a cosmic interpretation which placed the emphasis not on their people's power and its prerogatives but on its duties and obligations. Even during the stormy age of rising nationalism sayings like the one coined by Amos were not forgotten: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: *therefore* I will punish you for all your inequities."<sup>9</sup> The British Empire, in particular, looking for ideological justification of its steady expansion, managed to find it in Rudyard Kipling's phrase, the "white man's burden"—the obligation of the white race to bring its culture and civilization to the peoples of the world. In spite of the similarity between this rationalization and the one offered by Pliny the Elder in defense of Roman imperialism, there were fundamental differences in ideology and in practice between the British colonial administration and Rome's rule over the conquered provinces.<sup>10</sup>

That is why in 1921, when the development of nationalism in the West had reached its zenith, Martin Buber could rightly remind the delegates to

<sup>8</sup>Stephen S. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1922), pp. 87ff.

<sup>9</sup>Amos 3:2.

<sup>10</sup>Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*, III, 5, 39. Rather more typical of Roman imperialism was Cicero's attack against Jewish "rebels," detracting from the glory of the Roman Empire. See his *Pro Flacco*, XXVIII, 69.



the Zionist Congress in Carlsbad of the dangers of extreme nationalism. He tried to sound a warning by defining the terminological differences between "people," "nation," and "nationalism." He declared: "People (Volkstum)—that is simply like having eyes that can see. Nation—that is like having learned to feel what eyes do and what they are meant to do. Nationalism—that is like having sick eyes so that one thinks incessantly about the fact that he has eyes. A people is a phenomenon of life; a nation (which cannot exist without a sense of being a nation) is a phenomenon of consciousness; nationalism is a phenomenon of superconsciousness."<sup>11</sup>

Political consciousness has become the slogan of most of the newly created nations. Political nationalism has primarily been equated with a jealously guarded national sovereignty over a particular area. The doctrine of national sovereignty, which has had many liberating aspects in the last several centuries, has, as we all know, also often played havoc with the peace of the world. In its extreme forms of *raison d'état* and culminating in Mussolini's *sacro egoismo* in the defense of national interests, it seems to have lost some of its vigor in the course of the twentieth century when the efforts to organize the League of Nations were based on the assumption that each nation would forego a part of its sovereignty for the sake of peace and the common good of all nations.

Even in practice the Second World War has shown how ludicrous the pretensions to full national sovereignty often appeared during major emergencies, that is the assumption that the nation-state was the absolute source of its power and self-determination. Suffice it to remember that in 1938, even before the outbreak of the Second World War, such an important sovereign state as Czechoslovakia was occupied by the Germans without firing a shot. The same thing happened during the war to such long-established, wealthy, and powerful states as Belgium and Denmark, while Holland, at that time still in control of a vast colonial empire, was taken over by the Nazis after a struggle of but four days. And yet, a few years later, the newly emerging nations often believed that thenceforth they alone were in control of their ultimate destinies.

In connection with this delusion of extreme national sovereignty there emerged a new principle which might be called that of "the sanctity of frontiers." At almost any international gathering I attended in my youth, there was incessant talk about the "sanctity of treaties." Today, the violation of long-accepted, duly signed and attested treaties in the name of the superior national interest is almost taken for granted. International contracts such as those concerning the Suez Canal or oil exploration and the revenue therefrom are freely set aside, sometimes almost before the ink on the signatures appended to these compacts has a chance to dry. Instead,

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<sup>11</sup>Martin Buber, *Der Kampf um Israel: Reden und Schriften (1921-1932)* (Berlin, 1933), p. 232.

many a debate in the United Nations and elsewhere centers around the supposed inviolability of the states' geographic boundaries.

Ironically, this doctrine has come to be emphasized in the twentieth century, a century which witnessed greater changes in existing boundaries than almost any earlier period. During this century there occurred first the final expansion and then the collapse of the British Empire, the greatest empire in history. Its first quarter century saw the realization of the imperial dream "from Capetown to Cairo, from Cairo to Calcutta," and thence to Borneo and Sydney as an unbroken chain of British possessions. The second quarter of the century started with the conversion of the Empire into a federated Commonwealth and ended with the breaking away of almost all of Britain's Asian and African possessions. This example was followed by such other long-established colonial empires as those of France, Holland, and Belgium. Curiously, the only imperial entity which had remained practically intact for years was that of the weakest imperial power, Portugal. Its first break-up came in 1961 when the small colony of Goa was taken over by India's military forces, almost without a murmur from the protagonists of the "sanctity of frontiers."

During the same period the Soviet Union not only first allowed the secession of a number of its component nationalities but after the Second World War annexed three independent republics and expanded its empire into areas where no Russians had ever played a dominant role before, such as Königsberg, which was renamed Kalinigrad. Poland, which reemerged as an independent republic only after the First World War, had to cede almost half of its territory to the Soviet Union and received in return considerable areas which had been under effective German control for several centuries. The same Soviet regime which had significantly helped Nigeria in overcoming the Biafran quest for independence, following years of genocidal activities against the Ibos, turned around and promoted the independence of Bangladesh, supported by the military intervention of India, long a reputed champion of the sanctity of frontiers.

Paradoxically, too, the most widely debated boundaries are those between Israel and its neighbors. The United Nations, which has done next to nothing about other frontier changes since the end of the Second World War, has been constantly preoccupied with the demand of the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories after the Sinai campaign and the Six-Day War. To heighten that irony, these frontiers owed their origin to the armistice of 1948-1949 which congealed the status quo of the Israeli and Arab armies at the moment of its signing. Like any other ceasefire that treaty was meant to be provisional and subject to readjustment during the peace conference. But, as is well known, the Arab states have adamantly refused to participate in any peace negotiations and never recognized any frontiers of Israel as an independent state. Now they themselves and their backers proclaim these reputedly imaginary frontiers to be inviolate and

demand Israel's withdrawal to those accidental geographic points as a precondition to any further negotiations.

Nor, for that matter, are the frontiers of many newly-emerged African states the result of more than one or another historic accident at the time of the occupation of each particular territory by the colonial power. No heed was paid then, nor is it paid now, to any basic geographic, climatic, cultural, or economic factors which would justify these particular boundaries.

Such an overemphasis on absolute sovereignty over specified areas understandably reinforced the trends toward political, rather than cultural, nationalism. True, the developing nations, too, have become aware that in the present age of technology a good scientific and technological education is essential for the attainment of power. There was a time when the leading colonizers were chiefly interested in discovering and utilizing important natural raw materials, such as iron, coal, and petroleum. This idea has now been replaced to a large extent by the conviction that there is something even more important: the human resources of a people, well-organized, intelligent, willing to work, and technologically well-trained. Everybody is familiar with the amazing economic recovery of Japan and West Germany within a short time after their defeat in the war and in spite of Japan's limited natural resources. Even more astounding has been Israel's transformation of a stony, arid, and long-neglected land into an agriculturally flourishing "garden of the Lord," and an industrially advanced country. I also remember the passionate debate in the twenties when the viability of the newly-created Austrian Republic was being doubted because the country lacked many important raw materials. Assessing Austria's economy and its relatively great social stability during the last few years, however, we have to admit that it, too, has demonstrated that the type of person within a given civilization who *knows* how and is willing to put in the necessary effort in order to utilize its natural resources is the decisive factor in the economic sphere, as well.

The developing nations have also recognized this fact, at least in theory, and they have devised great plans for education. But so far they seem to have been less inclined to work on a more meaningful broad cultural renaissance of the kind advocated by Europe's heroic nationalist thinkers such as Herder. The same is true of the new Islamic countries. In spite of Islam's great cultural contributions in the Middle Ages its present leaders are less interested in the cultural renaissance of their peoples than they are in increasing their political power. Of course, it should not be overlooked that ever since the age of Mohammed, Islam has been permeated by a deep political orientation which was, and still is, clearly in contrast with the long apolitical diaspora of Judaism and the otherworldly outlook of early Christianity. There is a good reason why even today orthodox Muslims conceive of the world as being divided into two groups

of countries: The "dar al-Islam" and the "dar al-Harb"—the world of Islam as opposed to the world of the sword, that is, that part of the world which is potentially destined to be conquered.

To be sure, one occasionally hears African rumblings reminiscent of the early "nationalist fathers" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. An outstanding spokesperson of such a blend of "particularism" and "universalism" is Leopold Sedar Senghor, an eminent poet and statesperson, now serving as president of Senegal. Having spent his formative years in France and deeply imbued with French culture, Senghor had early begun his search for a comprehensive humanitarian definition of his ideal *Negritude*. He has clearly drawn the distinction between the idea of "nation" and that of "state." Dreaming of a federal union of France's former African colonies, he saw therein the realization of a full-fledged "Negro-African Nation" of the French tongue. In this connection he wrote:

If the Nation is the conscious will for reconstruction, the State is its major instrument. The State is to the Nation what the entrepreneur-builder is to the architect. . . . It is the State which realizes the will of the Nation and assures its permanence. . . . The two great temptations of the State are *assimilation* and *imperialism*, for it is by nature bent upon conquest.<sup>12</sup>

Senghor has also analyzed the means by which these temptations were to be combatted.

While these words were being published (in December, 1961), Senghor's ideas suffered a severe setback through the dissolution of the Mali Federation in which he saw a vital first step toward the formation of his Negro-African Nation. Yet he was not discouraged, although a considerable number of outside observers have considered him but a voice crying in the wilderness of political passions.

It should be remembered, however, that many developing nations find it very difficult to achieve a cultural renaissance. In the first place, they often lack a common language. Various dialects spoken in the Congo are not even based on common historical roots. Recent research indicates that the so-called Niger-Congo family of languages consists of no fewer than eighteen dialects in its West-Atlantic group alone. Among them are several dialect groups which are so different from one another that they are mutually unintelligible.<sup>13</sup> In India, a large country with an ancient civilization, so many different dialects and languages are spoken that, in spite of the steady growth of persons able to converse in Hindi and the

<sup>12</sup>See esp. Leopold Sedar Senghor's *Nation et voie africaine du socialisme* (Paris, 1961), pp. 21ff.; and Gisela Baum, *Leopold Sedar Senghor. Wegbereiter der Culture Universelle* (Düsseldorf, 1968).

<sup>13</sup>Joseph H. Greenberg, *Studies in African Linguistic Classification* (Branford, CT, 1955), pp. 10, 115ff.; reprinted from *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vols. V, VI, X.

government's sustained efforts to educate the masses, the country has thus far been unable to develop an effective common national language so that even members of Parliament from the different states prefer to communicate with each other in English.

The lack of a common religion presents another obstacle. In many African countries there are not only large foreign colonies of Christians, Muslims, and Hindus—many of them third or fourth generation descendants of immigrants—but also numerous autochthonous groups whose members were converted to one of the world religions many years ago. Even the native faiths are often so different from one another that they cannot be subsumed under a common religion. The frequent lack of a common cultural tradition is another factor of decisive significance. In general, the internal history of many tribes during the last several centuries is known only in vague outline. For decades students of African history have been trying to collect whatever little source material is available and to reconstruct from it the histories of some of the tribes. Yet in the main they have thus far been able to build only foundations for future research.

To this state of affairs even Fichte's apparently paradoxical theory does not apply. The early nineteenth-century philosopher contended that the German people of his era were predestined to fulfill a great humanitarian mission because they were a people without a common territory or history. Of course, what Fichte had in mind was only the political fragmentation of the German people during the Napoleonic age. But this was also the very period when German culture was about to reach its highest pinnacle and when the German people began to merit the designation of a nation of poets and thinkers. On the whole, the same was also true of Mazzini's Italy. As Giuseppe Prezzolini put it: Even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century outside observers "have found Europe in the valley of the Po, and Africa in Sicily. During the last several centuries, Italian history has been the history of Lombardy, Tuscany, Venice and the South. It has been more a history of France, Germany, and Austria than a history of Italy herself."<sup>14</sup>

Even before the First World War the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the largest laboratory for nationality problems during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had generally come to realize that such objective criteria as language, state, or territory do not offer exclusive lines of demarcation between nationalities. In their place the Viennese Social-Democrat Otto Bauer proposed a much more universally-applicable subjective formula, namely, that a nationality is to be regarded in the main as a "community of destiny and culture" with membership therein often being the outcome of a subjective decision on the part of each individual.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Giuseppe Prezzolini, *Fascism* (English trans. from the Italian) (New York, n.d.), p. vii.

<sup>15</sup>Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie* (Vienna, 1907), in *Marx-Studien*, Vol. II, pp. 109ff.: "Der Begriff der Nation." Another subjective definition by

Unfortunately, among the new nations even the subjective criteria of cultural nationalism are rather weak, a weakness which in turn contributes to the instability of international relations in the contemporary world. One of the major differences between political and cultural nationalism consists in the fact that culture is often enriched by internal variety while political nationalism is quite intolerant of countercurrents and bent on expansion, as were the European religions before the Reformation. In modern times, the sixteenth-century principle of *cuius regio eius religio*, which had been given up after 1648, has often been replaced by the principle of *cuius regio eius natio*—an explosive principle, indeed, which has been adopted also by some new nations. Its menacing qualities are shown by the difficulties experienced by the Indians in Kenya and the Ibos in Nigeria, or by the Chinese diaspora—"the Jews of Southeast Asia," as they are often called in Malaya and in other parts of that region.

### *Racial Conflicts*

The difficulties created by national friction have become even more complex as the result of racial problems. The United States, especially, is going through a great racial revolution which may yet have a profound influence on the future of the North American continent, although, more generally, I can only repeat what Professor Harold Steinacker had said at an international symposium some forty years ago: "I do not think that race is fate. Throughout history the spirit has often been stronger than blood."<sup>16</sup>

The Spanish example illustrates this idea well. In the course of history Spain acquired such diverse groups of inhabitants as ancient Ibero-Celts, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans, Vandals and Visigoths, Berbers and Arabs. Out of these mixtures emerged the medieval Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, Navarrese, and Portuguese peoples, all of whom spoke Romance languages, as well as the Basques. For a long time there also was a significant admixture of Jews. Nevertheless the country has managed to maintain its individuality and historical continuity. Racial interpretations long ago often led to absurd conclusions, as did, for instance, the explanation offered by Sa'id al-Andalusi, a famous eleventh-century jurist in Toledo. Comparing the advanced state of Moorish culture in his country with the backward civilizations on the other side of the Pyrenees, Sa'id sought to explain this difference in biological terms:

Because the sun does not shed its rays directly over their (the neighbors in the North) heads, their climate is cold and the atmosphere cloudy.

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Bauer can hardly be called more specific: "A nation is the sum total of people transformed by a community of destiny into a community of character" (p. 135).

<sup>16</sup>Harold Steinacker, "Volk, Staat, Heimat und ihr Verhältnis bei den romanisch-germanischen Völkern," in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 2 (1929-1930), part 2, pp. 272-301, esp. p. 275.

Consequently their temperaments have become cold and their humors rude, while their bodies have grown large, their complexion white and their hair long. They lack withal sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect, while stupidity and folly prevail among them.

Sa'id's contemporary, the Jewish poet Moses Ibn Ezra, was forced by a revolt to flee from Moorish Granada where he was born, and to live in the North of Spain, which was under Christian rule. In his new, culturally backward environment he felt like a "cut rose among thorns." Yet a few centuries later the creative vigor of the Moorish South had spent itself, while the Christian North was entering its immortal *siglo d'oro*.<sup>17</sup>

For the time being, however, racial conflicts seem to be overshadowing national tensions in many areas. They will in all likelihood have a powerful impact on the next period in world history. True, George Bernard Shaw once coined the paradox that by the end of another thousand years all Americans would turn red-skinned. Mixed marriages, if frequent enough, likewise influence the racial composition of populations. In Brazil, for instance, the largest country of South America, mixed marriages have long been so numerous that recent visitors to Columbia University were shown a film entitled "Brazil: The Vanishing Negro." Gilberto Freyre was also able to develop his renowned theory concerning the special characteristics of the new "Luso-Tropical" civilization which had emerged in that country. Transformations of this type require many generations, even centuries, however, and our own generation is much too impatient. Meanwhile, the color of the skin is an obvious fact of life and it also is the cause of many difficulties. South Africa's and Rhodesia's policy of *apartheid* is causing bitter resentment in the other African countries; and there is the persistent memory of the old colonial regimes which are still being blamed, rightly or wrongly, for the prevailing poverty and other imperfections of the Afro-Asian world today. For many years to come these emotions will continue to furnish fuel for deep international conflicts.

Religion is involved in all these questions. Leaders of world religions have time and again raised their voices in the name of justice and the equality of all people before God. For centuries thousands of unselfish missionaries have bestowed immeasurable benefits upon tribes in Asia, America, and Africa, supplying them with food, health services, and schools. On the other hand, their missionary zeal has aroused much antagonism among those who wished to adhere to their ancestral faiths, or to

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<sup>17</sup>Sa'id ibn Ahmad al-Andalusi, *Tabakat al-umam* (trans. into French by Régis Blanchère under the title: *Le Livre de "Catégories de Nations"* (Paris, 1935), p. 37; Moses ibn Ezra, *Shire ha-hol* (Secular Poems), published by Heinrich Brody (Berlin, 1935), pp. 2ff. Cf. my essay "Yehuda Halevi: An Answer to an Historic Challenge," *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (1941): 247-272, reprinted in my *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History: Essays*, ed by Leon Feldman (New Brunswick, NJ, 1972), pp. 128-148, 433-443.

their ancestral superstitions, as some Europeans used to call them. Sometimes natives also had good reasons to suspect that the colonial powers were exploiting the good deeds and the devotion of the missionary societies for their own imperialistic purposes. True, few Western rulers were as outspoken about this state of affairs as was Napoleon Bonaparte. In his letters addressed in 1803 to the pope and the archbishop of Paris he wrote with utmost candor: "These monks will be very useful to me in Asia, Africa, and America. I shall dispatch them there to gather intelligence about the situation in different countries. Their habit will protect them and help them disguise their political and commercial intentions."<sup>18</sup> Yet these political implications did not escape the notice of political observers and added fuel to the impatience of local revolutionaries who resented the exploitation of their countries by foreign masters. Even if many missionaries were unaware of their being used as tools, the frequent alliance of foreign churches and foreign bureaucracies turned these resentments felt by the rising class of colonial nationalists against the Western churches as such.

The religious aspects of the struggle of the imperialist powers during the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire are rather well known. I distinctly remember an incident which occurred while I was studying certain documents in the British Public Record Office; among them were the diplomatic and consular dispatches sent from the Near East to the Foreign Office during the 1840's. One day I noticed that a particular report of 1849 was missing in the file. Further investigation revealed that this report of the British Consul in Jerusalem had been borrowed in July, 1918, by the Foreign Office and that it had not been returned ten years later. This fact of course only served to increase my curiosity. It finally developed that to this dispatch of the Jerusalem consul was appended a petition in which Russian-Jewish settlers in the Holy City were asking the British Government to take them under its "protection." Although according to the capitulations the special privileges of limited extra-territoriality were granted by the Porte to certain foreign citizens only, the petitioners pointed out that under the discriminatory Russian legislation, after a two-year absence the Russian Jews were deprived of their Russian citizenship and thus became stateless persons. No wonder that in July, 1918, in the period between the Balfour Declaration and the prospective peace negotiations about the Palestinian question after the cessation of hostilities, this correspondence was of considerable interest to the British Foreign Office.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup>Napoleon I's letters to the pope and the archbishop of Paris dated August 28, 1802, in his *Correspondence*, published by order of Emperor Napoleon III, 32 vols. (Paris, 1853-1870), Vol. VIII, pp. 7-8. See also Vol. XIX, pp. 160-161.

<sup>19</sup>A part of this correspondence has since been edited by Albert M. Hyamson in his two-volume work, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine, 1838-1914* (London, 1939-1941), esp. Vol. I, pp. 97ff., Nos. 54, 60, 68, 71; and my study, "The



Although the general humanitarian motivations of much of Great Britain's foreign policy during the nineteenth century must not be underestimated, in the Middle East these tendencies became intertwined with a certain mixture of both imperialism and religious romanticism. Many makers of British foreign policy realized Great Britain's inherent weakness in the Near East when compared with Russia or France. For three centuries France had enjoyed the advantage of being able to intervene with the Porte from time to time to protect the interests of the Roman Catholics living in the Ottoman Empire. Russia had likewise been able to "protect" to some extent the even more numerous Turkish subjects of the Greek Orthodox confession. Such interventions often allowed these governments to take a stand on some undesirable internal measures of the Turkish authorities. On the other hand, the number of native Protestants in the Middle East was far too small to justify interventions on the part of Great Britain. Prussia had a similar disadvantage in comparison with Austria. Hence Turkey's Jewish population, numerically large and influential, seemed to the London Foreign Office a welcome object of a modicum of British protection, simultaneously offering many possibilities for intervention in internal Turkish affairs. These imperial rivalries of the 1840's accounted also for the successful attempt by Britain and Prussia to establish a Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem. Not by accident, it was a baptized Jew of Prussian nationality who became Jerusalem's first Protestant bishop.

Such examples of interlocking political and religious elements in domestic as well as international relations can easily be multiplied. The same applies to some extent also to the present Black revolution in the United States.<sup>20</sup> It is not surprising that, during the last several years the postulates of many Black groups have increasingly resembled demands raised by a *national* minority, although they have also retained most of the traditional characteristics of racial strains and stresses. In the beginning, and particularly after the historic 1954 decision of the Supreme Court aimed at segregation in schools, the main emphasis was laid on integration. It was widely assumed that the Black eleven percent of the population would soon be integrated within the general American society on the basis of real equality in lieu of a merely theoretical legal equality. This demand was completely in keeping with the then prevalent tendency to fashion a new homogeneous nation out of the American people—a people which Louis Adamic once rightly called a "nation of nations."<sup>21</sup> While by virtue

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Jewish Question in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History* 10 (1938): 51-65, esp. pp. 62-63.

<sup>20</sup>A good summary of the earlier debates on this subject can be found in Claudio Gorlier's "Motivazioni religiose della rivolta negra negli Stati Uniti," *Rivista storica italiana* 80 (1968): 516-537.

<sup>21</sup>Louis Adamic, *A Nation of Nations* (New York, 1945).

of its size and its spread over a vast territory the American people could continue to offer the various ethnic components great opportunities for the preservation of their traditional ethnic-religious peculiarities, it also gradually tended to acquire more and more traits of national unity in time. During the last few years, however, and for reasons which need not be further elaborated here, much of the Black revolt was channeled into a separatist Black Power movement which demanded from the American government and society the recognition of some kind of ethnic-cultural distinctiveness of the Black population. At the present time an increasing emphasis is laid not only on socioeconomic equality but also on the preservation of the cultural identity of this large minority within the general American culture. In all that, the new movement bears many earmarks of the struggle for "national minority rights" in many European lands in the early decades of this century.

It need hardly be pointed out that this transformation of the old race problem at least partially into an ethnic-cultural problem strikes many Americans as novel and revolutionary. It is nevertheless quite possible that in the end a new type of a legally accepted minority will emerge, recognized by the Constitution and provided with schools and other cultural institutions of its own. If this example stimulates other ethnic-cultural minorities to try to secure legal safeguards and institutions for their respective ethnic-religious identities, it might indeed profoundly change the image of the American people as a whole.

It must be admitted, however, that it is rather difficult to subsume Black Power rights under the traditional classification of national minority rights. American Blacks have no language of their own. All of them speak English, although with some phonetic and other peculiarities which might justify the designation of forming a dialect apart. Certainly, every effort to teach Swahili in colleges—even as a foreign language—has so far met with but minimal success.

Neither can religious ties effectively provide American Blacks with a separate identity. Most of them belong to one or another of the numerous Protestant denominations in the United States. Besides, there are also quite a few Black Catholics and even two Jewish communities consisting in part of descendants of former slaves of Jewish plantation owners in the West Indies. Among extreme Black "nationalists," a movement for the adoption of Islam has sprung up and, if we are to judge from the great popularity of Malcolm X's autobiography, the rise of a substantial Black Muslim movement is possible, yet as of now it seems to be little more than a fad which may shortly pass into oblivion.

The lack of a common Black history is another fact of decisive importance. American Blacks have come to the United States from many parts of Africa. Since there are enormous differences among tribes and cultures in the large African continent, the history of American Blacks begins in

essence with their arrival in America. Even that part of their history cannot be reconstituted in full and illuminating detail because of the relative paucity of extant primary sources. Yet it has to be admitted that these 22,000,000 people are part of a special "community of destiny and culture" and that as a result it is possible to classify them somewhat vaguely as a quasi-national minority. As stated before, should this concept successfully work out in the case of Blacks, other ethnic-cultural groups may also soon demand "minority rights" for their special cultures in the United States.

### *Future Perspectives*

What, then, will the future developments be in the United States and in the world at large? It is not the task of the historian to prophesy. But there are certain aspects of the problem which bear on the present and merit closer investigation.

In my aforementioned book published in 1947, I expressed the view that possibly the great national wars of the last few centuries had reached their climax in the "Thirty Years' War" of the twentieth century, just as the religious wars had passed theirs with the end of the "Thirty Years' War" in the seventeenth century. Among other matters, this development might lead to the abandonment of the *cuius regio eius natio* maxim as the dominant principle of domestic and foreign policies. This recognition of the rights of minorities to cultivate their peculiar heritage could greatly contribute to global peace. It could the more readily be realized since today both contemporary superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, lack the characteristics of pure national states. In the very beginning of the Communist Revolution the Lenin government subscribed to the doctrine of national minority rights and the Soviet Union has on the whole adhered to it ever since. True, the Great-Russian nationality is the largest ethnic group within the Soviet Union and in the thirteen years between the two censuses of 1923 and 1939 its share of the total population rose from 53 percent to 58.4 percent,<sup>22</sup> but there has been no further increase. Although the Second World War inflicted particularly heavy losses on the national minorities in the western parts of the Soviet Union, the new territorial gains and certain sociobiological factors have changed the ratio. According to the latest reports, the Russian share of the total is now said to be somewhat less than fifty percent. At any rate, today the fifteen non-Russian republics within the Soviet Union are enjoying a rather large degree of autonomy in national-cultural matters. So are the more than 180 national minorities enumerated in Soviet censuses, though with the important exception of the Jewish minority which, for reasons which need not be enumerated here, is

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<sup>22</sup>Rose M. Somerville, "Counting Noses in the Soviet Union 1930 Census," *American Quarterly on the Soviet Union* 3 (1940): 51-73; Frank Lorimer, *The Population of the Soviet Union: History and Prospect* (Geneva, 1946), pp. 137, 139.

denied even the elementary facilities for the cultivation of its ethnic-religious heritage.

In the United States, a population made up of many ethnic, religious, and racial groups will in the foreseeable future preclude the emergence of a national state in the strict sense of the world. In addition, the American people long ago assumed specific responsibilities for some twenty heterogeneous Latin-American republics, even without taking into account its worldwide political, economic, and military obligations. The possibility must also be considered that now, after the end of the DeGaulle era, the Common Market may live up to its original promise of forging a political union of the different European nations; this might reduce to a minimum the sharp national conflicts that have been the bane of Europe's past. All these trends may work in the direction of a decrease of national antagonisms. However, it is probably too early to venture a prediction as to the extent to which the racial conflicts, which have become more acute in recent times, will take the place of former national frictions, thus becoming the main source of international entanglements and upheavals.

In conclusion, I should like to raise the question as to the extent to which organized religion can help solve these new problems and, above all, contribute to the maintenance of permanent peace among nations and races. Shortly after the Second World War, Dr. Luther Evans, who later became the Librarian of Congress and Director-General of UNESCO, suggested the founding of a world organization made up of representatives of all leading religions. Its purpose would be to use their great influence on public opinion in many countries to enhance the peace efforts of the United Nations.<sup>23</sup> It need hardly be stressed that none of us harbored any illusions about the difficulties inherent in this type of religious cooperation on a global scale. Persons associated with UNESCO realized that, for example, in order to prepare a comprehensive world history as objectively as possible, it would be necessary to limit the work for the time being to a scientific and cultural history of humankind, since the political or economic aspects of history still are the subjects of violent differences of opinion.

However, in the last several decades humanity has demonstrated a greater understanding of the need for international cooperation in the field of religion as well. New elements have entered into the picture, changing the status of the world religions, including the ecumenic spirit of the Second Vatican Council and the earlier establishment of the Protestant World Council of Churches, and the diminished violence of atheistic propaganda by Russian Communism (especially since the solemn installation of the Patriarch of the Russian Church under the supervision and with the support of the Russian Government in 1945). These and other indications of greatly

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<sup>23</sup>Luther Evans, "United Religions for United Nations," *Journal of Liberal Religion* 7 (1945-1946): 213.

decreased dissonances among religious groups may conceivably improve the outlook for future cooperation between religious and national groups. One may perhaps hope that this positive development will increase the chances that the destruction of humanity in an atomic holocaust will somehow be avoided.

#### Study and Discussion Questions

1. What role does religion play in the internecine conflicts in Lebanon, Northern Ireland, Quebec, and Yugoslavia? What of Nigeria, Israel, India-Pakistan, Philippines, Southeast Asia?
2. Is the influence of the three monotheistic religions becoming less in the world? How? Or is its influence rather becoming another sort? How? If the latter, has the shift been better for humanity, or not?
3. How in history has religion manipulated forces of nationalism? How has religion been manipulated by nationalism?
5. What precisely is the meaning of *cuius regio, eius religio*? What is the meaning of what Baron says took its place: *cuius regio, eius natio*? How has it operated? Is it really ending?
6. How has religion influenced the Black American movement for human rights, for cultural identity?
7. What are some major examples of the lessening of antagonisms between religions? Counter-examples?
8. What possible values do you see in a world organization of all religions? How might it best work? What would be the major obstacles standing in the way of its realization, and how might they be overcome?

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# NEW TESTAMENT ISSUES IN JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS

Theodore Stylianopoulos

## PRECIS

It is important to see what the New Testament within its own witness says about Jewish-Christian relations. The *historical* issues that emerge include: (1) a diversified Judaism of the first century of which Christians formed one community, (2) the ministry of Jesus within Judaism and implying no ultimate break with Judaism, (3) the early Church's claims that distinguished it from the wider Jewish community, (4) tensions and conflicts resulting from the non-acceptance of the gospel by the Jews and from the successful Christian mission to the Gentiles, and (5) the final separation, resulting from the growing Gentile preponderance in the Church.

The *theological* issues that provided the impulse for separation included: (1) the Messianic claims made about Jesus, and (2) the identification of the true Israel.

Jewish-Christian dialogue might well center on the nature and implications of the claim of the church to be an eschatological step beyond the faith community centered on the Mosaic law; such a dialogue might well be self-purifying to the church.

No other valued part of the Christian tradition is more important for Jewish-Christian relations than the New Testament for two reasons. First, the New Testament marks the beginning of Christianity, when the Christian Church was born from the matrix of Judaism, and testifies both to the close connections between the two communities of faith as well as to the decisive factors which separate them. Secondly, the New Testament as Sacred Scripture *par excellence* of Christians has through the centuries exercised a tremendous impact on the Christian view of Judaism, often with very negative consequences for the Jews. Without minimizing the importance of the second matter, which is in itself worthy of extensive research, this paper concentrates on presenting the main aspects of the first, namely, what the New Testament within its own witness says about Jewish-Christian relations.

## *Historical Issues*

The proper perspective of the emergence and then separation of Christianity from Judaism is an historical one. If the New Testament is read only on a timeless nonhistorical plane, the dynamism of the ties and conflicts

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between Judaism and the early church cannot be fully appreciated. Even the decisive theological issues behind the separation of the two faiths must be seen in historical perspective for proper interpretation. Fortunately, today we are in a position to know more about the history of Christian origins than at any other time.

1. *First-Century Judaism.* The Judaism of the first century A.D. was a diversified-religious community. To be sure, all Jews shared a common heritage which identified them as Jews. However, there was variation, too. Quite apart from the Jews who lived in the Graeco-Roman world and were open in different degrees to the influence of Greek culture, there were even in Palestine Jewish religious associations and groupings of varying cohesion with specific theological claims which distinguished them sometimes quite sharply from one another, e.g., the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. This means that the emerging Christian community within Judaism must not historically be set off from Judaism in a monolithic fashion which would suggest an either/or, i.e., either Judaism or Christianity as two black and white alternatives, but must be seen precisely as an emerging community of Jews sharing a common heritage with other Jews, while receiving its own cohesion and unique integrity from its own distinctive religious claims and interpretations of the Jewish heritage. A Jew of the first century, at least in the earliest Christian decades, was not faced with such an alternative, either "Judaism" or "Christianity," tenaciously clinging to the one while stubbornly rejecting the other. These terms are inadequate conceptual constructs which already presuppose, rather than tell us something about, the original birth, the bonds, and the eventual division of the Christian community of faith from its spiritual home. "Salvation is from the Jews" (Jn. 4:22). However, one must also note that Jewish adherents of a particular religious community, such as the early Christian Church or the Essene community of Qumran, could and did historically make religious claims of such absolute character that marked off their own community from the rest of the Jewish people in rather sharp fashion.

2. *The Ministry of Jesus.* Against the background of Judaism as a diversified religious community, Jesus of Nazareth came forth in person, preaching, and deeds as *the* eschatological sign of the ages, the divinely-appointed bearer of God's salvation. To enter here into the question of the character of the ministry of Jesus and also into that of the nature of the evidence of the Gospels would be impossible. Suffice it to say that the ministry of Jesus was confined within the setting of Judaism and implied no ultimate break with the Jewish people. Jesus came, as St. Matthew says, "to save his people from their sins" (Mt. 1:21). Contacts with Gentiles, such as the Centurion (Mt. 8:5) and the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mt. 15:21ff.), are seen as exceptional. While Jesus did not base his ministry on the Law, as might a rabbinic teacher, but rather spoke out of his own



unique authority, nevertheless he was circumcised, attended synagogue and temple, and shared the life of his people. This is not to lessen, however, Jesus' pronouncement of judgment on those who did not heed his message.

As far as the nature of the Gospels is concerned, we are now more aware that they are polemical writings, much like the religious literature on Greek Orthodox-Roman Catholic relations after the Great Schism and the Crusades, and like the literature on Roman Catholic-Protestant relations after the Reformation, and that, therefore, the Gospels tend to sharpen and generalize the discontinuity and conflict of Jesus' ministry with Judaism. For example, while the responsibility for Jesus' death is imputed not only to Jesus' primary and immediate opponents, but also to all of the Jews as a whole ("And all of the people answered, 'His blood be on us and on our children' " Mt. 27:25), the Roman authorities—who alone had legal power of death, and specifically Pilate, who was otherwise known as a cruel and oppressive procurator, finally banished by his own Roman superiors on account of misrule—are placed in the best possible light. "Pilate . . . washed his hands before the crowd, saying: 'I am innocent of this man's blood' " (Mt. 27:24). Furthermore, the universalizing of the Christian message with the subsequent total rejection of the Mosaic Law and of the Jewish people are developments within the history of the early Church after the resurrection of Jesus (Mt. 28:19-20; Acts 2:5ff., 13:46ff.).

3. *The Early Church.* The events of the ministry of Jesus, especially his death and resurrection, as well as the eschatological gift of the Spirit, gave the right to the early Christians to claim that the Age to Come, the New Age, had dawned in their midst, and that they, as recipients of God's Spirit, constituted in a unique way God's elect people. These claims of the early followers of Jesus, the Risen Lord, as well as their celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper in Jesus' name, clearly distinguished the early Christian community from the wider community of Judaism. The Christian Church had its own spiritual integrity from the beginning of Christian history. Still, one must emphasize that in earliest times what we are dealing with is a community within a community, one having its own identity, yet sharing the identity of the larger community, with no thought of either being in final conflict with the Jewish heritage or of breaking away from the Jewish people. As St. Luke puts it: "And day by day they attended the Temple together and broke bread in their homes" (Acts 2:46), awaiting the times of refreshment with the glorious return of Jesus (Acts 3:20). The earliest Christians were Jews proclaiming the good news of salvation to other Jews within the framework of the Jewish heritage and of the Jewish people. The Apostle Peter approaches Cornelius, a Gentile, only with great reservations at the persistence of divine initiative (Acts 10).

4. *Tensions and Conflict.* The first severe tensions between the new community and the Jewish people occurred at a second stage involving two main factors: (a) the perplexing (from a Christian viewpoint) non-

acceptance of the Gospel by the Jewish people as a whole, and (b) the remarkable success of the Christian mission to the Gentiles. The tensions were sharpened by (a) the rejection of the validity of the Mosaic Law in the Gentile mission, and (b) the Jewish persecution of Christians who were preaching a message of salvation without the Law. This period of increasing tension and widening separation, but not yet of irrevocable division, is most clearly evident in the ministry of St. Paul (ca. 35-65 A.D.).

A brief reflection on St. Paul's place in this period is instructive. Out of zeal for the Mosaic Law and his ancestral traditions he was, prior to his conversion, a persecutor of the Christian Church (Gal. 1:13-14). But once he had become a servant of Jesus Christ, St. Paul was the most successful missionary to the Gentiles and the most articulate advocate of the invalidity of the Law insofar as the Christian Gentiles are concerned. As an advocate of the invalidity of the Law for Gentiles, he in turn was now persecuted by Jews and possibly by Christian Jews (Gal. 5:11; 2 Cor. 11:24; Acts 15:1ff., 20:20-21), just as and probably for the same reasons that he persecuted other Christian Jews earlier, i.e., in defense of the Mosaic Law and Jewish traditions.

Nevertheless, St. Paul did not envision a final break between church and synagogue. He did not dispute the validity of the Mosaic Law for Jews and Jewish Christians (Gal. 2:7b). He himself practiced the Law when he was among Jews (1 Cor. 9:20; Acts 16:3, 18:18, 21:26). Although he was persecuted by Jews and wrote some sharp words against them (1 Thess. 2:14ff.), he never for a moment lost the identity of a Jew ("I myself am an Israelite . . . from the tribe of Benjamin," Rom. 11:1) and would gladly be "anathema" and cut off from Christ for the sake of "my brethren, my kinsmen by race" (Rom. 9:3). Most important of all, confronted by the bewildering phenomenon of Jewish unbelief as regards the Messiah Jesus—and he was the first to write a lengthy reflection on it (Rom. 9-11)—he gave what for later generations of Christians can be in part a disturbing answer. For him Jews were still the good stock on which the Gentiles were engrafted as branches or as honorary citizens. The Jews were not to be despised by haughty Christian Gentiles. Though disobedient at that moment of history, the Jews were still the true people of God, the "Israelites," to whom belonged "the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the Law, the worship, and the promises" (Rom. 9:4). St. Paul could not envision an ultimate separation between the Christian Church and the Jewish people. Nor could he dare contemplate the exclusion of the Jewish people from the divine plan of salvation. Otherwise God's faithfulness to the promises given to the Patriarchs of old would mean nothing, a possibility which for St. Paul was inconceivable (Rom. 11:1, 11, 29).

5. *The Separation.* The course of history was, however, not constrained by the convictions of the great Apostle. In the generation after him, church and synagogue completely parted ways and have ever since

faced each other as irreconcilable opponents, forgetting their once intimate ties. This final stage in Christian-Jewish relations, marking the complete breakdown of the *symbiosis* of the Jewish and Christian communities, is already presupposed by the four Gospels, as well as by the Acts of the Apostles and all of the New Testament books aside from the Pauline letters. We have now an essential shift from the earlier period in that the composition of the Church is overwhelmingly Gentile with little or no identification with the Jewish people. Christian Jews find little room to exist among either Jews or Christian Gentiles, and they eventually dwindle in number and disappear, even though they survive as a kind of curiosity of history well into the second century A.D.

Now the Gentile Church feels entirely free to utilize the criticism of the prophets against the Jews, as well as the criticisms against them of Jesus and of St. Paul himself, with minimal, if any, identification with the Jewish people. This is the period when a whole literature begins to take rise against the Jews (*contra Judaeos*), as in the case of Barnabas, Justin, Tertullian, and many others in subsequent times. It is also at this time that the final conclusion is drawn: the Jews are no longer in any sense God's people; they never really were (*Barn.* iv.6-8)! The only true people of God are the Christians. Writes Justin Martyr: "We are the true and spiritual Israelite nation and the race of Judah and Jacob and Isaac and Abraham" (*Dial.* 11.5). The Jews are hard-hearted, rejected by God, and have no reason for existing as a people, as Jews, except possibly for satisfying God's punitive justice on account of having killed Christ (see Justin, *Dial.* 16.1-4). We have here the seeds of what eventually was translated into actual persecution of Jews by Christians, so furiously and so murderously expressed in modern times.

### *Theological Issues*

If history provides the setting for the unfolding drama of the emergence and division of the Christian Church from Judaism, theology provides the impulses and the ultimate causes. Indeed, it seems that the theological claims of the new faith, however strongly tied to the "old," were too powerful and too radical for the Christian Church to remain within, or even simply to exist side by side with, the synagogue as equally legitimate heirs of God's promises. The history of the early church was, with respect to Judaism, but a commentary on the theology of the church. Two theological issues were most decisive, especially for Christians, in early Jewish-Christian relations, namely, the messianic question and the question concerning the true Israel.

1. *The Messiah*. The christological issue stands at the heart of Christian origins and represents the most crucial difference between church and synagogue. Even in his ministry, Jesus definitely challenged his contem-

poraries with the messianic question. His whole ministry, in his person, deeds, and teachings, posed the christological question. Even though Jesus' ministry was historically confined within the bounds of Judaism, the first signs of the division of the Christian Church from Judaism were already present in the ministry of Jesus, theologically and christologically. On the one hand, Jesus gathered the twelve disciples and other followers who responded to the claims of his person and ministry, and who after the resurrection constituted the nucleus of the early church as the new eschatological people of God. On the other hand, Jesus was rejected by the authorities and the majority of the Jews and was put to death by the Romans. For the one group Jesus was an impostor, a deceiver of the people, a dangerous person who could upset religious and political stability. For the other group, Jesus was the Messiah, the Lord, the divine agent of salvation, who was to be proclaimed universally to all humanity.

The witness of the early church to Jesus as *the* Messiah is so overwhelming and so triumphal that it leaves little room for theological dialogue between the two communities of faith. "There is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12). "Christ is the end of the Law" (Rom. 10:4). "At the name of Jesus every knee should bow, in heaven and on earth and under the earth, and every one confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (Phil. 2:11). One need not go further. The witness of the New Testament is so Christocentric, so absolute and so final in its christological claim, that the natural Christian attitude to non-Christians, including Jews, is one not of dialogue but of evangelization.

On what theological basis, then, can a Jewish-Christian dialogue be conducted today? If such a theological basis can be found, and I believe it can be found, it is not a christological basis, at least not so far as the Christology of the New Testament is concerned. To be sure, in modern times there have been efforts to soften the christological claim and to place the Jewish and Christian faiths on equal theological footing as two expressions of the divine economy in history rooted in the same Creator God. These efforts have been partly motivated and partly reinforced by the realization that traditional Christology has often been the source of wrong Christian attitudes toward Jews.

I believe that the best insight of modern biblical studies is the profound awareness of the provisional (eschatological) character of Christian salvation. Christians, too, are in a real sense still *waiting* for the true manifestation of their Messiah and the final conquest of death and corruption. In the present state of affairs, they also are very much open to the powers of death, sin, corruption, sickness, war, ignorance, and all manner of moral evil. They are not merely patient sufferers of such a condition, but are often themselves instruments of evil as the history of Christian societies, as well as of the Church, easily shows. In the profound Pauline sense, Christians

are still on the way to the goal and presently see reality only dimly. For this reason, they are, as they have often been, open to moral failure. This understanding of the incomplete and imperfect character of Christian existence, if allowed to penetrate the hearts and minds of Christians at large, would strike at the heart of Christian triumphalism.

However, Christians know who their Messiah is: Jesus of Nazareth. Even if they now apprehend Jesus only in part, they know of no other way to God except through Jesus Christ. Christ is the foundation of their existence and the basis of their salvation. What is needed, therefore, is not a minimization of Christology but a correction of the triumphalistic inferences which are drawn from the christological claim. What is needed is not a modification of the Christology of the New Testament, but an exposure of Christian *sinfulness* toward the Jews. The evil is this: abuse of transcendent theological claims in a larger social, political, and economic process which, together with other factors, results in the oppression of a minority. But this phenomenon is not uniquely Christian. It can be found among Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus, and Jews.

On the theological basis of the Christian ethic, an ethic grounded on the experience of salvation through Christ, erroneous Christian attitudes and evil Christian actions toward the Jews must be condemned unequivocally for what they are: a contradiction of Christ. The crucial question for every believing Christian, as probably also for every believing Jew, is this: can I hold to the unique theological claims of my sacred tradition without allowing these transcendent claims to be used for exploitation, oppression, prejudice, and injustice against those who hold to different theological claims? This is the question that is proper for a Jewish-Christian dialogue. Mutual understanding of each other's claims and practice of the common spiritual values which the two faiths derive from Holy Scripture, such as human worth, justice, mercy, love, and freedom, may liberate us from fears, prejudices, and sinister attitudes which are deeply ingrained in our hearts.

2. *The True Israel*. The New Testament nowhere expounds a full ecclesiology, a theory of the church. Nevertheless, as in the case of christology, the ecclesiological claims of the New Testament are so unambiguous as to leave no doubt. The true eschatological people of God, the "elect," the "children of the promises," the "co-heirs with Christ" (Rom. 1:7, 8:17, 9:8), are the believers, whether Jews or Gentiles, the ones who have accepted Jesus as the Messiah. Christology is the definitive criterion of ecclesiology. But ecclesiology, too, is expressed in absolute terms. The logical corollary to the principle that there is salvation in no one else, other than Christ, is that there is salvation nowhere else, except where Christ is, namely, the Church which is Christ's body.

The New Testament, with the exception of the Pauline epistles, as we have noted, was written when the two faiths had completely parted ways. It

everywhere assumes that the Church has supplanted Judaism as the true Israel (e.g., Mt. 8:11, 21:41-43). But even the Apostle Paul does not suppose that his fellow unbelieving Jews are on an equal footing with Christian believers. It is true that he regards the Jews as the good olive tree onto which the Gentiles are grafted (Rom. 11:17ff.). He cannot contemplate the end of salvation history without the salvation of the Jews (Rom. 11:25-32). Nevertheless, the unbelieving Jews are for him now in a state of disobedience and Israel's election is presently, as Eckardt correctly notes, a "non-functioning election."<sup>1</sup> For Paul, too, the Jews are in a paradoxical situation. They are the elect, yet the disobedient elect with respect to faith in Christ. "As regards the gospel they are enemies of God . . . , but as regards election they are beloved for the sake of their forefathers" (Rom. 11:28). St. Paul is absolutely convinced of the ultimate salvation of the Jews, but there is no reason to think that the anticipated inclusion of the Jews among God's faithful people will not for him be connected to the acknowledgement of Jesus as the Messiah. St. Paul's Christocentrism would probably allow for nothing else.

Is there any room for a Jewish-Christian dialogue if the ecclesiological claim of the New Testament is maintained as rigorously as the christological one? Once again, there can be no question about a modification or minimization of the church's uniqueness as the messianic people of God. The church sees in Christ and in its own unity around Christ an eschatological step beyond the community of faith which centers itself on the Mosaic Law. This claim cannot be erased without an inner collapse of the theological self-understanding of the church. Nor can it be placed on the agenda of a dialogue as a subject of negotiation. What can be discussed is the precise nature of this claim and its implications, so that triumphalistic inferences may not be drawn from it. What can be discussed is the role of the church in history which often is a contradiction of the true nature of the church as the new humanity in Christ. What needs to be recognized is that transcendent claims of the church have often been used, or rather abused, as justification for the oppression of the Jewish people. But again, it must be noted that a cultural majority—whether of Christians, or Muslims, or Jews— has always been open to the temptation of such abuse of its transcendent claims, together with other factors, against cultural minorities for selfish purposes.

As far as the Greek Orthodox Church is concerned, I think that we need to concentrate on the following issues in a continuing Jewish-Christian dialogue: (a) the New Testament, as sacred as it is for us, contains in its sweeping anti-Jewish polemics the first seeds of anti-Semitism; (b) the use of the New Testament as Sacred Scripture for worship and teaching in the church has encouraged attitudes of prejudice and hostility against Jews; (c) the same is true of many Christian hymns and liturgies based on biblical

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<sup>1</sup>A. Roy Eckardt, *Elder and Younger Brothers* (Scribner's, 1967), p. 58.

themes, images, or statements; and (d) the absolute christological and ecclesiological claims of the New Testament involve or should involve an eschatological reality of spiritual newness which is in no way expressed, but rather contradicted by, Christian prejudice, hostility, or evil actions against Jews.

There is much to be discussed in a Jewish-Christian dialogue. For Christians, such a dialogue offers an opportunity of radical self-examination, repentance, and self-correction. In the light of history, Christians have a spiritual and moral obligation to pursue this dialogue. If we are able to use them more properly, and if we are able to eliminate unjustified formulations in our hymns and liturgies against Jews, then we may be able to erase prejudice and hate from our minds and hearts as well. This is also a process of self-purification, for then we will be more true to ourselves as Christians.

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### Study and Discussion Questions

1. "The ministry of Jesus . . . implied no ultimate break with the Jewish people." Discuss.
2. What does it mean to characterize the gospels as "polemical"? Does "polemical" necessarily suggest "untrue"?
3. Discuss in what way the author considers the polemical nature of the gospels a relevant point in Jewish-Christian dialogue.
4. From the New Testament data, what were the claims of the early Christians that clearly distinguished them from other Jewish communities?
5. How does the author picture Paul's role in the emerging separation of the Christian community from Judaism? Do you agree with his assessment?

6. Is the author consistent when, on the one hand, he states, "The witness of the early church to Jesus as the Messiah is so overwhelming . . . that it leaves little room for theological discussion between the two communities of faith" and, on the other hand, states that a theological basis can be found? Discuss.
7. Discuss the modern efforts to "soften the christological claim" to which the author refers.
8. In what way is "the provisional character of Christian salvation" an important element in the author's approach to building bridges between Christians and Jews?
9. Is it possible, according to the author, to maintain the church's self-understanding as the Messianic People of God and yet continue meaningful dialogue with the Jews? Discuss.
10. What agenda does the author suggest for the Greek Orthodox Church in its continuing dialogue with the Jews?

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## A NOTE ON "CHRISTOS PHILANTHROPOS" IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY

In the Byzantine Church philanthropy, almsgiving, charity, and social concern were significant themes for sermons, homilies and essays, as well as iconography. Frequent talks by Church Fathers on these topics reflect the existence of a moral theology in the Church centered around the concept of *philanthropia* or altruistic love as the ultimate attribute of God and as the standard that should regulate societal relations. But furthermore, constant reference to the need for the application of the aforementioned qualities reveal existing social conditions which required the practical application of those ethical admonitions.

The attributes of charity, almsgiving, hospitality, and philanthropy in general were rooted in early Byzantine theological, religious, political, and social thought and formed a popular tradition which influenced Byzantine society and survived throughout the Byzantine and post-Byzantine era. The theological, political, and social aspects of these ethical imperatives have been discussed elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Here we are concerned with their iconographic representation as expressed in the person of Christ which for the Byzantines was the model of human behavior and the epitome of divine attributes.

Almsgiving became a central theme in miniatures decorating sermons and homilies of Church Fathers. For example, Gregory Nazianzenos for centuries has enjoyed a great reputation as a lover of the poor. Thus he has been depicted in miniatures either as counseling, conversing, talking to the poor, or giving alms. What Gregory preached in words and pursued in deeds, the artist visualized and executed in artistic forms.<sup>2</sup>

Gregory and his friend Basil the Great, were both distinguished

<sup>1</sup> D. J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1968), pp. 29-61.

<sup>2</sup> See George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 63-66, illustrations 426, XCV, 370, LXXIII, 352, LXVI, 17, V.

theologians and scholars as well as outstanding humanitarians and socially active. They both preached but also practiced philanthropy. Basil was the founder of several philanthropic institutions including the famous Basileias, a complex of a hospital, old age home, orphanage, and leprosarium for some three thousand needy. A composition exists depicting Gregory and Basil ministering to the poor in the Basileias hospital. The illustration is attributed to the ninth century and is found in Codex Par. gr. 510, fol. 149<sup>r</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

But Byzantine artists praised philanthropy by depicting not only famous church fathers as humanitarians, but also by immortalizing even obscure but philanthropic priests, monks, and laymen.<sup>4</sup> A philanthropist always receives his reward from God. Christ is represented blessing the act of almsgiving as well as almsgivers.<sup>5</sup> Every philanthropist is an imitator of Christ, who is depicted as Eleemon (Merciful), Evergetes (Benefactor) and Philanthropos (Lover of the human being).<sup>6</sup>

While for several centuries, the Christ Pantocrator, the severe icon of Christ as King and Judge, dominated Byzantine iconography, after the eleventh century the Pantocrator Christ, though never out of style in Byzantine theology and iconography, was modified and became more balanced by the compassionate, loving, and merciful depictions of Christ Evergetes, Christ Eusplachnos, Christ Eleemon, and Christ Philanthropos.<sup>7</sup> But all epithets, (Eleemon, Eusplachnos, Evergetes, or Philanthropos) are synonymous and point to the love of God expressed in the incarnation of Christ. But only few medieval icons depicting Christ in these categories have survived.

<sup>3</sup> H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du V<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 2nd Ed. (Paris, 1929) pl. XXXIV; S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris, gr. 510," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), p. 267, fig. 7; Galavaris, *Homilies*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 185; illustration 337, LXIV.

<sup>6</sup> Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, pp. 39-41.

<sup>7</sup> André Grabar, "L'Art Religieux et L'Empire Byzantin A L'Epoque des Macédoniens," reprinted in *L'Art de la fin de L'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*, vol. I (Paris, 1968), pp. 156-57; *idem*, *La Peinture Religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), pp. 120-21; N. P. Kondakov, *Makedonija Archeologičeskoe Putešestvie* (St. Petersburg, 1909), pp. 197-98. cf. Heinrich Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klostern* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 93; Walter Felicetti-Liebertels, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Ikonenmalerei* (Lausanne, 1956), p. 78.

According to tradition, a miraculous icon of Christ Evergetes existed in a Monastery of Constantinople named after *Christos ho Evergetes*. It was located not far from the Monastery of Blachernae, near the Golden Horn. The Monastery, which flourished in both the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, was admired by three Russian travelers who visited the place between 1352 and 1420, namely Stephen of Novgorod, Ignatios of Smolensk, and the deacon Zosimos.<sup>8</sup>

Icons of Christos Eleemon have not been so rare. An eleventh century icon of miniature mosaic of Christos Eleemon set in wax has been reproduced repeatedly.<sup>9</sup> Another Christos Eleemon with the additional appellation *Ho Eusplachnos* survives in the Church of St. Stephanos in Kastoria. It is not of the same quality as the previous one.<sup>10</sup>

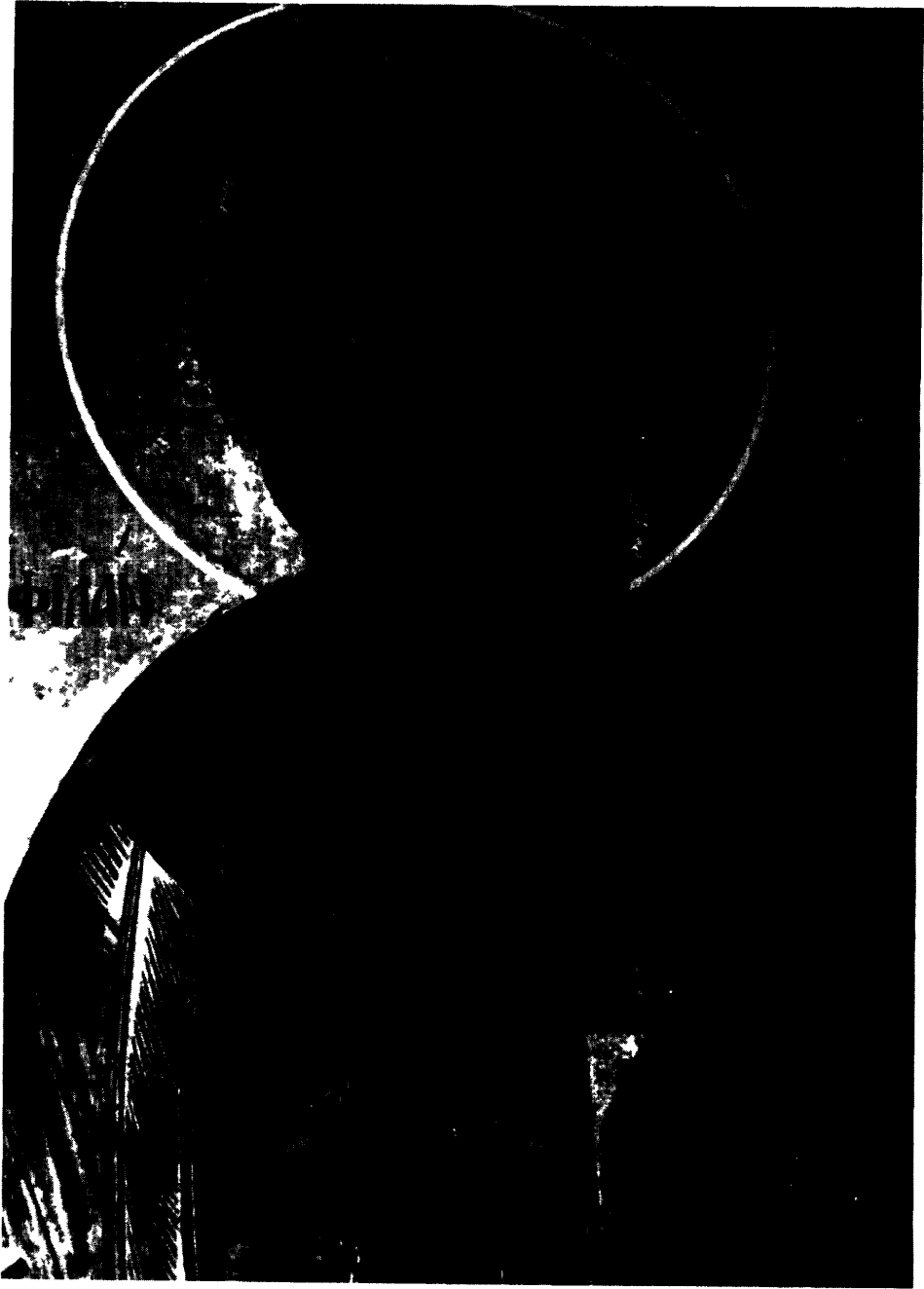
The earliest surviving icon of Christos Philanthropos belongs to the thirteenth century and it is found on the east side of the narthex of the thirteenth century church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond. It was painted on a rectangular panel. The icon has been repainted but the plaster as well as the scheme is still the original.<sup>11</sup> A second icon of Christos Philanthropos, in a much better condition than that of Trebizond, exists today in the small chapel of St. John the Forerunner of the Iviron Monastery on Mount Athos which is reproduced here. It is difficult to assign it to a particular year. The eminent art historian Kurt Weitzman in a personal discussion with this writer expressed the opinion that this icon belongs "to the sixteenth or even to a later century." Nevertheless it is of the Byzantine style and in a very good condition. It is nailed on the small iconostasis of St. John's chapel and it could not be removed for a close-up rendition. Furthermore there stands a column a few feet away from the front of the icon which prevents taking a photographic image directly from the front at a short distance. The photograph published here was taken by Dr. Theodore Korres to whom I express publicly my sincere thanks.

<sup>8</sup> Grabar, *La Peinture Religieuse en Bulgarie*, pp. 120-21.

<sup>9</sup> Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy*, p. 40; Christa Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World* (New York, 1969), p. 165.

<sup>10</sup> Stylianos Pelekanides, *Kastoria I, Byzantinai Toichographiai* (Thessalonike, 1953), pl. 96.

<sup>11</sup> D. Talbot Rice and David Winfield, "Survey of the Paintings," in *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond*, ed. by David Talbot Rice (Edinburg, 1968) p. 144, see also plate 59B.



The iconographic tradition in depicting Christ in more humane attributes survived in post-Byzantine times. A combination of Christ Pantocrator and Christ the Merciful exists today in the Church of St. George at Plomari on the Island of Lesbos. There is an impressive icon of Christ holding an open Gospel in which the following words are inscribed: "Come, O Blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink . . . I was naked and you clothed me" (Mt 25.34). It is evident that this icon proclaims not only the Kingdom of God in Heaven, but also the social message of Christ the Philanthropos and Christ's concern for the poor and the destitute.<sup>12</sup>

The Christian tradition of depicting philanthropia in art form, either as an autonomous virtue or as an attribute of God, was a modification of an inheritance from Greek and Roman antiquity. *Eusebia* (or *Pietas*) and *philanthropia* were joined and were represented in funerary sculpture. While *eusebia* was represented by a female, *philanthropia* was personified by a good shepherd. Of course in the Christian tradition, the good shepherd is none other than Christ. For example, in a third-century sarcophagus from Santa Maria Antica, Rome, Christ the Good Shepherd is also the personification of philanthropia—of love for the human being.<sup>13</sup> Later in the fourth century, in a sarcophagus "the philanthropia of Christ, and his role as Savior (Soter) are so closely associated that the shepherd of the pagans and of the Christian parables is one and the same image."<sup>14</sup>

Thus, as Asklepios, the god of mercy and healing, was described in Greek classical antiquity as "Philanthropos" and "Soter" (Savior), likewise, the God of the Byzantine and modern Greeks is called frequently "Philanthropos Soter." The use of the epithets *evergetes*, *philanthropos*, *eleemon*, and *soter* (adjectives used extensively by Hellenistic monarchs) reveals the continuity that has existed in the Greek religious tradition.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Constantine P. Cavarnos, *Athanasou Zoes Symbola kai Endeixeis* (Athens, 1964), p. 54, frontispiece icon.

<sup>13</sup> Christa Schug-Wille, *Art of the Byzantine World* (New York, 1969), pp. 20-21.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> P. Kavvadias, *To Hieron tou Asklepiou en Epidaurou kai e Therapeia ton Asthenon* (Athens, 1900), p. 6. For more bibliographic information see my *Byzantine Philanthropy*, p. 41, n. 67. cf. Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York, 1955), p. 149; Martin P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1964), p. 128.

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MATTHEW G. CHAPMAN

## NOTES ON THE NATURE OF GOD, THE COSMOS, AND NOVUS HOMO: AN EASTERN ORTHODOX PERSPECTIVE

The Orthodox Church approaches theology in quite a different manner than the Western Church. If one keeps in mind the oft-cited maxim of St. Athanasios, that God became man that man might become divine, the Orthodox view of theology is not difficult to grasp. And it is precisely the perspective grasped in that maxim which is the *sine qua non* for understanding the Orthodox stance vis-à-vis God, the cosmos, and the 'new man.' To approach these subjects without considering the unique theological dialectic of the Eastern Church would be unwise indeed.

The Holy Apostle Paul wrote divers letters that have for many hundreds of years been recognized by the Church as 'inspired.' They are recognized as such not because of St. Paul's own special worth, but rather because of the divinity which dwelled within him. "I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (Gal 2.20). St. Paul's resurrected condition is a potential offered to every Christian. Also, the Holy Spirit still bestows His gifts, allowing men to witness and serve with wisdom, knowledge, faith, discernment, and miracles (I Cor 12.8-10). Therefore, a man's words may still be 'inspired,' not because of his own aptitudes, rationality, intelligence, or any other quality specific to man's own nature, but because God dwells within him. The indwelling divinity literally transforms a man and gives a completely new life to the old death-ridden nature. It is then that human actions, faculties, and words correctly serve the immanent and ineffably transcendent God. Here we have the *Ursprung* of Orthodox theology.

For the Eastern Orthodox Church, then, the most highly regarded theologians, the theologians *pleno jure*, are those who have died that Christ might live within them. They are men who have been transformed by the fullness of God's Grace, who have basked in the glory of His Mysteries, and who speak from what



they have seen. They are holy or, as the West would have it (and limitingly so),<sup>1</sup> mystics. Because of the divinity which fills these men, they can do nothing but reflect and affirm the words of Christ and the Apostles. For "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and forever" (Heb 13.8). The Holy Fathers may differ in style and sometimes even in nomenclature, but at the deepest and most authentic level they and the Apostles are stating together the same thing, affirming the one truth, the 'mystical theology.'

Such 'mystical theology' is of no small importance for the Orthodox Church. It is not aloof or speculative; it is inextricably involved in the whole of Church life. As are the Holy Gospels, the writings of the Fathers are invaluable milestones and guideposts for each soul's ascent to its Creator. Equally important, these writings safeguard and embody the purity and Tradition of the Church, who in Her divinely-appointed forms of worship and communion offers the soul transforming, Grace-filled food. The Divine Liturgy itself is permeated with the teachings of the Father, as the Fathers are filled with the same Grace of the Liturgy. All this is because "in these last days He has spoken to us by a son" (Heb 1.2), because God has freely offered his transforming Grace to men who on their own chose (and merited) perdition. God, the cosmos, the 'new man' cannot be understood outside of the mystical theology which lives and breathes this 'transforming Grace.'

**The Nature of God.** A proper understanding of the nature of God is important for at least two reasons. First, it is God whom man seeks in his activities, the God who sought man first (Staretz Silouan). It is, therefore, important that man be properly directed in all aspects of his search, lest he fall short of the True God in his worship, prayers, or aspirations. Secondly, man himself is made in the image of God, and it is only in his relationship to God that he comes to understand his own true nature. To know the purpose and function of the pot, one has to know something about the potter.

Paradoxically, God is ultimately unknowable. The greatest depths of His nature and essence will remain inaccessible to man forever.

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the frequently improper usage of the term 'mystic,' especially as applied to the practitioners of hesychasm, see John S. Romanides, "Notes on the Palamite Controversy and Related Topics—II." *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 9(1963-64), esp. p. 232.

The super-essential nature of God is not a subject for speech or thought or even contemplation, for it is far removed from all that exists and more than unknowable, being founded on the uncircumscribed might of the celestial spirits—incomprehensible and ineffable to all forever.<sup>2</sup>

To safeguard the doctrine of God's ultimate transcendence of human cognition, Orthodoxy makes a hierarchical distinction between 'cataphatic' and 'apophatic' theology, which correspond in type to theological affirmations or denials, respectively. Cataphatically, God is an ultimate and eternal Being; on the higher and more 'truthful' apophatic level, however, God is not in essence understandable by terms like ultimate, eternal, or Being. God is, in the apophatic sense, beyond levels of gradation and beyond the categories of time and existence themselves, since these are but categories appropriate to mere human thinking. (Pseudo) Dionysios the Areopagite, whose short treatise *Concerning Mystical Theology* is a prototypical exposition of the higher road of apophatic theology, concludes, strangely enough, with a denial of denial itself:

When we make affirmations and negations about the things which are inferior to it (God), we affirm and deny nothing about the Cause itself, which, being wholly apart from all things, is above all affirmation, as the supremacy of Him who, being in His simplicity freed from all things and beyond everything, is above all denial.<sup>3</sup>

All categories of human thought and apprehension fall radically short of the Godhead.

The fact that Dionysios chose "Concerning Mystical Theology" as the title for his treatise on the preeminence of apophatic theology is indicative of the practical importance of theology. The apophatic way, 'mystical theology,' is, upon internalization, a disposition of the mind and soul that keeps one from being shackled either by his own mode of apprehension (God being beyond apprehension) or by any object of contemplation (God being beyond subject-object distinctions). Its aim is precisely the aim of the rest of Christianity: participation in and union (albeit limited) with the Godhead. Thus apophaticism is at the heart of the formulation of Christian dogma, of the mysteries of the revelation.

<sup>2</sup> St. Gregory Palamas, "Theophanes," PG 150.937.

<sup>3</sup> PG 3.1048.

Negative theology is not merely a theory of ecstasy. It is an expression of that fundamental attitude which transforms the whole of theology into a contemplation of the mysteries of revelation . . . Apophaticism teaches us to see above all a negative meaning in the dogmas of the Church: it forbids us to follow natural ways of thought and to form concepts which would usurp the place of spiritual realities. For Christianity is not a philosophical school for speculating about abstract concepts, but is essentially a communion with the living God.<sup>4</sup>

The doctrine of the Holy Trinity is yet another doctrine which is apophatic at heart. Orthodox dogma teaches that the Godhead is made up of three distinct Persons (Hypostases) with the fullness of the Divine Nature residing in each Person. One nature (*homoousios*) residing equally in three persons (*hypostases*).

When I speak of God you must be illumined at once by one flash of light and by three. Three in Properties or Hypostases . . . but One in respect of the *ousia*—that is, the Godhead. For they are divided indivisibly, if I may say so; and they are conjoined dividedly. For the Godhead is One in Three, and the Three are One, in whom the Godhead is, or, to speak more accurately, Who are the Godhead.<sup>5</sup>

The Godhead is 'indivisibly divided' or distinguished into three Persons on the basis of origin. The Father is the unbegotten source and origin of the divine nature. The Son is begotten or generated, and the Holy Spirit proceeds (as with the Son) from the Father; yet, each of them bears the fullness of the Divine Nature. The 'how' of the Son's begottenness or of the Holy Spirit's procession is a mystery that is simply unavailable to human understanding.

You ask, what is the procession of the Holy Spirit? Do you tell me first what is the unbegottenness of the Father, and I will then explain to you the physiology of the generation of the Son, and the procession of the Spirit, and we will both of us be stricken with madness for prying into the mystery of God.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Lossky, Vladimir, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> St. Gregory Nazianzen, "In Sancta Lumina, Oratio XXXIX, xi," PG 36.345.

<sup>6</sup> Idem, "Oratio XXXI (Theologica V), 8," PG 36.146.

The Oneness of the Godhead is preserved by the monarchy of the Father, who is the sole source of the Divine Nature. Yet, as noted previously, the Divine Nature resides wholly and equally in each of the three Persons:

Godhead . . . neither increased nor diminished by superiorities or inferiorities; in every respect equal, in every respect the same (save the distinctions of origin—unbegotten, begotten, proceeding); . . . the infinite connaturality of Three Infinite Ones, each God when considered in Himself; as the Father so the Son, as the Son so the Holy Ghost; the Three, one God when contemplated together, each God because consubstantial; the Three, one God because of the monarchy.<sup>7</sup>

Thus there is a perfect balance in Orthodox dogma between the Threeness and the Oneness of God.

The Holy Fathers take special pains to preserve the paradox of the Trinity, for it is not a doctrine subject to human consideration; rather, the Holy Trinity is eternally at the heart of the Godhead, regardless of man's activity or existence. It was only by revelation that man learned of that which was eternally so, without cause. Therefore, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is proper to an apophatic disposition, for man of himself can neither produce, nor rationalize, nor comprehend the fact that Three equals One in the Godhead. In order to participate in this mystery, man must relinquish those operations proper to himself and immerse himself in that which has come from beyond.

. . . Apophaticism finds its fulfillment in the revelation of the Holy Trinity as primordial fact, ultimate reality, first datum which cannot be deduced, explained, or discovered by way of any other truth, for there is nothing which is prior to it. Apophatic thought, renouncing every support, finds its support in God, whose incomprehensibility appears as Trinity. Here thought gains a stability which cannot be shaken, theology finds its foundation; ignorance passes into knowledge.<sup>8</sup>

**The Cosmos.** The Orthodox understanding of the cosmos also has its foundation in revelation and consequently has a predominantly soteriological (and theocentric) orientation: "I beseech you, my child, to look at the heaven and the earth and see everything that is in them, and recognize that God made

<sup>7</sup> Idem, "In Sanc. Bapt., Oratio XL, 43," PG 36.417.

<sup>8</sup> Lossky, p. 64.

them out of things that did not exist. Thus also mankind comes into being" (2 Mc 7.28). The creation was *ex nihilo*, out of nothing. Before the creation nothing existed outside of God. There was no formless matter upon which he imposed order and form; all levels of creation, from the grossly physical to the spiritually angelic, were called forth by God from nothingness. Thus, creation has no ontological source, rather it has nothingness for a non-ontological source. Again, creation was not an outpouring of the Divine Nature. God remained separate from His creation, or the creation existed outside God, not geometrically but by the difference in the uncreated and created natures. "All things are from God; not in place, but in nature."<sup>9</sup>

As regards the cause of the creation, Orthodoxy is careful to assert that the creation was a *free* act of God.

God contemplated all things before their existence, formulating them in His mind; and each being received its existence at a particular moment, according to His eternal thought and will, which is predestination, an image and a model.<sup>10</sup>

The divine ideas, the 'thought-wills' or 'predestinations' of God, do not in any way determine God's essence. They are dynamic and intentional in character, and thus have their place in His energies, not in His essence (the uncreated, divine energies being a part of the uncreated nature of God but distinct from the forever inaccessible essence of God).<sup>11</sup> There is thus no link of necessity between the Divine Nature and the creation. God did not 'have to' create, nor is His creation by any necessity a replica of His own Divine Nature. Rather, His creation is entirely fresh and has been granted existence (out of nothingness) by a free, non-contingent act of His own Will.

Just as creation had its cause in the Free Will of God, so too all of creation must look to God for a meaning and purpose to its existence. Created being was from its very inception made for change. All of creation came into being according to the corresponding divine ideas which preordained, or modeled, the different mode of each creature's participation in the uncreated energies. Instead of immediately realizing this foreordained participation (which would have made the creation less a creative

<sup>9</sup> St. John of Damascus, *Writings*, trans. Frederic H. Chase (New York, 1958), p. 199.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, "De Fide Orthodoxa, II, 2," PG 94.837.

<sup>11</sup> After Lossky, p. 95.

act of a personal God and more the simple effluence of the Divine Nature), each creature was offered a path of 'synergy,' wherein the created will should cooperate with the divine 'idea-willings' of God in the process of deification, the increased participation in (the uncreated energies of) the Godhead. Therefore, deification is the end and meaning of creation, implicit in its very beginning.

The Eastern tradition knows nothing of 'pure nature' to which grace is added as a supernatural gift. For it, there is no natural or 'normal' state, since grace is implied in the act of creation itself.<sup>12</sup>

**Man's Divinely Appointed Function and His Fall.** Man, in his diversity, participates in all levels of created being. Within himself he finds elements of the 'intelligible universe' (the realm of knowledge and angelic spirits) as well as from the 'sensible universe' (the world that we perceive through our five senses). By uniting these diverse elements within himself—thus uniting the whole of creation—and simultaneously surrendering himself unto God "in a complete abandonment of love,"<sup>13</sup> man would have expressed the willful self-offering of the whole of creation unto the Creator. God, in His turn, would have given Himself unto man, and thus effected the deification of the whole of His creation in and through His last creature (man). This is the potential, the divinely-appointed function that was given to man.

But man failed in his task. His failure was one of disobedience, a lapsing out of the cooperation implied in 'synergy,' a setting up of his own will against that of God. For Orthodox, man's fall, the *Lapsus*, was like a wayfarer departing from the path, indeed the only path, that led to his rightful home. The fall was not a departure from an originally static and perfect nature; it was the interruption—the cessation of a priceless process. Thus the consequences of the Fall were not products of what man had lost, but of what he had chosen. Man did not lose his free will; he chose to exercise his will outside and even against that of his Creator, which necessarily weakened his own will and restricted its scope. Man did not 'fall' into a state where his nature became sinful. He chose to remain and indulge in his own undeified nature, refusing the Grace (and concomitant deification) that God offered. The consequence of man's denial of

<sup>12</sup> Lossky, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

interior Grace was slavery. Man became a 'slave to sin,' a state wherein he could not bridge the separation, or rather reopen the bridge he had denied between himself and God. Note that sin is not here (or anywhere else in Orthodoxy) a succumbing to something that is intrinsically evil; instead, sin is a willful participation in any activity in such a manner as to separate oneself from God.

Hence, as man approaches Christ he comes as a somewhat crippled creature, not as one which is thoroughly destroyed. His fall was not from the heights of heaven, but from a precious road; so, man "is not to be judged too harshly for his error"<sup>14</sup> (though the denial of his potential is indeed lamentable). His free will is restricted in scope, but by no means wholly lost. "The image of God is distorted by sin, but never destroyed . . ."<sup>15</sup> Such an understanding of the Fall—from a process, not a state, and with the retention of the 'image'—will be seen below to correspond to the Orthodox hesychastic tradition, the renewal of divinization made possible by Christ.<sup>16</sup>

**The Incarnation and Hesychasm.** In any discussion of the Incarnation, man must be careful not to lavish layers of human dependencies or categories upon what was wholly a divine revelation. Even to speak of this great mystery in the syllogisms of mundane logic is to distort it. In this respect, Ernst Benz, contrasting Orthodox and Western theology, has remarked upon the excesses of the Western Church:

While Paul's doctrine of justification never had any decisive importance in the East . . . , it had far-flung consequences for the West . . . Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) viewed the legal relationship existing between God and man as the very cornerstone of all theological thinking, so much so that he believed he could logically deduce the truth of the Christian religion and the necessity for the incarnation of God from the idea of 'satisfaction.' The covenant theology of scholasticism regarded the history of salvation in general as a history of ever-renewed legal covenants between God and man.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 228.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 228-29.

<sup>16</sup> The importance of this possibility of divinization for the hesychastic tradition is made quite clear in a parenthetical footnote in an essay by Gonzalez, A.E.J., "History and Politics of the Byzantine Church: Some Historiographical Perspectives" *Kleronomia*, 1976, No. 2.

<sup>17</sup> Ernst Benz, *The Eastern Orthodox Church: Its Thought and Life* (New York, 1963), p. 46.

As with the creation of the very cosmos, man must not attribute any 'necessity' to God's actions. Such anthropomorphizing in logical categories is a hindrance to true theological understanding.

In keeping with any of God's actions, the Incarnation must first and foremost be understood as an act of Love: "For God so loved the world that He gave His only Son, that whoever believes in Him should not perish but have eternal life" (Jn 3. 16). The Fathers of the Church have restated this 'Gospel in miniature' countless times: "For he was made man, so that we might be made God."<sup>18</sup> The act of Incarnation as well as the content (Christ) proceeds from the depths or heart of God, because it corresponds to His very nature—Love (1 Jn 4.8). Because of the unfathomable depth from which the Incarnation proceeds, man with his limited view can offer no truer (or more accurate) explanation than 'Love.' Therefore, instead of dealing with the 'why' or 'how,' the Fathers of the Church (following the example of the Gospel) address their attention to the effects of the Incarnation.

From man's fallen point of view, the Incarnation immediately means a deliverance from the bonds of sin.

What is new in the New Testament . . . is the Incarnation and salvation event whereby the power of the devil is abolished once and for all, and the Body of Christ, the Church, is delivered from death (Hades) and made inviolate against its gates.<sup>19</sup>

When we spoke of man's fall, we mentioned that the consequences of man's willful departure from 'synergy' were a rejection of the interior working of Grace and a subsequent bondage to sin. From another point of view, man's fall is viewed as an arrogant assumption of roles proper only to God. Though he had apart from God no true life within himself, man chose to view the world as though he himself were a lord and the creator. His perception of the world 'fell' and became appropriately conformed to his fallen self-image. For example, according to his 'creator' image, man began to think that he himself was the creator of the highest expression of life—his children (a delusion, for only God creates life, being the Way, Truth, and Life Himself). Or, according to his 'lord' image, man came to view the

<sup>18</sup> St. Athanasios, "Incarnation of the Word." In Phillip Schaff and Henry Wace (eds.), *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Grand Rapids, 1957), 4.65.

<sup>19</sup> Romanides, p. 249.



world as having been created solely for his own pleasure and dominion. Having isolated himself from the Grace of God, he became entrapped in his illusory self-world-view, which came to bear less and less resemblance either to the real world (and its corresponding potential) or to the 'image' within him (and the corresponding potential of 'likeness,' of becoming divine).<sup>20</sup> Thus as well as isolation from interior Grace, a blindness to man's (and the world's) true potential and a bondage to the illusory self-view (and world-view) are proper descriptions of the result of the Fall.<sup>21</sup>

From such an understanding of the Fall, the deliverance from the bonds of sin ("whereby the power of the devil is abolished once and for all") is seen as occurring through the gift of a new vision to man. This is the vision of a renewed potentiality, or likeness, offered by God—in Christ—to man. Christ, the second Adam, showed man what the true likeness of God was, and at the same time he bore the means—Grace—to that end. Christ (perfect man) was not only God's message to man of what he might be, but was also the Uncreated Divinity who transforms (perfect God); Christ was (indeed, *is*) the Word.

Orthodox, looking from a human perspective (obviously limited), view the Incarnation as a radical intrusion of God into man's fallen world,<sup>22</sup> an 'expression' of God's love for man and intense 'desire' to return the lost sheep to the fold<sup>23</sup> before its (man's) perdition was sealed. At the same time, Eastern Orthodox see the depth of Love within that 'intrusion,' where God humbled Himself to an infinite degree in order to speak to man

<sup>20</sup> On the idea of 'likeness,' Ouspensky cites the first mention of man in Scripture: "Let us make man according to our image and likeness" (Gen 1.26) and remarks: "According to this design, man should be not only an image of God, his Creator, but should also bear His likeness. Yet in the description of the accomplished act of creation 'And God made man, according to the image of God he made him' (Gen 1.27), nothing is said about likeness. It is given to man as a task, to be fulfilled by the action of the Holy Spirit, with the free participation of man himself." Leonide Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky, *The Meaning of Icons* (Boston, 1956), p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> The illusory nature of man's *Weltansicht* is beautifully presented by Bishop Ignaty Brianchaninov in his response to man's 'normal' worldly experience: "Beloved brother, the peace which makes you think your way is right is simply insensitivity and unawareness of your sinfulness due to your negligent life, while the joy you feel from time to time as a result of outward success and human praise is not holy and spiritual joy at all; it is the fruit of self-opinion, self-satisfaction, and vainglory." This translated excerpt from Bishop Ignaty's "The Arena" can be found in an excellent editorial essay, "A Man is His Faith," *Nikodemos*, 1975, Vol. 4, p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> This concept of intrusion is implied in Jn 1.14.

<sup>23</sup> See Jn 10.11 ff. and Matt 18.10 ff.

in his own language and to attract his willful participation in the soteriological scheme.<sup>24</sup>

But perhaps the best understanding of the Incarnation (or any subject of theology) can be seen in the hesychastic tradition of 'noetic prayer,' which is regarded by the Orthodox Church as the highest form of prayer. The words "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner," or a slight variant thereof, usually constitute the verbal component of the prayer; but as simple as these words may seem, the theology behind the prayer is endless. For our purpose suffice it to say that for the words of the prayer itself,

Far from rendering the interior life mechanical, [they have] the effect, on the contrary, of freeing it and turning it towards contemplation ['making it receptive to divinization' is truer to Orthodoxy] by constantly driving away from the region of the heart all contagion of sin, and every external thought or image; and this by the power of the most holy Name of Jesus.<sup>25</sup>

Before dealing with the transformation of man that is the aim of hesychasm, a brief statement of Orthodox anthropology is necessary. Man is basically bipartite, with a soul, composed of a noetic faculty (*nous*—often translated as 'spirit') and a discursive intellect (sometimes replaced by *psyche*), and a body. The noetic faculty is capable of interaction with both the soul's discursive intellect and the physical body, and a reordering of this interactive relationship is precisely the effect of the Incarnation.<sup>26</sup>

According to hesychastic tradition,

The noetic faculty is liberated by the power of the Holy Spirit from the influences of both the body and the discursive intellect and engages uninterruptedly and ceaselessly with prayer alone. The fascinating thing about this actual state of prayer . . . is that, although the physical and intellectual faculties no longer exercise any influence whatsoever on the noetic faculty, they are themselves, however, dominated by the noetic faculty's unceasing prayer in such a fashion that they are spiritually cleansed and inspired and at the same time may engage in their normal activities.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> St. Athanasios, *Incarnation of the Word*, esp. section 41.

<sup>25</sup> Lossky, pp. 210-11.

<sup>26</sup> Romanides, p. 229.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

The awakening of the noetic faculty is the precise work of the Incarnation. Christ broke man's bondage to his (man's) fallen view of the world ("the influences of both the body and the discursive intellect") by restoring within him the vision of the potential to which he was called. At the same time Christ gave the means by which man could *realize* his "liberation" from bondage—the Comforter, "... the power of the Holy Spirit," Grace. This power, Grace, is what might be called the God-given language that is appropriate to the reactivated noetic faculty. Grace is the transforming uncreated energy of God which is directly responsible for our transformation and divinization.<sup>28</sup> By Grace our fallen natures are "spiritually cleansed and inspired" by the breath, the Grace, of God.

For Orthodoxy, man's proper response to the Incarnation is to accept the invitation to a renewed beginning of synergy, to realign (with the constant help of Grace) his own will to God's. Grace is the all-important factor in man's transformation, so all practices (*praxis*—prayer, fasting, prostrations, etc.) are viewed as means (often indispensable means) to the end of "purity of heart," a state of receptivity to the Holy Spirit (Grace).<sup>29</sup> The noetic "unceasing prayer" of hesychastic practice is the highest form of man's attempt to let the *means* correspond to the *end*. We have seen how apophatic theology can play a role in spirituality; man's mind may be properly disposed towards the "unknowability" of God. Yet as man's spirituality blossoms with the inworking of Grace, man finds that all systems of thought, indeed everything that comes from man, ultimately means

<sup>28</sup> Lossky expresses this as follows: "The fruit of prayer is divine love, which is simply grace, appropriated in the depths of our being. For love, according to Diadochus, is not simply a movement of the soul, but is also an uncreated gift—a divine energy—which continually inflames the soul and unites it to God by the power of the Holy Spirit" (p. 212).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. St. Seraphim of Sarov's especially poignant defense of practice (*praxis*) as 'means to an end': "Prayer, fasting, watching, and all other Christian acts, however good they may be, do not alone constitute the aim of our Christian life, although they serve as the indispensable means of reaching this aim. The true aim of our Christian life, is to acquire the Holy Spirit of God." From Nicholas Motovilov's "A Conversation of St. Seraphim of Sarov with Nicholas Motovilov Concerning the Aim of the Christian Life," G.P. Fedotov, *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality* (New York, 1965), p. 267. Concerning 'purity of heart,' see Lossky, p. 203. Regarding 'receptivity,' Lossky notes that "the nature of spiritual prayer in the tradition of the Christian East consists in making the heart ready for the indwelling of grace by constantly guarding its interior purity" (p. 211).

nothing in relation to God. As Dionysios said, God is beyond affirmation *and* denial. In the "simplicity" of noetic prayer, one may witness a far purer expression of man's attempt to understand (receive) Christ without accommodating Him to man's own view of the world.<sup>30</sup> Here one gathers oneself and, with one's sinful view of the world, falls before the feet of Christ that He might, in His purity and according to His Will, "have mercy on a sinner." Christ humbly besought and received in unceasing prayer truly becomes both the *means* and the *end*.

**The New Cosmos and Novus Homo.** As man is transformed by the inpouring of Grace, he is literally divinized,<sup>31</sup> he becomes the 'new man.' His *theosis* comes solely from participation in the Divine Nature (the Uncreated Energies of God), not from anything that resides in his own nature. Nevertheless, by the indwelling of the Grace of God, man's human faculties—his intellect and body—"are spiritually cleansed and inspired."<sup>32</sup> With such a cleansing man finds that his fallen world, which has its source in his own fallen nature, begins to fade and be replaced by the New Heaven and the New Earth. Man's vision is transformed and consequently so is the world in which he dwells. With the Incarnation, man may actually transform the world! This casting down of the old world and the old order (death and destruction) is what we spoke of earlier as man's "divinely-appointed function." It is that for which "the whole creation has been groaning in travail . . ." (Rom 8.22). In and through Christ (and assuredly *only* so), man may fulfill that potential to which he has been called for ages. As the Golden-Mouthed St. John hymns this potential in his Easter Homily,

<sup>30</sup> Citing St. Mark the Hermit, Lossky contends that "far from seeking ecstasy or a state of excitement, the spirit must be constantly on its guard against giving any particular image to the Godhead . . . In freeing itself completely from all conceptualization of the Godhead, 'the spirit receives into itself the characteristics of a deiform image and becomes clothed with the ineffable beauty of the likeness of the Lord' . . ." (pp. 211-12).

<sup>31</sup> Some sense of this notion is found in Father Georges Florovsky's discussion of St. Gregory Palamas and the Patristic tradition: "Man now is admitted into an intimate 'communion' with God, through Christ and by the power of the Holy Spirit. And this is much more than just a 'moral' communion, and much more than just a human perfection. Only the word *theosis* can render adequately the uniqueness of the promise and offer . . . It is that intimate intercourse of man with God, in which the whole of human existence is, as it were, permeated by the Divine Presence," *Collected Works*, Vol. I. *Bible, Church, Tradition: An Eastern Orthodox View* (Belmont, Mass., 1972), p. 115.

<sup>32</sup> Romanides, p. 229.

O Death, where is thy sting? O Hades, where is thy victory?

Christ is risen and thou art cast down.

Christ is risen and the demons have fallen.

Christ is risen and the angels rejoice.

Christ is risen and life is made free.

Christ is risen and there is none dead in the tomb.

For Christ is raised from the dead and become the first-fruits of them that slept.

To Him be glory and dominion from all ages to all ages!

Amen.

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*STANLEY S. HARAKAS*

## **ORTHODOX CHURCH-STATE THEORY AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY**

A rather extensive bibliography exists in reference to Church-State relationships in Orthodox Theology. In it, the 'Orthodox view' on Church-State relationships is presented as essentially the same as the approach adapted by Byzantium and in part by early Tzarist Russia. This age-old perspective holds that the 'Orthodox' approach to Church-State relationships is the principle of 'symphonia' or 'synallelia' according to which Church and State cooperate as parts of an organic whole in the fulfillment of their purposes, each supporting and strengthening the other without this causing subordination of one to the other. It is with this tradition that Orthodox Christians began coming in numbers as an immigrant people at the turn of the century.

Of course what they found here was a system of Church-State relationships based on another principle, that of Church and State separation, a separation, however, which in its historical application and practice was often as ambiguous as was their own principle of 'symphonia'. This distinction between the approaches to Church-State relationships creates certain ambiguities for constructive thought in Orthodox Christian social ethics as well as for the exercise of citizenship in a democracy which functions under the principle of the separation of Church and State, however conceived.

Thus, I have chosen to address the issue of Church-State relationships for Orthodox Christians in the United States. I propose to treat the classic Orthodox Christian view of Church-State relationships and to relate it to the American pattern of Church-State relationships in an effort to build a bridge between them. My questions are, at heart, two:

- 1) Is it possible to interpret the Orthodox concept of 'symphonia' in a fashion that provides meaning and direction for Orthodox Christians in a land where the view of Church-State separation is the law?

2) Does the Orthodox view provide any guidance and wisdom for the American system?

To those questions I hope to provide a qualified, yet definite affirmative response.

The topic will be dealt with in three sections. In the first we will seek to articulate the major elements in both views of Church-State relationships. In the second section we will seek to analyze the concept of 'symphonia' into its constituent parts with the expectation that Orthodox Christians will find in them useful direction for their existence in a system of separation of Church and State. In the third, we will seek to delineate what elements of the traditional Orthodox view might prove of value for the American experience.

### I. 'SYMPHONIA' AND 'SEPARATION'

Modern Greek Orthodox writers on the theme of Church-State relationships articulate a theory, which, ideally stated from the point of view of the Church, has a certain admirable balance and harmony. Thus one of the most recent authors characteristically begins with an apophatic statement:

In principle, the Orthodox reject both the system of Church control over the State and the system of State control over the Church, as well as the system of separation. They, however, accept the system of harmony and mutuality ('symphonia' and 'synallelia') which is based on the sufficiency and independence of the two co-existing and co-operating principles and powers, without the subjugation either of the State to the Church or the Church to the State. Consequently, the Orthodox Church did not seek to become a state above the State, nor a state within the State, nor subservient to the State. It sought to maintain its identity and freedom and independence from the State. It looked rather, toward heavenly and not earthly things; to the eternal, not the temporal and passing; to the salvation of souls and things spiritual, and not to bodily and material things, believing that "here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come" (Hebrews 13:14).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Karmiris, *Συμβολή εις τὸ Πρόβλημα τῆς Σχέσεως καὶ Πολιτείας ἐξ Ἑπόψεως Ὁρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1972), p. 17.



This view is articulated in monograph and text by author after author.<sup>2</sup>

From the point of view of the Church, the harmonious relationship of State and Church is a result of the belief that both Church and State are creatures of one Lord. The Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit have brought the Church into existence in a direct and historical fashion to initiate the Kingdom of God and to prepare for its eschatological realization. The same God has brought into being the State to serve the worldly needs of humanity, providing order, peace justice and external harmony. Both Church and State have their functions to fulfill. From the point of view of the Church the duty of the State is

the care for 'the things outside the Church' in harmony with the Christian spirit, parallel to the Bishops, whose authority is directed to the things 'within the Church.' But since the 'things outside the Church' as well as the things 'inside the Church' are things which concern one and the same people, this people thus becomes the object of the care and concern of both, of the bishop of things outside and the bishop of things inside the Church, that is, the political and ecclesiastical leaders. Both, each in his own sphere, serve one and the same people, who are for both leaders, 'the people of God' and whose material and spiritual well-being is the center of their concern.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the civil leader, i.e. the Emperor, and the religious leader, i.e. the Patriarch, symbolize two authorities over a common body which they mutually serve in harmony and cooperation. However, the perception of that body differs between them. For the Church, uppermost is the people of God who share in community the gifts of the Spirit and who are an embodiment and a manifestation of the Kingdom. However, in that

<sup>2</sup> Chrestos Androutsos, *Σύστημα Ἡθικῆς*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonike, 1964), pp. 359-360; Panagiotes Demetropoulos, *Σχέσεις Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας ἐξ Ἐπόψεως Ὁρθοδόξου* (Athens, 1966), pp. 7-8; and "Ἡ Πολιτεία ἐξ Ἐπόψεως Φιλοσοφικῆς καὶ Ὁρησευτικῆς," *Ὁρησευτικὴ καὶ Ἡθικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια*, 10, cols. 497-507; Vasileios Antoniadēs, *Ἐγχειρίδιον κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἡθικῆς* (Constantinople, 1927), 2 pp. 277-283.

<sup>3</sup> Demetropoulos, *Σχέσεις*, p. 6.

Kingdom was also the basileus. "The Basileus was, it is true, an autocrator, ruling at his own pleasure . . . he made the law, he was the final court of judicial appeal, he controlled the administration; he was the legislature, the judicature, and the executive all in one." But at the same time "the Church conceived the emperor as . . . bound to be 'the faithful and true servant (*doulos*) and son of the holy Church,' bound to follow the decrees of the seven Councils and the ecclesiastical canons."<sup>4</sup>

From the point of view of the State, however, the harmonious relationship of the Church and the State was seen as a security and strength for the State. Justinian may serve as an example. In the words of Fr. Meyendorff "[Justinian] was convinced that the strength of his Empire lay not only in the success of his army, but also in permanent struggle against the forces of internal disintegration." This struggle was in large part conducted on the principle that a common faith would provide the needed inner cohesion. Thus, Church administrative canons and doctrines of faith were made law. The decisions of ecclesiastical Councils were "gathered and regulated by the emperor. They were expected to produce definitions of faith which would be regarded as imperial law." Thus from the point of view of the Byzantine State, the 'symphonia' was. . .

not a harmony between two powers, or between two distinct societies, the Church and the State, rather it is meant to represent the internal cohesion of one single human society, for whose orderly welfare on earth the Emperor is responsible. . . [Legally] the Empire and the Church are one single body of the faithful administered by a two-fold God given hierarchy; theoretically, a duality is preserved between the *imperium* and the *sacerdotium*, but inasmuch as the priesthood's role is to deal with the divine things, it has almost no legal expression.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ernest Baker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford, 1957), pp.28-9.

<sup>5</sup> John Meyendorff, "Justinian, the Empire and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* (1968), pp. 45-47.

Thus, from the point of view of the Church in the theory of 'symphonia' the Emperor (i.e. the government) functioned chiefly as a member of the Church; from the view of the State the theory of 'symphonia' meant that the true Faith assured inner harmony, permanence and growth for the State. The theory was the same but the perspectives of its two partners varied.

It is generally accepted that the theory was never fully adhered to, and that most of its violations were by the State at the expense of the Church; hence the view that Byzantium was an example of caesaropapism in fact. Even within Greek Orthodoxy this is a disputed question.<sup>6</sup> Yet if it was, in fact, the case it was a violation of what was preached, taught and promulgated and thus only in appearance does it side with the western 'two swords' theory, whether Roman or Lutheran. In the last analysis, the Church outlived the Empire and continues to understand its view of the nature of 'symphonia' as authentic.

We now turn to the theory of separation of Church and State in the United States. An outgrowth of a number of views and realities, separation as a system is best known and most fully implemented in the United States. The impossibility of determining a single cause for the adoption of the system is obvious, but the fact of religious plurality both within and among the colonies was close to determinative. However, even before the acceptance of the Constitution and its Bill of Rights the arguments for the separation of Church and State were formidable. In 1785 James Madison authored a

widely circulated and highly influential 'Memorial and Remonstrance'. . . against the proposal of the House of Delegates in Virginia to provide, through assessments, for teachers of the Christian religion. This Memorial is one of the most important and eloquent documents in the history of the achievement of religious liberty and the separation of Church and State in the United States.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Karmiris, pp. 19-20.

<sup>7</sup> Anson Phelps Stokes and Leo Pfeffer, *Church and State in the United States*, revised one-volume edition (New York, 1964), p. 55.

I list below some of the chief arguments in this document as a rather thorough collection of reasons against the establishment of Churches or support of Churches by the civil power. As such, it may serve to illustrate the kind of reasoning which led to the framing of the United States Constitution and the U.S. Bill of Rights. Madison was opposed to the bill for the following reasons:

1) "Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, that religion, or the duty we owe to our Creator, and the manner of our discharging it can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." Tertullian's statement *To Scapula* is a remarkable parallel: "It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions: one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It . . . is certainly no part of religion to compel religion."

2) "Because if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative body." Here Madison argues from the premise in the previous article that civil authority is not competent to legislate on religion since it is but an organ of the natural society which has no right to compel religion.

3) "Because it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens." This argument sees infringement of the principle of Church and State separation as a "foot in the door," thus requiring opposition to any and all efforts to overcome the established separation.

4) "Because the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law."

5) "Because the bill implies, either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of truth, or that he may employ religion as a civil policy." The first alternative Madison called "an arrogant pretension" and as "falsified by history." The second he saw as a "perversion of the means of salvation." This argument strikes most sharply at the 'symphonia' theory of Church-State relationships.

6) "Because the establishment proposed by the Bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion." Madison argues from the autonomous and independent authority of Christianity itself which "both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them." This argument appeals to the same criterion of independence and autonomy found in the theory of 'symphonia.'

7) "Because experience witnesseth that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the 'purity and efficacy of religion,' have had a contrary operation." It is not to the advantage of religion to be established by the State.

8) "Because the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy which, offering asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a lustre to our country, and an accession to the number of its citizens." Madison considered this proposal as a first step in the 'career of intolerance' which in itself is unacceptable but which would also have consequences which would be deleterious to the well-being of the United States.

9) "Because the establishment in question is not necessarily for the support of civil government." Here Madison strikes at the basic supposition of the Imperial reasoning. He argues that a government seeking to secure and provide public liberty is best supported by "neither invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another."

10) Specifically, "because it will have a tendency to banish our citizens."

11) "Because it will destroy the moderation and harmony which the forbearance of our laws to intermeddle with religion has produced among its various sects." Madison observes that separation of Church and State has had a pacifying effect on inter-church relations since there is no vying for "first place" in favor of the state.

12) "Because the policy of the bill is adverse to the diffusion of the Right of Christianity." Madison argues that the truth of Christianity can convince others on its own of its validity, but establishment will simply keep away from this land those who would otherwise come here. It should be noted that there is a high regard for Christianity and for its inherent superiority in this argument, a not infrequent position held by early supporters of the separation view.

13) "Because attempts to enforce, by legal sanctions acts obnoxious to so great a proportion of the citizens, tend to enervate the laws in general, and to slacken the bands of society. This is a profound comment on the dependence of positive law upon the popular understanding of right and wrong. Once disrespect for law is engendered by what is perceived to be unjust laws, the whole fabric of law is threatened. It is both an argument drawn from a view of the positive law as dependent upon the general sense of right and wrong of the citizenry as well as a commentary on the interconnectedness of the sense of justice with respect for the whole fabric of the law.

14) "Because, finally, 'the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his religion, according to the dictates of conscience,' is held by the same tenure with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature." Quoting from the Bill of Rights of the State of Virginia and claiming it for the status of natural law, Madison holds that no act of the legislature is sufficient to abrogate the principles of religious liberty and its corollary, separation of Church and State.

There is no question that the two systems just described are clearly opposed to one another in form and spirit when taken as a whole. 'Symphonia' calls for a close relationship of Church and State in which the State, in the person of the Emperor, was perceived to be a protector of the Church, aided the Church in its work, embodied its canons and doctrine in Imperial law and intervened on the Church's behalf to deal with heresy and schism. For the Empire, the Church functioned as its soul and spirit, destined to provide inner unity and divine blessing for

the State. The system of 'symphonia' meant a close and intimate relation of Church and State.

In contrast, the system of separation of Church and State as developed in the United States removed religious considerations from State concern and competency. This policy, strictly adhered to, has consistently widened the formal or appearance of formal relationships between religion and the State, most recently barring prayer in public schools (*Engel vs. Vitale*, 1962) and Bible reading (*Abington School District vs. Schempp*, 1963). Both in spirit and form, it must be clearly admitted that the two systems of thought, considered as wholes, are diametrically opposed to each other.

## II. ELEMENTS OF 'SYMPHONIA' THEORY IN A 'SEPARATION' CONTEXT

If it is true that the 'symphonia' and 'separation' theories are as wholes irreconcilably opposed to each other, this does not necessarily hold true for aspects of the 'symphonia' theory. When elements of the 'symphonia' theory are viewed in isolation, it is possible to relate these elements to the system of separation of Church and State in a deontological, that is, ethical mode. It is the contention of this paper that certain elements of the 'symphonia' theory may be re-interpreted to provide ethical guidance for Orthodox citizens in a situation in which Church and State function on the principle of separation. To this task we now turn.

### A. Historical Restrictions on Theoretical Possibilities

Before we proceed to identify the constituent elements of the 'symphonia' view and seek to reinterpret them for our present situation, it is necessary to examine the question of the present-day applicability of the 'symphonia' view and its place in Orthodox Theology.

We can fairly ask if the 'symphonia' system was in fact successful, that is, if it worked in practice. Certainly in Byzantium we have an example of its embodiment in practice. The Emperors, from their side, sought through reason, free discussion as well as through legal enactment, sanctions upon dissenters severely limiting their civil rights and outright persecution to bring all the residents of the Empire to religious unity.

"However, it can be safely said that one of the major disappointments of Constantine and his successors has been the legal ineffectiveness of the system."<sup>9</sup> Though the joining of the State and Eastern Christendom can be said to have created a civilization and a culture, the assumption that unity of religious faith must be achieved for the State to persist was shown to be false. It was proven wrong because of the fact that the Empire lasted for almost one thousand years without that unity ever having been fully achieved. It is also disproved by the American experience and that of most modern nations, in which the Church is in practice disestablished. The Imperial view of 'symphonia' was thus also proven mistaken.

Furthermore, among Orthodox Christians today the view is widely held that the theory of 'symphonia' as developed in the concrete reality of Imperial Byzantium and Tzarist Russia (before Peter the Great) is not determinative, in that there is no essential connection between the Church and specific political forms, such as monarchy.

There is no inner and unchangeable bond between Orthodoxy and any particular system of government.

.....  
We repeat, there is no dogmatic bond between Orthodoxy and any particular political system. Orthodoxy is free and it does not exclusively serve any political establishment. It possesses a religious ideal—a political one—of the sanctification of political power. It does not hold to the ideal of the two swords, nor to the ideal of an ecclesiastical state, such as the Papal State, which Catholicism is not able to renounce. Orthodoxy accepts neither papocaesarism nor caesaropapism.<sup>10</sup>

But "the sanctification of political power" still remains a part of the doctrine of 'symphonia.' The Church's perspective of the view of 'symphonia' stands up in history much more successfully than does the imperial view. It is basically an incarnational approach which is espoused by the Church's understanding of 'symphonia'. The Church is, in a sense, 'incarnated' in the world just as her Lord was (John 1, and John 17). The message of the Church remains unchanging, but the world

<sup>9</sup> J. Meyendorff, "Justinian, Empire and Church," p. 46.

<sup>10</sup> Sergius Bulgakov, "Ὁρθοδοξία καὶ Κράτος" in *Σύνοψη*, 40 (1966-67), 284.



in which it is incarnated and which it seeks to sanctify is constantly changing. To fulfill its tasks the Church must seek to sanctify all worldly forms and transfigure, so to speak, the inner spirit and 'soul' of those forms, yet like the divine nature of Christ, remain in essence unchanged and inviolate.

Orthodoxy is called to choose the unending adventures to which it is subjected by its constant "incarnation" within every different people, in every historic reality, rather than to identify with one of them, or, even less to become itself one of those conditioned realities. Essentially free from history, Orthodoxy is able to take on any kind of historical form . . . But that which it cannot do is to become itself an 'establishment'. It can co-exist with and inspire any kind of political system, but it can never become a political party or program. The purpose of the Church is to take on all of the forms, to enter into all historical guises—for that is the ontological consequence of incarnation—so as to drive away evil (the Devil) and to fill all historical realities with the spirit. But this is diametrically opposed to the Church becoming one of those realities itself. This would mean not taking on of the flesh and its transfiguration, but its own transformation into that which it is not.<sup>11</sup>

Thus 'symphonia' is not necessarily a view of Church-State relationships limited to an Imperial governmental scheme, nor is it necessarily inapplicable to a system of Church-State separation, at least in its understanding from the Church's perspective.

A final point needs to be made. A survey of the present condition of Orthodoxy will reveal that the view of 'symphonia' which understands it as the establishment of the Church in a particular country on the basis of equal and independent status is nowhere to be found. This is obvious in nations such as the United States, Canada, Mexico, and the U.S.S.R and other countries of the Communist bloc. Often, however, Greece is identified as the one country where 'symphonia' in the classical sense does, in fact, exist. However, those closest to the situation there would question that assumption. In fact, most Greek Orthodox writers on the question see the present system as one that clearly violates all the presuppositions of

<sup>11</sup> P. Nellas, "Τρεῖς Βιβλικές Προϋποθέσεις γὰ τὴν Προσέγγιση τοῦ Θέματος τῆς πολιτικῆς," *Σύνορο*, 40 (1966-1967), 295.

'symphonia' in that the Church was actually established after the pattern of the Bavarian Protestant Territorial Church by the first Greek Regent, Maurer. Few Greek Orthodox theologians and ecclesiastics feel that the present Church-State relationship system in Greece represents the 'symphonia' view because the Church in many important aspects of its inner life is controlled by the State. Thus, Demetropoulos notes that

The modern Greek State has adopted, as it should not have done, the system of civil control . . . and, since then, it continues to rule until this day (constantly being renewed), in spite of the powerful polemic exercised against it and in spite of the constant effort by the Church to abolish it.

The establishment and maintenance of this system in the Orthodox Greek nation is totally unjustified, and not only that, but also incompatible with the Orthodox ecclesiastical and civil tradition.

Civil control, meaning the submission of the Church to the State, that is, the submission of the divine and eternal to the human and temporal, is a system sharply opposed to both right reason and the divine will.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, in conclusion, the application of the theory of 'symphonia' is limited by the facts of history. In Byzantium, the system worked only partially and certainly not to the advantage of the State. From the theological point of view, the system of 'symphonia' is not wedded to a particular governmental form or political system. And, in fact, there is no nation in the world today where the system of 'symphonia' is presently functioning in any manner approaching its fullness.

All of the above encourage us to see what elements of the traditional 'symphonia' theory we can apply to the Church-State situation in the United States, and by extension to all nations which grant freedom of religion and conscience to the citizenry.

<sup>12</sup> *Ὁρθόδοξος Χριστιανικὴ Ἠθικὴ* (Athens, 1970), pp. 376-77. See also, Chrestos Androutsos, *Σύστημα Ἠθικῆς*, pp. 360-61, and Theokletos A. Stragas, *Κάτοπτρον Σχέσεων Ἀνταποκρινόμενων Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Πολιτείας* (Athens, 1967).

**B. Constituent Elements of the 'Symphonia' Theory Interpreted****1. The Identity of the Source**

In the 'symphonia' theory the source of both Church and State is God. As far as the Church is concerned, the New Testament teachings as seen in Romans 13 describe the State as ordained by God (13:1); disobedience to the governing authority is tantamount to resisting God Himself and as such receives God's condemnation (13:2), and the State is God's servant, punishing the evil doer (13:4). This, of course, refers to a government which is functioning properly. Yet it is possible for the state to function improperly, seeking for itself that ultimate loyalty which is due only to God. In this case obedience is due to God and not men (Acts 5:29) and such a state is condemned in that it does not remain true to its Author but becomes an agent of the devil—"And to it the dragon gave his power and his throne and great authority (Rev. 13:20)."

The American people found it easy to conceive of their nation cast in the first mold. This from the beginning was a working theme for the American people, but not of course without its conflicts and contradictions. The Declaration of Independence refers to "nature's God," man's "Creator," "the Supreme Judge of the World," and "Divine Providence."

All state constitutions save five make reference to "Almighty God," "the Supreme Being," "The Sovereign Ruler of Nations," or the "Supreme Ruler of the Universe." In some sense the nation has been described by its Supreme Court as a "Christian" or a "Religious" nation [Vidal vs. Gerad's Executors (1844), Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints vs. United States (1890), United States vs. Macintosh (1930), Zorach vs. Clauson (1952) and Abington School District vs. Schempp (1963)]. Its motto is "In God We Trust". The official pledge of allegiance to its flag was revised by act of Congress in 1954 to include the phrase "under God." In a less specific fashion the colonists and those who marched on the expanding frontier of the nation tended to see themselves and their land as a new Israel, readily identifying themselves with the people of God and their nation as the new 'Promised Land.'

Surely, this is not the whole picture. There is a Jefferson and a Thomas Paine, there is Madeline O'Hare and the prohibition

of prayer and Bible reading in the schools. There is a promulgation of American civil religion as an inadequate expression of faith. But in all, the Church in America can find many less satisfactory understandings of the source of the nation than that found in the United States. Though not fully Christian in form or substance, it provides adequate expression for the Christians to be at home with and to interpret in a manner conducive to the encouragement of religious practices in this nation.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Independence and sufficiency of both Church and State.

The ideal of 'symphonia', as we have seen, does not call for an identification of State and Church. Rather it holds that Church and State need to be independent and sufficient unto themselves. The view is not one of separation, to be sure, but it does oppose the confusion of the Church with State and vice versa. In large part Orthodox people have come to understand that the establishment of the Church in certain 'Orthodox Nations' has meant, if not an enslavement of the Church to the State, at least a limitation and restriction to its freedom and independence.

The United States' system of Church and State separation has not been born out of anti-religious bias nor out of a form of anti-clericalism. The founding Fathers had great respect for religion and held that the state was incompetent to adjudicate its truth and that human beings have a natural right to maintain their relations with God uncoerced by the State. To hold for non-establishment of any religion, to maintain the independence of Church from State and State from Church is to affirm the independence and sufficiency of both. It is not necessarily antagonistic in content or purpose. Witness these characteristic words of James Madison. He was, as noted above, opposed to an act calling for Christian teachers to be paid from tax revenues.

Because the establishment proposed by the bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. To say that it is, is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; for every page of it disavows a dependence on the powers of this world: it is a contradiction to fact; for it is known that this

<sup>13</sup> This section based extensively on Chapter 19 of Stokes and Pfeffer.

religion existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws, but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid, but long after it had been left to its own evidence, and the ordinary care of Providence. Nay, it is a contradiction in terms; for a religion not invented by human policy must have been supported before it was established by human policy. It is, moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its innate excellence, and patronage of its author; and to foster in those who still reject it, a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies to trust it to its own merits.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, this aspect of the 'symphonia' perspective is seen to be in basic harmony with the system in force in the United States. We can observe that the independence and sufficiency of both Church and State are essential elements in both systems and thus encourage the Orthodox Christian to accept wholeheartedly this aspect of the American view of Church-State relations.

### 3. The Identity of the Constituency

The doctrine of 'symphonia' has a crucial pre-supposition—that the citizens of the State are one in faith, or are sufficiently dominant in numbers so that national life is essentially determined by them. As we have indicated above, the religious pluralism of the American nation is probably one of the most forceful facts leading to the principle of the separation of Church (or would we be more accurate to say "churches") and the State. In the United States this essential presupposition does not exist. In fact, there is no single Church which can claim even a majority. The establishment of any one Church would of necessity make it a minority establishment. In the past certain efforts at framing an inclusive group for such an identification were made. Congregationalism was the first, in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Later, 'Protestant Christianity' was the vehicle; then a broad view of Christianity so as to even include Roman Catholicism; finally, a vague religiousness as embodied in a national civil religion, so as to include the Jewish faith and others as well. But it is clear that if there is to be some understanding of the applicability of the 'sym-

<sup>14</sup> Stokes and Pfeffer, p. 57.

phonia' theory in the United States, it will have to deal with this fact first. Orthodoxy can make the adjustment if its own identity with the nation becomes sufficiently broad and deep so that the concerns of the Church transcend its own membership and seek the welfare of the whole people. Admittedly this is not the same as the identity of constituency as presupposed by the 'symphonia' theory. Yet, if Orthodox Christianity can learn to speak to the nation as a whole, to concern itself with the common problems of the people of this country, if it can seek to become in some measure the "soul" of the nation, it will have made great strides in overcoming that inapplicability. Some Orthodox thinkers seem to be willing to accept the challenge. There is a remarkable passage in Sergius Bulgakov's *La Russie et l'Eglise Universelle*:

The ideal of the transformation of the State by the inner activity of the Church exists in its full power and without any limitation, even in the age of the separation of the Church and the State. The modes of influence change, however. Action no longer takes place from without, from on high, but from within, at the foundation, with the people and through the people.<sup>15</sup>

Orthodoxy can interpret the identity of the Church constituency in such a fashion that the Orthodox Church seeks the interest of the nation as a whole in terms of justice, fairness, spiritual values, the struggle against social and personal evil, human dignity, mutual love, the protection of personal freedom and rights, as well as the promotion of the sense of responsible citizenship. This it can do as its obligation both to its people and all other people of the nation.

#### 4. Emperor and Patriarch

The classic formulations of the 'symphonia' theory of Church-State relationships centered on the Emperor and the Patriarch as the two major foci of the relationship. In the *Epanagoge* (circa 880), the Emperor

<sup>15</sup> Σύνοδος, 40 (1966-67), 284.

is a legal authority, a blessing common to all his subjects. . . . The end set before the Emperor is to confer benefits. . . . The Emperor is presumed to enforce and maintain . . . all that is set out in the divine scriptures; then the doctrines laid down by the seven holy Councils and further, in addition . . . the received laws. The Emperor ought to be most notable in orthodoxy and piety . . . The Emperor must interpret the laws benevolently.<sup>16</sup>

In the same work it is said that

The Patriarch is a living and animate image of Christ by deeds and words typifying the truth. The aim of the Patriarch is first, to guard those whom he has received from God, in piety and soberness of life; (next) to turn to Orthodoxy and the unity of the Church, so far as he can, all heretics, and finally, through the awe he inspires by his shining and most manifest and admirable action, to make those who are unbelievers imitators of the faith . . . the attributes of the Patriarch are that he should be a teacher; . . . that he should behave equally and fairly to all men, both high and low; . . . that he should be merciful in justice, but a reprover of unbelievers; and that he should lift up his voice on behalf of the truth and the vindication of the doctrines of the Church before kings and not be ashamed.<sup>17</sup>

The Emperor, we have seen, was to fulfill the tasks outlined above as *autocrator*. The Emperor drew to himself all three aspects of government. He was legislator, executive and judge all in one. As such, the Church considered him to be also one of its sons who legislated, administered and judged with a Christian conscience and a Christian mind. But the Emperor is no more. His functions are now exercised by the *laos*, the people. The people in this democracy rule through their elected representatives, and the representatives are *laos* as well. And since the *basileus* has become the people, the Church can now speak to the political authority by and through the people.

<sup>16</sup> Titulus II, in Barker, *Social and Political Thought*, pp. 89-91.

<sup>17</sup> *Epanogoge*, Titulus III, Barker, pp. 91-92.

An analogous development has taken place with the figure of the Patriarch. The duties of the Patriarch as outlined above are still his. He is still the chief bishop of the 'things within' the church. Yet, we have also learned to emphasize the equality of the Bishops and especially we have learned that the laity of the Church also share in the prophetic, the royal, and the high priestly role of Christ. All Christians are . . . to be animate images of Christ in deed and word; . . .to inspire unbelievers to faith through their shining actions. . .to be teachers. . .and to lift up their voices on behalf of truth.

What we see, of course, is that in large part the Imperial and Patriarchal offices meet in the persons of the laity of the Church, especially in a democratic system of government such as that in effect in the United States! Thus:

The Church channels its own life to the political organism through its faithful members—who are concurrently members of the State. Without identifying itself with it, the Church meets the State in the persons of its members and it influences the State not directly, as a social system, but indirectly, organically.

.....

The Church, as the timeless Kingdom of God, sends to the historical realities its annointed bearers of the Spirit with the purpose that they transmit the Spirit everywhere, and light the fires of Pentecost in all corners of the earth. Prophets, kings and priests, the faithful are called to transform all of the historical realities in which they participate into 'expressions of the rational worship of God.'<sup>18</sup>

In re-interpreting the role of Emperor and Patriarch we see the laity take on a new significance. In this sense the State can be considered Christian when its inner being is moved by the values, the spirit, the truth and the life of the Church and inasmuch as the State permits the Church to act through its faithful primarily as free citizens in a free state. The separation of Church and State, when both Church and State are free, is no obstacle to a particular kind of "Christian State."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Nellas, *Προποθέσεις*, p. 296.

<sup>19</sup> Androutsos, *Σύστημα Ἠθικῆς*, p. 363.



## 5. Methods of Relationship

In Byzantium we know that the Church influenced legislation in many fields. It accomplished its influence on the State in many ways, but primarily through its vision and practice of the true life of community in the life of the Trinity. The Christian life of love for God and for fellow human beings provides a new, higher and fuller experience of life. This life is experienced, above all, within the Church, in its sacramental union with God and with all of the members of His Body, the Church. This new level of life provides a foretaste of the Kingdom, and also an imperative for the rest of life in its social-political dimensions. The State is not the Church, and the methods appropriate to the Church for those 'within' are not equally available to the State. Through its example, its teaching and its preaching, however, the Church points to a goal for the State and its society. That goal can never be fully realized outside the Kingdom. But that Churchly vision can prompt the State to function "towards greater humanity" (from the *Ecloga* of Leo III). "The 'greater humanity' shows the influence of the Church and Christian feeling."<sup>20</sup> It was expressed first of all by the indirect method alluded to in the preceding section and in what has been said to this point, here.

But the Church also found that it could and did influence Imperial legislation 'toward a greater humanity' by lobbying for its causes. From the time of Eusebios of Caesaria, Christians sought to 'whisper in the ear of the Emperor,' and this whispering was effective. Imperial laws and practices were slowly, yet systematically modified to embody more and more Christian ideals and ethical insights. To be sure, this practice never succeeded in overturning injustice completely, but it did have an ameliorating effect on Byzantine law and society.<sup>21</sup> The Church needs to continue to 'whisper in the ear of the Emperor' for its task of social and legal reform continues in our day. In the words of Demetropoulos,

Christianity, intending the continual salvation of the world, does not offer a moral system which is capable of application

<sup>20</sup> Barker, *Social and Political Thought*, p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> See Panagiotes Demetropoulos, *Ἡ Πίστις τῆς Ἀρχαίας Ἐκκλησίας ὡς Κανὼν τῆς Ζωῆς καὶ ὁ Κόσμος*, (Athens, 1969).

only at a certain period of time; rather, it reveals ethical truths and presents principles of absolute and eternal validity, which are able to constitute a permanent rule for life for all men, who may live in every age and under every sort of political and social system.<sup>22</sup>

But 'whispering' these truths into the ear of the Emperor now takes place through other means. The Church, both as institution and as the people of God, must learn the methods appropriate to the time, age and place in which it finds itself. In the United States great moral issues are decided as often as not by letter campaigns, official and unofficial lobbying and petition. Part of the method by which the Orthodox Church can proclaim the Gospel in a democracy is by participating in the law-making procedure with the methods described above. The two major approaches which are appropriate to the Church are to prepare sharpened Christian consciences in the laity and to mobilize that consciousness in appropriate efforts at influencing legislation.

It is, however, a quite questionable undertaking for the Church itself to become a political party and to function as a political party among other political parties. It is true that this has taken place in certain nations in modern times. Yet Orthodox writers generally agree that this is inappropriate.

The faithful, as members of society, will naturally be interested in the problems of their country and will expend effort to respond to those problems and seek their resolution, either as responsible citizens or as representatives or agents of state authority. That, of course, means their direct or indirect participation in partisan politics. This, however, does not justify in any manner the participation of the Church itself in any political groupings, or the identification of the Christian name with any political party.

.....  
The Church is never identified with any this-worldly reality. Any reality of this world may be included within the sphere of the Church, but it may not represent the Church.  
.....

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 219.

(The Church) free from any worldly bond, is able to act and move as a uniting principle above the various divisions and distinctions of man. Consequently, its social mission is unique and irreplaceable.<sup>23</sup>

We thus have seen five elements of the Orthodox Christian theory of 'symphonia' which are amenable to some reinterpretation and application to the American situation. The Orthodox Christian can comfortably see America as having a constitution from God; can quite conscientiously support the independence of Church and State, both as an American and as an Orthodox Christian; can recognize the responsibility of the Orthodox Christian faith for the whole of the American people; can see in the laity of the Church the chief agent for the exercise of spiritual influence on the State; and, finally, can engage in attempts at influencing legislation and the ethos of the country, while maintaining a stance 'above' the common party politics. There remains one brief task to complete before this reinterpretation of the theory of 'symphonia' is completed.

### III. THE LESSONS OF 'SYMPHONIA' FOR AMERICA

Two important books form the keystone for the response to the question "Does the Orthodox view provide any guidance and wisdom for the American system?" The first is Harold J. Berman's *The Interaction of Law and Religion*,<sup>24</sup> whose key theme about law and religion is parallel to what we have noted about the Church and State. Berman holds that "there are religious dimensions of the law and legal dimensions of religion, and that the two cannot survive independently of each other."<sup>25</sup> Law and religion are in dialectical interaction. But too sharp a division between the two, as seems to be occurring in America today, is fraught with danger. Berman writes

The dualism of church and state, spiritual and secular, religion and law, makes sense as an answer to monistic claims of the total state or the total church. In the United States today, however, and in most countries of Western Europe, it is not the case of excessive spiritual claims by

<sup>23</sup> George Mantzarides, *Χριστιανική Ήθική: Πανεπιστημιακά Παραδόσεις* (Thessalonike, 1975), pp. 249-51.

<sup>24</sup> New York, 1974.

<sup>25</sup> Berman, p. 137.

political parties or excessive political claims by religious or quasi-religious groups. We are threatened more by anarchy than by dictatorship, and more by decadence and apathy than by fanaticism. Under these circumstances the old dualisms need to be subordinated to a more complex unity, which seeks the interaction of secular and spiritual aspects of life rather than their compartmentalization.<sup>26</sup>

It would seem that what Berman calls "interaction" is another formulation for the structural meaning of the view of 'symphonia' in Orthodox Christianity. Both say that the State and its law have need of what religion has to offer. Berman goes so far as to say that "the Constitution itself could not survive the disappearance of religious faith in this country."<sup>27</sup> 'Symphonia' reiterates that the State needs what the Church has to give.

The second volume is Patrick Devlin's *The Enforcement of Morals*.<sup>28</sup> Devlin is concerned with the connection between law and morality in our age. The well-being of society, in his view, depends in large part on its moral condition. Further, he holds that the moral condition of society is even now depending on the force obtained primarily from religious teachings and sanctions. Yet, because our society cannot appeal directly to religious authority to justify its moral legal formulations, it is forced to appeal to common morality. The law-maker is no longer able to appeal to the truth of a moral belief, but only to its common acceptance in the nation at large. Devlin writes,

I think it is clear that the criminal law as we know it is based upon moral principle. . . . Undoubtedly, as a matter of history it is derived from Christian teaching. But I think that the strict logician is right when he says that the law can no longer rely on doctrines in which citizens are entitled to disbelieve. It is necessary therefore to look for some other source.<sup>29</sup>

.....

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>28</sup> New York, 1968.

<sup>29</sup> Devlin, p. 7.

Immorality, then, for the purpose of the law is what every right-minded person is presumed to consider immoral.<sup>30</sup>

But for Devlin, the self-preservation of society demands a common morality.

Societies disintegrate from within more frequently than they are broken up by external pressures. There is disintegration when no common morality is observed and history shows that the loosening of moral bonds is often the first stage of disintegration, so that society is justified in taking some steps to preserve its moral code.<sup>31</sup>

This line of thinking says to the State that it is even more than ever now dependent upon religion for its survival. For if the State is only able to appeal to common morality to legislate against its own dissolution, then the quality and level of that common morality is dependent largely upon the religious influences which give it its strength and impetus. Again, from another perspective, the State and the Church are seen in closer proximity than that which appears on the surface. The State needs the Church to help keep up the common morality, even though it cannot directly appeal to the Church for its legal judgment and sanctions. Thus, beneath the surface, there is still a significant 'symphonia' and 'synallelia'.

It appears clearly that even in the situation of Church-State separation, the State continues to need the ministrations and the offering of the Church.

This effort at rehabilitating the concept of 'symphonia' for use in a situation of Church-State separation is offered as a first step to both a deeper understanding of the historical Orthodox approach to Church-State relations and also in the ongoing effort to bring the light of Orthodox Christian social and ethical teaching out from under the bushel and to place it on a stand so that it might give "light to all the house" (Mat. 5:15).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

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STANLEY S. HARAKAS

## THE ORTHODOX PRIEST AS LEADER IN THE DIVINE LITURGY

In the Greek-American Orthodox parish situation it seems an almost self-evident truth that the Greek Orthodox Priest is a leader. His uniqueness in most parishes, his authoritative voice in religious matters, his public visibility, his representative function on official, semi-official, and unofficial occasions, and his obvious leadership role in the worship and life of his parish confirm the view that he is a leader.

However, "leadership" is far from being an unambiguous word. Leadership may be understood as the exercise of dictatorial power and authority over followers. It may be interpreted charismatically, in which case the awe and reverence engendered by the charismata create a desire to follow on the part of others which may or may not be desired or welcomed by the charismatic. Leadership, again, may simply rest in the role. Appointment to an office may bring with it duties and responsibilities which require actions, decisions and presentations which guide, direct and influence the lives and actions of others. Leadership is today often described as "enabling." The leader is thought of as the person who provides the opportunities, the circumstances, the capabilities, and the possibilities for others to freely respond, should they care to do so. And finally, leadership may be simply one of example, or as it is often called, "moral leadership." What is a fact is that leadership in any case is a complex concept and not easily delineated.

In this study I propose to severely limit my inquiry concerning priestly leadership. I will address the question of the nature of the priest's leadership to the texts of the services related to the performance of the Divine Liturgy. In order to do this it is first necessary to review the texts of the Service of Preparation (*Kairon*) and the Divine Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil (to a lesser extent, since much of the second repeats verbatim the material in the first). This review will take place firstly to determine the image of the priest in these liturgical texts. Only after the "priest of the Divine Liturgy" has been

described can we then ask the question regarding the nature of priestly leadership as it appears in the texts of the Liturgy. A further restriction of this little study is on the text itself. I have not sought to use variant readings, manuscript information, or unusual textual material. I have deliberately restricted myself to the *textus receptus* of the Service of Preparation and the two Divine Liturgies as they are presented in the generally well-received edition of the Service Book (*Hieratikon*) of the *Apostolika Diakonia* of 1962. The translations of the passages are my own. References to the text will be made, however, to the above mentioned edition. The reason for this course of action is that the present form of the Liturgy is what both expresses and influences the self-image of today's priest. What we seek to do is first to systematically examine the priestly image in the Divine Liturgy and then to ask the meaning of that image for the leadership of the contemporary Greek Orthodox priest.

## I. THE PRIEST OF THE DIVINE LITURGY

As we approach the text of the Divine Liturgy and its preliminaries, with an eye to their references to the priest himself, we are struck by two facts. First, most of the prayer-language of the Divine Liturgy is written so as to be spoken by the priest in the plural, and quite clearly on behalf of himself and the laity together. If we were to include this corpus in our study it would mean what we would simply incorporate almost the whole text of the Divine Liturgy into the concept of the priestly image. Thus, I have eliminated such texts from this inquiry—though admittedly, in some cases it is impossible to determine with accuracy whether the referent is the clergy or the people or both.

The second fact is that in spite of the above limitation, there are a great number of passages which refer clearly and unambiguously to the priest or are statements of the priest which clearly imply something about himself as a priest. I have been able to isolate over seventy-five such statements. In dealing with this material many passages seem to easily fall into various categories describing the priest and his role. Numerous passages say many things at once and defy categorization. Often these passages may be broken up into meaningful segments which are descriptive or evocative of specific aspects of the priestly role as it



appears in the texts of the Divine Liturgy. In the balance of this section, I will seek to delineate the priest of the Divine Liturgy as he is presented by the texts of the Preparation Service and the Divine Liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil.

### The Priest as the Leader of Worship

Running through the whole text of the Liturgy of the Eucharist is a very strong self-understanding of the priest as the leader of worship, as is to be expected. In the service of the *Kairon* he asks strength from God that he be enabled to "conduct the bloodless service."<sup>1</sup>

In the Service of the Preparation he "offers incense" to God<sup>2</sup> which he asks God to accept at His heavenly throne and to "return in response" the Grace of the Holy Spirit. At the veiling of the Gifts, he asks for the protection of God for himself and the whole world.<sup>3</sup>

The consciousness of being a leader of worship and as the responsible agent of the Sacrament comes out clearly in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in many places. For example, during the prayer of the Little Entrance the priest prays, "Grant that together with our Entrance there may be an entrance of holy Angels co-celebrating with us."<sup>4</sup> His leadership role is clearly marked as he calls on the congregation during the Little Entrance: "Come, let us worship and bow down to Christ."<sup>5</sup> During the prayer of the Trisagion Hymn he begs God to make him worthy, though he be unworthy "to stand boldly before the glory of thy holy altar table and offer that worship and praise which is due You . . ."<sup>6</sup> In the prayer of the Proskomide which is read after the Great Entrance the priest prays to God: "Make us able to bring forward to You Gifts and spiritual sacrifices on behalf of our own sins and the ignorance of the people."<sup>7</sup> In the same prayer he prays that the sacrifice which he makes may "find grace" and "be acceptable" and as a consequence that the Spirit, God's Grace, come upon the clergy,"

<sup>1</sup> Ἱερατικόν: Αἱ Θεῆαι Λειτουργίαι Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ τῶν Προηγιασμένων μετὰ τῆς τυπικῆς αὐτῶν Διατάξεως καὶ τινῶν ἀπαραιτήτων Ἱερῶν Ἀκολουθιῶν καὶ Εὐχῶν (Athens, 1962), p. 92.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

upon these present Gifts, and upon all (His) people. <sup>8</sup> In this passage the distinction is clearly made between the priest, the sacrifice, and the people, and the leadership role of the priest is sharply delineated.

The Priest as preacher is marked out in a special way at the beginning of the prayer of the Anaphora of the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil with the incorporation of the scriptural words: "Who is able to speak of Your power, to make heard all of the praises due You, or who can describe Thy wonders in every age?"<sup>9</sup> This rhetorical question, of course, demands a negative response. None is truly able, yet that is just what the priest does as he stands in front of his congregation.

The words of institution and prayers immediately following them also highlight the priestly role as the leader of worship. In the Anaphora of St. Basil's Liturgy, Christ is described as having left the bread and wine as "memorials of His saving Passion," which the priest says "we have placed before Thee" in obedience to the command of Christ.<sup>10</sup> In both Liturgies the command of Christ: "Do this in remembrance of me" is responded to in the plural. Theologically both the clergy and the laity make the response and offer the bread and wine. However, when the Gifts are raised and physically offered with the words "we offer" the act is that of the priest done on behalf of and in the name of the total community. The plural should be understood as being said by all of the people. Yet the point is, that the priest says it *for* the people, which is perhaps the most dramatic act of the priestly leadership of worship.<sup>11</sup>

In the prayer of consecration the plural form of the verb is much less ambiguous:

We approach Your holy Altar Table and presenting these elements of the holy Body and Blood of Your Christ (O All-holy Master), we plead with You and call upon You . . . that Your Holy Spirit come upon us and the Gifts presented here.<sup>12</sup>

Enough has been presented here to indicate the truth that the priestly role as leader of worship is clearly documented in the liturgical text itself, a not too surprising conclusion. However, there is an interesting emphasis which is equally well documented

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 134, 184.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 184.

and serves to bridge the gap between the leader of worship and those who worship under his direction.

### The Priest as Part of the People of God

We mentioned earlier the issue of the use of the plural, and indicated two examples where it is properly seen as referring to the priest himself or the clergy as a whole who are distinguished from the laity. But the fact is that in the majority of cases, the plural quite clearly refers to the whole body of the faithful, including the priest with the laity. Just a few examples will suffice here. In the very private service of the *Kairon* the priest prays: "You are our God, and we are Your people. We are all the works of Your hands and we call upon Your name."<sup>13</sup>

In the service of the Proskomide, the removal of the nine portions from the offering bread is followed by the prayer of commemoration of the living in which the clergy are listed together with all others who make up the Church. Thus, the priest prays:

Remember, O Lord and Lover of Mankind, every bishopric of the Orthodox, our Archbishop, the honored Presbytery, the Diaconate in Christ and every Priestly Order, our brothers and co-celebrants, Presbyters, Deacons, and all of our brethren whom You have called into communion with You.<sup>14</sup>

A witness for the relationship of both the clergy and the faithful is also found in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The lay-people are characterized in the Second Prayer of the Faithful as those who "pray together" with the priest and the priest prays on their behalf that God "grant to them that they may always without fear and with love worship" Him.<sup>15</sup>

In the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil, one of the most striking passages indicating the close relationship of priest and people is found in the first of the prayers for the faithful. "Grant it, O Lord," the priest prays, "for the sake of our own sins and the ignorance of the people, that our sacrifice be acceptable and pleasing before You."<sup>16</sup> The sacrifice is "our sacrifice" and clearly refers not to the priestly action, but to the action of the priest and people together. Thus unity of the two in the liturgical service is even more strikingly witnessed to in the prayer immediately after the consecration. The words which begin this

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

prayer with a decidedly Johanine ring, are as follows:

All of us have received from the one Bread and Cup, and have been joined together in the communion of the one Holy Spirit so that we might find mercy and grace together with all the saints who throughout the ages have pleased You."<sup>17</sup>

Thus to the strong first emphasis of the priest as the leader of worship, a balancing stress is added when the priest acknowledges that he is part of the "people of God" and that in a sense the laity co-celebrate with him in the Liturgy. Both the former and the latter emphasis will have significant influence on our understanding of the leadership role of the priest as it appears in the texts of the Divine Liturgy.

### The Priest as Sinner

The most impressive conclusion one arrives at, when reviewing all the passages of the texts of the Liturgy which refer to the priest or to his role, is the great emphasis on the priest's sinfulness and unworthiness. Almost one-third of the passages I was able to isolate are in this category. For instance, the phrase, "O God, forgive me, a sinner, and have mercy on me" is repeatedly uttered by the priest, almost invariably accompanied by deep prostrations.<sup>18</sup> In the service of the *Kairon*, in addition to the above, the priest prays with the deacon: "Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us; we despair of any excuse. We sinners offer this prayer to You as Lord and Master; have mercy on us."<sup>19</sup> In front of the icon of Christ he prays: "O good one, we reverence Your immaculate Icon, petitioning for the forgiveness of our sins, O Christ our God."<sup>20</sup>

Since the service of the *Kairon* is a preparation of the celebrants before worship, we are not surprised to find such phrases. However, even the service of the Proskomide, whose purpose is to prepare the Gifts, has references to the sinfulness of the priest. It begins with the often repeated "O God forgive me, a sinner, and have mercy on me"<sup>21</sup> and near its conclusion the priest removes from the Offering Bread a portion on his own behalf, during which he says the following words of compunction:

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 93, 140.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 91.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

And remember also, O Lord, my own unworthiness and forgive me every sin, both voluntary and involuntary.<sup>22</sup>

Nor is the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom without its many references to priestly sinfulness. During the Trisagion Hymn the Priest calls on God to receive the hymn from the "mouths of us sinners"<sup>23</sup> obviously including himself with his people in that category. More personal is the phrasing of the first prayer for the faithful which thanks God "Who has made us worthy to stand again at this time before Your holy altar table and to bow down in Your mercies on behalf of our own sins and the ignorance of the people."<sup>24</sup> How deeply moving are those who are bound to fleshly desires and pleasures to approach or to touch or to serve You, O King of Glory."<sup>25</sup> The same prayer continues: "look upon me, Your sinful and useless servant, and cleanse my soul and my heart from an evil conscience."<sup>26</sup> The Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn draws to a close with these most touching words:

I approach You, bowing low from my neck and I call upon You: Do not turn Your face away from me: neither reject me as one of your servants, but make it possible that these Gifts might be offered to You by me, Your sinful and unworthy servant.<sup>27</sup>

Again and again this chord is struck throughout the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. Just before the Great Entrance the rubrics call for the priest to say "I have sinned against You Savior, as the Prodigal Son, receive me, Father, in my repentance and have mercy on me. I cry to You, O Christ Savior, the Tax-Collector's words. Forgive me, as you forgave him, and have mercy on me O God."<sup>28</sup> In the prayer of the Proskomide he prays "receive the petitions of us sinners."<sup>29</sup> The prayers before Communion, of course, are replete with confessions of sin and unworthiness on the part of the priest. For example in the first Communion prayer the first person singular is borrowed from St. Paul and powerfully augmented: "I believe . . . that You are . . . the Christ . . . who has come into the world to save sinners, of whom, I am the first."<sup>30</sup> After the Communion he

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

proclaims, "This has touched my lips and has removed my iniquities and has cleansed my sins."<sup>31</sup>

The Liturgy of St. Basil is no less emphatic, having the same confessions of unworthiness and sin found in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. An example of its unique material is the following profound sacerdotal expression from the prayer of Consecration:

O All-Holy Master, we also, your sinful and unworthy servants, who have been made worthy to serve Your sacred Altar Table—not because of our own righteous deeds for we have not done a single good thing upon this earth—but because of Your mercies . . ."<sup>32</sup>

One of the most powerful, if not the most powerful, affirmations about the role of the priest seems to be his sinful unworthiness to be where he is and to be doing what he is doing. As he stands before the Absolute, before the Only Holy One, there is only one attitude appropriate in every case: the recognition of the great gulf between the Creator and His creature. The closer one approaches to the things of God, the more necessary it becomes to acknowledge that truth. We hope to relate that fact to the idea of the priest as leader at the conclusion of this study. Yet this is not to overlook other dimensions of the priest's role, to which we now turn.

### **The Priestly Character**

The texts of the Divine Liturgy refer both directly and indirectly to character traits, attitudes, and emotions which are appropriate to the priestly calling. While the fundamental sense of awe before God and personal unworthiness and sinfulness must precede any other affirmation, it clearly does not exhaust the content of the priestly character. A rapid survey, without any attempt to systematize the material adequately, indicates other aspects and dimensions of the priestly character as presented by the texts of the Liturgy which may have something to say about the kind of leadership appropriate to the priest.

In the service of the *Kairon* spiritual passages are appropriated especially during the robing and washing of the hands. A sense of *joyfulness* and good feeling about being a priest is evinced in

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

this choice of words: "Your priests are robed in righteousness and Your holy ones happily rejoice."<sup>33</sup> In the same place the priest says: "my soul rejoices in the Lord."<sup>34</sup> At the washing of the hands the emphasis is on the *basic moral goodness* of the priest as a human being.

I will wash my hands in innocence . . . O Lord, I loved the beauty of Your house . . . I have travelled through life lacking any evil in me . . . My foot has walked on straight paths.<sup>35</sup>

During the prayer of the Little Entrance in the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom the priest identifies himself as a member of the saintly company. "Blessed is the entrance of Your Saints . . .," he says. This same understanding of the priest as a basically good person is carried through in the first prayer of the faithful where the priest prays that God enable him through the Holy Spirit to call upon Him with a clear conscience<sup>36</sup> at all times. The assumption is that the continuation of the priest in his service at the altar table implies the maintenance of a relatively clear conscience. The same is implied in the second prayer of the faithful when the priest asks God to "grant unto us that we may stand before Your holy altar table without guilt and free of condemnation."<sup>37</sup>

Before the Creed there is a moving affirmation of the priest's *love for God* and his sense of *dependence upon God*. As the priest reverences the veil-covered chalice and diskarion, he repeats his declaration of love for God three times. "I love You, O Lord my Strength. The Lord is my foundation, and my hiding place and my protector."<sup>38</sup> This is followed by a declaration of Christian *love for our fellows*. In the ancient Church, this is where the kiss of peace was exchanged. Now limited to the clergy, it is exchanged with the significant reminder that the love among Christians and among the clergy is actualized and made possible by the presence of Christ among us; "Christ is in our midst," one priest says, to which the other responds: "He is now and shall be."<sup>39</sup>

The sense of the priestly bond is also intimated in the texts of the Liturgy in other passages. Just before Communion, the feeling of membership in the priestly orders is briefly though

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

vividly elicited when the communing priest bows toward his fellow priest and says: "My brother and co-celebrant, forgive me the unworthy Priest."<sup>40</sup> That same priestly concern for the brother priest is movingly articulated in the Liturgy of Saint Basil where in the prayer after the consecration the celebrant prays: "Remember . . . every order of the clergy and do not permit even one of us who circle Your holy altar table to be ashamed."<sup>41</sup>

A further mark of the priestly character is the sense of *continuity with the Apostolic Tradition*. In one place in the Liturgy of St. Basil, the prayer of the Proskomide, a conscious connection is made between the priestly service and the mission of the Apostles. The priest prays: "May it please you, Lord . . . that we may become worthy to offer to you this rational and bloodless sacrifice . . . just as you did accept from Your holy Apostles this true worship, so also accept these gifts from the hands of us sinners."<sup>42</sup> The plurals of this passage may well include all the faithful, but the location of this passage in the prayer of the Proskomide and its present inaudible character support the interpretation that the plurals refer to the clergy. At any rate, they certainly cannot exclude the clergy.

The individual expression of *personal faith* on the part of the priest is vividly presented in the first Communion prayer which is said by each Christian for himself or herself before Communion. These familiar words witness to the role of personal and individual faith on the part of every Christian, including the individual clergyman. "I believe, O Lord and I confess, that You are truly the Christ, the Son of the Living God . . . Further, I believe that this is Your immaculate Body and this is Your sacred Blood."<sup>43</sup>

The priestly as well as Christian virtue of *loyalty to Christ* is expressed in another of the Communion prayers, the third. "Receive me today as a communicant of Your Mystical Supper . . . I will not betray the Mystery to Your enemies nor will I kiss you as did Judas."<sup>44</sup> The spirit of faithfulness and loyalty to Christ of those who are especially called to serve Him is reflected in a passage from the prayer of the Proskomide of

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., pp. 141, 142.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 142.



the Liturgy of St. Basil. It clearly refers to the special relationship of the clergyman with His Master. The body of the prayer is a series of requests that God make the priest worthy to stand and serve before the holy altar table. Its final justifying clauses read as follows: "so that having been made worthy to serve without spot at Your holy altar table, we may receive the reward due to faithful and wise servants on the fearful day of your righteous retribution."<sup>45</sup>

Certainly the virtues of the priestly character are much more than these. Perhaps there are others in the Liturgy itself which we have overlooked. However, these are particularly marked out in our text: joy in one's priesthood, a feeling of moral worthiness, a love for God, a love for our fellow Christians, a special sense of relatedness to our fellow clergy, a deeply-felt identity with the Apostolic Tradition, a personal faith, and a fundamental loyalty to the Master, Jesus Christ, whose servant the priest is. Certainly such character traits will influence the special kind of leadership which is appropriate to the priest, but does the text of the Liturgy go further? Does it delineate specific priestly duties?

### Priestly Duties

The Liturgy itself knows only one duty for the priest. Expressed in many different ways, it is to serve God at the altar table, in His holy temple. I was able to find more than a dozen specific references to this one priestly duty. The service of the *Kairon* speaks of "circling" the Lord's table, "describing" God's wonders, "loving" the beauty of His house.<sup>46</sup> In the service of the Proskomide the priest asks God to protect him in the serving of His Holy Mysteries.<sup>47</sup> In the Divine Liturgy the priest prays for his fellow clergy during the litanies<sup>48</sup> and he asks God in many different ways to make him worthy to serve before the altar table or to thank Him for the privilege, in the first prayer of the faithful,<sup>49</sup> the prayer of the Cherubic Hymn,<sup>50</sup> the prayer said at the beginning of the Anaphora: "It is meet and right to hymn Thee,"<sup>51</sup> the prayer said at the consecration: "We praise Thee,"<sup>52</sup> all do this. One of the final secret prayers seems to gather it all together when it says: "The

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., pp. 110, 121.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

Mystery of Your [saving] economy, O Christ our God, has been brought to an end and completed, as much as it was within our capabilities.”<sup>53</sup>

The priest as the man who serves God and prays for all is strikingly presented to us in the prayer of commemoration after the Consecration of the Holy Gifts in the Liturgy of St. Basil. If we retain, basically only the subject-nouns of the text and eliminate the verbs and modifying clauses this is the list of those for whom the priest prays: the Apostles, all the Saints, those who have died, Your Holy Church, the Gifts, those who labor in the Churches, those who remember the poor, those in the deserts [of asceticism], those who are celibate, the kings, every civil authority, the good, the evil, the people present, their treasures, their marriages, their infants, the youth, the aged, the fearful, the scattered, the lost, the possessed, those who sail, those who travel by land, widows, orphans, captives, the exiled, the enslaved, those who suffer, those in need, those who love us and those who have us, those who ask us to pray for them, all of Your people, those whom we failed to remember, this city, every city and land, the Archbishop, every man and every woman, every bishop, our own unworthiness, the presbyters, the deacons, and every priestly order.”<sup>54</sup>

The duty of the priest, as it appears in the Divine Liturgy is basically one: to serve God at His altar table and to pray for all. The most inclusive way of stating that duty is found in the prayer of the Great Synapte: “We lay down our whole lives and hope before You, O Master . . .”<sup>55</sup> Priestly leadership cannot help but be defined by that chief duty. In the final aspect of the priest of the Liturgy, we will cite some passages which place a slightly different emphasis on this truth.<sup>56</sup>

### **The Priest as God's Agent**

The priest is totally subject to God. He is God's agent and God's servant. His submission to God and his mission for God intertwine in the liturgical texts. In the service of the *Kairon* he finds himself saying the scriptural words: “Your hands have created and made me, enlighten me to learn Your commandments,” “Blessed is God, who pours His Grace out upon his priests, as perfumed oil upon the head.”<sup>57</sup> “Blessed be God

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 201.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

who binds me with strength and sets a smooth way before me.”<sup>58</sup> In the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom he frequently refers to himself as “servant of God.”<sup>59</sup> Yet even though he knows that it is his own hands which lift and offer the bread and wine, he also knows even more deeply that he does this as an agent. In the prayer of the Cherubic he admits: “You are the one who offers and You are the offered one, and You are the one who receives and You are the one who distributes, O Christ our God.”<sup>60</sup> Another illustration of that sense of being subject to God, of being His servant and agent is found in the dialogue between the priest and the deacon after the Great Entrance in the Liturgy of St. Basil. The priest says to the deacon: “The Holy Spirit come upon you and the power of the Most High overshadow you.” The deacon significantly responds: “The Holy Spirit itself co-celebrate with us all the days of our lives.”<sup>61</sup> That same spirit is expressed in the prayer before the fraction of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, where the priest prays: “With Your all-powerful hand grant to us your immaculate Body and Your holy Blood, and through us, to the people.”<sup>62</sup> Similar expressions are found in the Liturgy of St. Basil in the prayer of the Proskomide and elsewhere.<sup>63</sup> However, perhaps the most striking expression of the truth of the priest’s total service to God is found in St. Basil’s first prayer of the faithful:

You, O Lord, revealed to us this great Mystery of salvation. You made Your humble and unworthy servants, worthy to become celebrants of your holy Altar. You enabled us, through the power of your Holy Spirit to undertake this service, so that standing without condemnation before Your holy glory, we may offer a sacrifice of praise. For it is You who does all things.<sup>64</sup>

## II. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PRIEST OF THE DIVINE LITURGY

Our conclusion will be brief. In the inaugural lecture of this series, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos made a statement which disturbed me at that time. His Eminence opined that the priest was not really a leader. As far as the liturgical texts are concerned, His Eminence was right. The priest is not a leader in

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 125.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

the usual sense of the word. He is neither dictator, nor charismatic, nor visionary, nor perfect personal example. His role is a derived one, dependent for all to see on a higher authority. Even as an enabler, he admits freely the he himself must be enabled.

Yet in spite of all of these negations, the priest is a leader. But his leadership is clearly not of the kind which the world describes as such. He stands at the altar as a leader of worship; yet he is bound together with his people in a manner which fuses his being with them, as that elusive and ambiguous "plural" constantly reminds him. His closeness to the altar does not exalt him, it only convicts him even more strongly of his sinfulness and unworthiness—*he* is a sinner; his people are merely lacking in knowledge. There is a priestly character and the virtues appropriate to the office. He should be happy he is a priest; he should be a good man; he should love God; he should love his fellow Christians and especially his fellow priests; he should identify with the tradition of the Church; he should have a personal faith and loyalty to Christ. Yet, these are no more than what should characterize any Christian. His example is the example every Christian should give for every other Christian. It is only in that paradoxical relationship of the priest at the altar that we can find the unique quality of the leadership of the priest of the Liturgy. The priest conducts the Liturgy, but it is really God who conducts it. His hands "make the offering," but it is Christ who is truly both the offering and the offerer. The uniqueness of the priestly service is to be found in the paradox that though he does many things in the service, it is not he, but God in him who does them. The leadership of the priest of the Liturgy is just that: to show his people through his life and his service at the altar table, that life finds its goal and its fulfillment when all that we are, all that we do, all that we have is laid down at the feet of the Master. "We lay down our whole lives and hope before You, O Master" is the message of his leadership. His leadership consists of showing his people how to say to God with their whole lives; "The things that are thine from the things that are thine do we offer to You according to all things and for all things."

This is the essence and core of the leadership of the priest of the Liturgy.

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sweeping statement, "Tradition as such is of small importance to men struggling to recreate, preserve, and direct their humanity." Third, although Niebuhr insists upon religion's affectional nature, discussion of the "spiritual" or "other-worldly" realm is totally absent. This leaves one curious about its value in experiential faith and at a loss for understanding some of Niebuhr's own comments, such as, "demonic powers secret or known."

Dr. Niebuhr, however, states that his work is incomplete and that much yet is to be said. This book, indeed, offers a strong foundation for further serious thinking about contemporary man's faith experience. In his elusive, elliptical, intricate, and thoughtful style Professor Niebuhr presents an incisive account of religion and society today. Clergyman and theologian alike will be rewarded after reading this excellent book which raises questions and offers suggestions about the Church's efficacy today and which invites all to the theological task.

John T. Chirban

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*80 Talks for Orthodox Young People.* By Anthony M. Coniaris. Minneapolis: Light and life Publishing Company, 1975. Pp.142. \$3.50. Paper.

Fr. Coniaris' most recent book provides the religious educator with a valuable tool. So very often we get caught up with textbooks, projects, and fund raising, that we lose sight of our mission. This mission is also the purpose of *80 Talks* as expressed in the author's Preface: "to make the message of our Lord Jesus come alive in the minds and hearts of our young people."

*80 Talks* is a collection of informative guidelines for talks using simple and practical examples from our everyday life to get the message across. It begins with the analogy of the electric outlet as a power source, likening it to our power source, Christ. It ends with the analogy of the ever-present solar energies and our ever-present God, plus sixteen "Questions for a Continuing Dialogue." Jammed in between are talks that illustrate how much God loves us, the price Jesus paid for our salvation, our importance in the eyes of God, and many others. From a speci-

fically Orthodox point, *80 Talks* offers suggestions for talks regarding the Sign of the Cross, incense, the Chalice, and icons, to name a few.

The guidelines for the talks are short. Concrete examples are used. Questions (and potential answers) are provided to stimulate the necessary discussions. All this is done to facilitate participation on the part of the young person, making him a participant, and not just a recipient. (This is so often forgotten in our Sunday School classes. Here we often have the young person passively listening instead of actively participating.) Each talk ends with a prayer directly related to the subject at hand. Each talk is designed to associate everyday events or items with a religious theme.

For those who say that they want to learn about the Church's teachings and feel threatened by the "scholarly" approach that is so often found, this book can open a new area of learning. For the parent who desires to begin the religious education of his children at home but feels inadequate, *80 Talks* can help strengthen his own understanding on specific basic teachings. He can then, in turn, share with his children. For those doing youth work and need good ideas and a sound format for the "religious discussions" or "raps", Fr. Coniaris' book provides just that. Moreover, *80 Talks for Orthodox Young People* can be a stimulus for creative thinking on the reader's part.

Fr. Coniaris has offered a useful tool for adults, Sunday School teachers and priests. *80 Talks* is a must in every Church School library.

Phyllis R. Meshel

*Holy Cross School of Theology*

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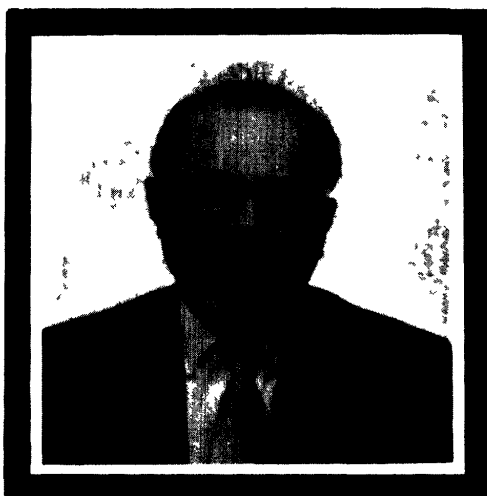
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## †PROFESSOR GEORGE G. ARNAKIS 1912-1976

With the recent death of George G. Arnakis medieval as well as neo-Hellenic studies have sustained a great loss.

Professor Arnakis died of a massive heart attack on December 6, 1976 at the age of 64.

Born in Constantinople (Istanbul) on July 2, 1912, he was a permanent resident of the United States since 1948, and a United States citizen since 1953. He received his elementary and secondary education in Constantinople in Greek, French, and American schools, and his higher and professional training at Robert College (B.A.), the University of Athens, School of Philosophy (diploma and Ph.D. with highest honors), and the University of Thessalonike (Diploma in Theology).

Professor Arnakis began his academic career as a part time instructor of languages. In addition to ancient Greek and Latin, he knew modern Greek, English, Turkish, French and German. From 1933 to 1976 he taught in several schools of higher learning—the Institute of English Studies and Pierce College, both in Athens; the University of Kansas City (1948-1955); the University of Chicago, as a visiting professor; Texas Christian University; and the University of Texas from 1957 until his death. He was the recipient of several honors, awards and fellowships, including a Fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies (1952-53), a Gugenheim Fellowship

(1959-60), and a Fulbright (1963). He participated and presented papers in every major Congress of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies and lectured before many learned societies both here and abroad. He held membership in several professional societies, including American Historical Association, American Philological Association, Medieval Academy of America, Archaeological Institute of America, Society of Byzantine Studies (Greece), Epistemonike Hetairia (Greece) and several more, here and in Greece.

Professor Arnakis will be remembered for several major scholarly contributions in medieval and neo-Hellenic studies. The total number of books written, books edited, studies, articles and reviews since 1932 exceeds three hundred. The following is a resume of his publications:

Books written:

- History of English Literature*, in Greek; Athens, 1945.  
*Selections from Thucydides in Basic English*, Athens, 1946.  
*The Early Osmanlis, 1282-1337*, in Greek, summary in English; Athens, 1947.  
*Mount Athos Revisited, 1963*, in Greek; Austin and Thessalonike, 1968.  
*The Near East in Modern Times, I: The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States*, Austin and New York, 1969.  
*The Near East in Modern Times, II: Forty Crucial Years, 1900-1940* (with W.S. Vucinich), Austin and New York, 1972.  
*The Near East in Modern Times, III: The Second World War and After* (with W.S. Vucinich), Austin and New York, 1973.

Books edited:

- George Jarvis—His Journal and Related Documents* (with E. Demetracopoulou); (*Americans in the Greek Revolution*, I), Thessalonike, 1964.  
*Samuel Gridley Howe, An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution, I*; (*Americans in the Greek Revolution*, IIA), Austin, Texas, 1966.  
*American Consul in a Cretan War—William J. Stillman*, Austin and Thessalonike, 1966.  
*Historical Texts of the Greek Revolution from the Papers*

of *George Jarvis* (with E. Demetracopoulou), Austin and Thessalonike, 1967.

Professor Arnakis was the founder and editor of *Neo-Hellenika* and of the *Bulletin of the Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies*. He wrote many articles and sections in books, encyclopedias, and *Festschriften* on several subjects such as:

“Byzantine Greece,” “The Eastern Imperial Tradition” (historiography);

“The Role of Religion in the Development of Balkan Nationalism”;

Bibliographies on Modern Greece in *The American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature*, New York, 1961; and the ACLS's *Bibliography of Southeastern Europe*, ed. Paul Horecky, Chicago, 1969.

Articles and reviews were published in *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbucher*, *Speculum*, *Journal of Modern History*, *Epeteris Hetairias Byzantinon Spoudon*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *Texas Quarterly*, *Nea Hestia*, *Neo-Hellenika*, and other journals.

Professor Arnakis was married and the father of two children. Aionia tou e mneme.

Demetrios J. Constantelos  
*Stockton State College*

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**REFLECTIONS UPON THE LAMBETH PALACE  
CONFERENCE OF 1888: AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF  
EDWARD WHITE BENSON, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY**

In the history of the ecumenical movement Edward White Benson, Archbishop of Canterbury (1883-1896) stands out as one of the great pioneers in promoting good relations between the Anglican and the Eastern Churches. During his years as Primate, he revived the Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem on an ecumenical and strictly open basis for the purpose of friendly contacts between the Churches represented in Jerusalem. He provided for a regular mission for the persecuted Christians of the East (Assyrians or Nestorians) and sought consistently to give assistance to this long suffering Church without attempting to interfere in its internal affairs.

In the same year as the Third Lambeth Conference (1888), Archbishop Benson sent an official letter of congratulations and good wishes to the Metropolitan of Kiev, Platon, on the occasion of the 900th Anniversary of the conversion of Russia. Platon's reply surprisingly raised the question of the conditions and the possibility of union between the two Churches. Benson replied in the name of the bishops of England, putting forward the main Anglican position on intercommunion and comprehensiveness. However, no further action was forthcoming from the Russian Church on this proposal.<sup>1</sup> For his attempts to carry out these ironic ideas, his latest biographer has described Archbishop Benson as "a man of far too wide and generous instincts not to be interested in Christian unity."<sup>2</sup>

We would like to thank the Director of the Morgan Library for permission to publish this letter.

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Christopher Benson, *The Life of Edward White Benson Sometime Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1899), 2, chapter 4. See also W.J. Birkbeck, *Birkbeck and the Russian Church* (London and New York, 1917), pp. 1-16.

<sup>2</sup> Edward F. Carpenter, *Cantaur: The Archbishops in Their Office* (London, 1971), p. 381.

There has been a strong sense of affinity between the English and the Eastern Churches. The negative attitude of the non-Papal churches to Rome offered them something in common, especially in the initial stages of their relationship. For the Anglican communion the Eastern Churches provided a convenient reference for deciding what things may find a place within a national branch of the Catholic Church without reverting to papalism. Also, the friendship and sympathy displayed by individual Anglicans found a mutual response on the part of Eastern Churches. There was a period of deep resentment and hostility toward Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Protestant proselytising efforts in the East. It was only after a profound change in attitude and tactics that a better understanding was reached between the Churches.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, by the end of the nineteenth century proselytism had ceased on the part of Anglicans.

Archbishop Benson's desire to foster a closer relationship between Anglican and Orthodox churches can be seen clearly in the Third Lambeth Palace Conference of July 1888. The instrument for cooperation between the various independent dioceses of the Anglican communion is most notably the Lambeth Conferences, which have met approximately every ten years since 1867. These Conferences are purely consultative and their deliberations have no binding authority, other than that which each diocese decides to grant them. Nevertheless, the broad representative and deliberative character of these Lambeth Conferences gives them considerable influence.

At the Second Lambeth Conference, held in 1878, the bishops had agreed to meet in ten years. Although not yet Archbishop at the time of this decision, Benson, in 1886, agreed to send out letters of invitation accompanied with a request for potential topics for the Third Conference. Of the six major subjects accepted by the Archbishop, with the approval of his fellow bishops, one specifically dealt with the Eastern Churches.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Plato E. Shaw, *American Contacts with the Eastern Churches, 1820-1870* (Chicago, 1937), pp. 15-70.

<sup>4</sup> Randall T. Davidson, *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888, With the Official Reports and Resolutions at the Conference*, rev. ed. (London, 1896), p. 347.

In his sermon opening the Conference, Benson emphasized his desire that the representatives work for Christian unity since

to the Christian it was the nature of things that scattered humanity should be welded together into one mass, and the uniting attraction be the human name of Jesus. The Oneness of Humanity is the Essence of Faith.<sup>5</sup>

The committee which met to consider the nature of the communion between the two Churches drew up a statement that cited the friendly overtures of the past fifteen years, noting the chief doctrinal differences between the two Churches, and which concluded with a warning that time would be needed in order to establish a true union.<sup>6</sup>

In its final form, the encyclical letter from the Conference continued to maintain this favorable, but at the same time cautious, overture towards the Eastern Churches. Both Churches were recognized as true Churches according to the principles of the ancient, primitive Church, as opposed to the corrupt innovations of the Roman Catholic Church, e.g., papal infallibility or the doctrine of the immaculate conception. It condemned the proselytizing undertaken by the Roman Church. But, on the other hand, it favored the need to educate the clergy and provide aid to schools in poor communities in order that the people better understand the historic claims of the Anglican Church.<sup>7</sup>

Following the Third Lambeth Palace Conference, Charles H. Brooks, a missionary at Constantinople, wrote to Archbishop Benson an account of his own difficulties in carrying out the recommendation for the Conference. The Archbishop's answer is printed below.<sup>8</sup> The letter is important as a reflection of his

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 347-351.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 273-74. This encyclical letter states the classical Anglican position on reunion with the Orthodox Church as well as any. From the Orthodox point of view, of course, the real problem is not so much one of mutual toleration and non-interference, as it is of an agreement on the essentials of the faith which is basic to true Christian community. Cf. Robert G. Stephanopoulos, *A Study in Recent Greek Orthodox Ecumenical Relations, 1902-1968* (Dissertation Ph. D., Boston University, 1970), p. 374 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Archbishop Benson's letter is in a collection of manuscript letters of the Archbishops of Canterbury entitled *From Cranmer to Temple* which are arranged chronologically in order. Attached to Benson's letter is Brooks' letter to J.P. Morgan.

attitude towards the Eastern churches. At an earlier date, in setting up the mission to the Assyrian Church of the East, he had instructed the missionaries neither to discuss political questions nor to convert members from their own church, but to preach only to those who came voluntarily before them, and to inculcate fresh life, knowledge and faith into those who lacked those qualities.<sup>9</sup>

His letter of November 12 represents an even greater exhortation to the missionaries to carry out their mission in order to bring about a unity of mankind in Christ. However, it is still cautious in its appeal. Benson stresses the need of the individual to practice religion as a member of a church community. Only through a joint effort on the part of the people would individuals gain salvation. He, therefore, opposes the more extreme Protestant principle of *Scriptura sola*, which appeared contrary to his belief in the primacy of the unified, visible Christian Church. He fully recognizes the problems concerning proselytism, since it heightened the resentment and suspicion among the Eastern authorities against the missionaries. Thus, he advised Brooks and his fellow missionaries to act more as "mediators and peace makers" rather than converters. Only by this approach could the two communions come to some eventual accommodation between them and the final reconciliation.

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Twenty years after the Lambeth Conference, in 1909, Brooks served as a rector of a small church in Grafton, Ontario. The burning down of the church and his attempts to rebuild it led him to solicit aid from Morgan, whom he called a "churchman and a collector." Morgan obviously purchased the letter.

<sup>9</sup> Benson, 2, p. 183.



A Letter by Edward White Benson, Archbishop  
of Canterbury, to the Rev. Charles H. Brooks

November 12, 1888

My dear Sir:

I thank you for your letter of October 16 and for your friendliness and confidence in telling me so frankly and so fully the great practical difficulties which surround you when you try to put into practice the general principles which the Lambeth Conference laid down with regard to the attitude of the Western towards the Eastern Churches. I fully realize—and your letter makes the realisation still more vivid—how very great those difficulties must be in individual cases. And I would ask you, at the outset, to remember that the Lambeth Conference could, in the nature of things, do no more than lay down general principles as to the line of action which, broadly speaking, opens out most hope for the future. No such general principles can be expected to be applicable in every individual case. But in spite of such occasional exceptions I hold the principles to be of such great importance that I would venture to suggest to you a few considerations why we should endeavor, even at the cost of individual hardship, to maintain them.

On the very threshold of this question of our attitude towards the Greeks we ask ourselves (1) what is our aim, our ideal, for them individually, and (2) what is our hope for the future of their church.

First individually, we want to lead them to the highest life. The highest life, we hold, is not to be found in isolation in the detached life of personal religion, in the solitary quest by each individual in the way that he himself invents of a solitary happiness; but in the broader life of Christ's Church, in the life of social duties and obligations, in the sacrifice of the individual for the sake of the whole body. An individual may

often long to wash his hands of the superstitions of his neighbours, and to go, as it were, into the wilderness to enjoy greater spiritual freedom, but in yielding to such impulses he cuts himself off from the higher life of the brotherhood and from the Presence promised and realised where the two or three are gathered together. It is this strong conviction that Salvation is to be found in the Church, in the membership of Christ's Body that makes us feel that Schism and Separation are justified by nothing but by actual compulsion—moral and physical.

I should venture to say then, as you are so good to ask my advice, that even in the extreme cases you have quoted (and I cannot but hope that they are rare) the most truly Christian course would be for the persecuted persons at whatever cost of suffering though without stifling any unmistakable voice of conscience, to cling to their rights and duties as members of their church. And if then, in spite of all their efforts they are driven out, the case comes under the exception I have mentioned above and the responsibility is not theirs.

But there are other advantages besides the good of the individual to be gained by such a course, and this brings me to the second question which I have asked above: "what is our hope for the future of their church?"

And here I think you will agree with me that in the lines of separation the hope is very dim. A chaos of detached individuals, each separating from his neighbour, and seeking spiritual peace in his own way, each according to his private and half-taught reading of the Bible claiming for himself a "Bible Christianity"—Christianity thus becoming not a uniting but a dividing force—all of this is a prospect without hope for the future and without any resemblance to that united Kingdom of God which is one day to absorb and unite the kingdoms of this world. On the other hand, every individual who with clearer light and purer faith still clings, in spite of misunderstandings and persecutions, to the Church of his fathers, becomes a centre of reforming energy which is full of life and promise for the future. We should be still scholars of the past history of our own Church and of that Reformation to which you have referred if we did not learn the lesson of Reform from within, and growth without Schism.

But if this to be the determined and persistent aim it must, I fear, involve hardship in individual cases. For everytime we encourage a Greek to leave his own Church, and everytime we receive one into our own, we increase the suspicion and irritation of their priests, and provoke that persecuting and intolerant spirit of which you give such sad examples. If, on the other hand, in such a case, the English Missionary, being well known to set his face against proselytism, were to approach the priest or the Bishop, and disarming suspicion and hostility by his obviously disinterested motives, were to act out as mediator and peace maker he might at once be an effective worker in the direction both of Reform and Reunion.

I am glad to know that the views in this direction set forth in the Lambeth Conference Report were the views of Bishops who had more than a theoretical knowledge of the Subject. They had, many of them, been led to these conclusions by personal observation and Experience.

I am, dear Sir,  
Yours Truly,

Edw: Cantaur

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# RELIGION AND NATIONALISM IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND AFTER: CONFORMITY OR PLURALISM\*

Deno J. Geanakoplos

## PRECIS

The Byzantine Empire offers an interesting and complex example of the relationship between religion and nationalism. In general, Orthodoxy and the sense of nationhood became more closely intertwined the more serious the crises that threatened the existence of the empire in its existence of over one thousand years. When the state was strong, it aided the church; when the state was weak, it was aided by the church. Thus, in spite of a diversity of races and nations, a remarkable unity was preserved through two universal Christian institutions, the Orthodox Church and the emperor.

Three broad chronological periods are dealt with. (1) 330-717: The emperor and Orthodox Church were closely tied together in an empire with a Christian political ideology; the empire was seen as the political organization sanctioned by God for the world, and unity of religion was considered necessary for the unity of the empire. While there were a few exceptions, conformity of belief, enforced by state authority, was the general rule. (2) 717-1204: The iconoclast controversy led to the church's reassertion of its doctrinal authority against the emperor's intrusions. The conversion of the Slavs and the concession to them of a vernacular liturgy represented a recognition by the church of an acceptable ethnic pluralism. The trauma caused by the fall of Constantinople in 1204 brought together the religious faith and ethnicity of the Greeks as never before. (3) 1261-1453: Cultural and religious nationalism became almost synonymous during this period of bitter hate against and fear of the double threat from Turks and Latins, a period that was also marked by a decline in state authority. Ancient Greek cultural tradition became an important unifying element for the people. This religious and cultural conformity eventually produced the new Greek nationalism.

To examine in all its complexity the problem of the relationship between religion and nationalism, it would be hard to find a more intricate case than the Byzantine Empire. Many medieval historians consider the Byzantine Empire, especially in the sixth century under Justinian with its far flung territories of East and West, and at its height in the early eleventh century, to be the classic case of a multinational state which, despite an extreme diversity of peoples, was able not only to survive but also to prosper. The sense of unity that maintained this empire is believed to have come primarily from the absolute authority of its ruler the Basileus and, perhaps even

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\* This article in revised form constitutes chapter two of my book, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance 330-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976).

Deno J. Geanakoplos (Greek Orthodox) received a B.A. from the University of Minnesota; an M.A. from Yale University; a Ph.D. from Harvard University; and a Doctor of Letters from Pisa University. He has lectured at Paris, Oxford, London, Cambridge, Rome, Thessalonika, and Athens Universities. He is presently a professor of Byzantine, Renaissance, and Orthodox Church History at Yale University. He was present at Vatican Council II, and attended the International Orthodox Congress, in Athens (1976). His most recent books include *Interaction of the Sibling Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance, 330-1600* (1976), and *Byzantine East and Latin West* (1976).

more, from its official religion Orthodoxy—the very name of which means the one true religion.

Closer scrutiny, however, of this apparent unity of church and state or, more precisely, of the conformity of all citizens to the religion of the state, exposes a number of difficulties and irregularities. Though by law it was necessary to adhere to Orthodoxy, there were exceptions. Jews, for instance, in the old Roman imperial tradition were more or less tolerated in the practice of their religion throughout the entire period.<sup>1</sup> And at various times such peoples as Arabs living *within* imperial territory were unofficially granted special permission, or at least left unmolested, to follow the Muslim religion. An extreme example of this kind of toleration is the Armenians.<sup>2</sup> Though essentially related to the much persecuted Monophysite groups, they were often permitted to retain their religious beliefs even when they fled for sanctuary into the empire, partly because of the strategic importance of Armenia as a buffer state, and perhaps because of their services as soldiers or merchants. Yet even the case of the Armenians is not uniform. For, especially in the ninth to eleventh centuries, when entire Armenian clans emigrated to Constantinople, opportunistically or not, they embraced Orthodoxy. And when a series of Armenians ascended the imperial throne itself, they became more intransigently Orthodox than the Greeks themselves, to the point, it seems, even of persecuting their own former co-religionists. Another nuance making for complexity in our problem is that, though hordes of barbarians or semi-barbarians, especially Slavs, were converted to Orthodoxy and entered the empire, other even more numerous converted peoples remained technically *outside* the empire. Indeed, several of these Slavic nations which were at one time part of the empire were later permitted, when they became politically independent, to set up autocephalic Orthodox churches of their own, which, however, remained closely bound to and recognized the jurisdictional authority of the patriarch of Constantinople.<sup>3</sup>

With the life of the empire extending over one thousand years, the relation between religion, or its administrative aspect the church, on the one hand, and its political counterpart the state, on the other, with regard to the question of religious unity or pluralism exhibits certain identifiable characteristics during various periods of Byzantine history. And the pat-

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<sup>1</sup>On Jews in the empire, see J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), esp. pp. 1-10. Also P. Charanis, "The Jews in the Byzantine Empire under the First Palaeologi," *Speculum* 22 (1947): 75-77; and A. Andreades, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1929). Finally, see now A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), whose thesis is that the Jews, within limits, were tolerated though they were in effect second-class citizens. Byzantine Jews usually lived in their own communities.

<sup>2</sup>On the Armenians, see P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, 1963).

<sup>3</sup>On the Slavs inside and outside the empire, see esp. recently D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth, 500-1453* (New York, 1972), *passim*, and esp. chap. 9.

tern of change or evolution permits us to advance the thesis that, in general, Orthodoxy and the sense of nationhood became more closely intertwined the more serious the crises, external and sometimes internal or both, that threatened the existence of the state. It is of course difficult in an article of this length to propose a schema that will accurately reflect all the shifting nuances of these relations. Yet for the sake of analysis, we may, I think, speak of three broad chronological stages.

The first begins with Constantinople's foundation in 330 and extends until after the great crisis precipitated by the Byzantine territorial losses of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine to the Arabs in the late sixth and seventh centuries. It is at the end of this period, ca. 717, when Byzantium had been stripped of these eastern Semitic provinces—areas that had always felt somewhat alien to Asia Minor, the Balkans, and southern Italy—that for the first time we may speak of a truly Byzantine, in a sense of a more or less Greek, empire. Indeed, so deep was the trauma to the state that, to ward off the continuous threat of Arab invasion and to placate the Eastern Monophysites, whose religious views bore some resemblance to the Arab, several emperors even sought to “dilute” certain tenets of Orthodoxy.<sup>4</sup> These emperors' concept of religion was, one might say, supra-national. They believed that by manipulating the religious formulas of Orthodoxy—of course they always claimed rather to preserve them—they could obtain beneficial political results, that is unitary allegiance to the state, if only they could force the official organs of the church to assent. But their attempts also reveal, from the view of the dissident Monophysites, the even greater significance of the close relationship between religion and “nationalism.” Historians have in fact long asserted that these Monophysite peoples opposed the Chalcedonian dogmatic formulation of 451 less for purely religious than for ethnic and cultural, that is “nationalist,” reasons.<sup>5</sup>

It should be noted that the word “nationalism,” with its modern, strongly secular implications, is inappropriate for use in any medieval context. We shall here, therefore, prefer to use the term “ethnicity,” the self-consciousness of the Byzantine people of whatever origin that they belonged to or owed allegiance to one political organism, the empire.

The second phase for consideration would extend from about 717 to the time of the Crusades, which brought East and West into contact, indeed conflict, on a scale greater than ever before. This crusading movement culminated in the Fourth Crusade of 1204, with the seizure of Constantinople by Western armies and the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire. In this second, middle phase, in which the empire was at first reduced in size

<sup>4</sup>On the emperor and the Monophysites, see G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), esp. pp. 58ff., 64ff., 107-109.

<sup>5</sup>See Ostrogorsky, *Byzantine State*, esp. p. 60: “Monophysitism was an outlet for political separatist tendencies of Egypt and Syria.” Also A. H. M. Jones, *Were Ancient Heresies Disguised Social Movements?* (Philadelphia, 1966).

but then once more began to grow in strength, the primary religious phenomena were the Iconoclastic struggle, the conversion of the Slavic peoples, and the schism of 1054 with Rome.

With the recapture of the capital by the Greek troops of Michael Palaeologus in 1261, we may consider that a third period begins, which in turn extends to 1453, the fall of Constantinople to the Turks. In this third and final stage, when the empire had become territorially a mere shadow of its former self, the identification of religion and ethnicity became even closer under the impact of the Turkish advance. But, as we shall see, the two were most truly to coincide under the more insidious danger posed simultaneously by the West which, in the eyes of most Byzantines, threatened through ecclesiastical union with Rome to engulf in more ways than territorially what remained of the people of the empire.

A word of caution—most of the phenomena, especially the ideologies described as belonging to the first phase, carry over into the second, and some also into the third. It is sometimes only the emphases that change; at times, in fact, there is a kind of cyclical return to earlier emphases or, to state it perhaps more correctly, the emphasis on religion remains, but its conjunction with other elements is altered. The main differences, however, as we shall see, will occur in the third stage, when the political conditions of the empire have so changed, the differences between theory and reality become so glaring that a new type of feeling emerges with which Orthodoxy can identify and strengthen itself.

### 1. 330-717

Let us begin with the first phase. What distinguished the Roman Empire of Augustus from that of the Byzantines was not so much the displacement of old Rome by the new capital, Constantinople, as it was the creation of a *Christian* Roman Empire. Indeed, the concept of the empire and of its ruler, the emperor, was now cast into the form of Christian political theory. And an understanding of this basic Christian political ideology formulated early by Constantine's Bishop Eusebius is indispensable in any scrutiny of the relations between Byzantine religion and its sense of nationhood.<sup>6</sup> According to the developed Eusebian formulation, the emperor is the vicegerent of God, the *mimesis* or "living icon of Christ" (*zosa eikon Christou*). And he rules the *Basileia*, the Christian commonwealth, which is in turn the terrestrial counterpart of God's Reign in Heaven. Since there is one God, it followed inevitably that there could be but one empire and therefore one true religion. Hence all Byzantine theoreticians and panegyrists firmly believed, without exception so far as I am aware (except perhaps at the very end), that unity of the empire entailed, nay *demand*ed,

<sup>6</sup>On Eusebian theory, see D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford, 1966), chap. 2 on church and state, and bibliography listed.



unity of religion.<sup>7</sup> Otherwise the empire would become a sacrilege before God, and Constantinople would lose its claim to being God-guarded, the special preserve of the Virgin and the saints. This view, though obtaining throughout its history, was strongly reflected in the earlier periods, when the empire contained within its borders many diverse peoples: besides Greeks of the Balkans, Asia Minor, south Italy, Sicily, and south Russia, there were also Copts of Egypt, and Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, "Italians," Berbers, and later some of the many Slavs who were converted.

By the time of Justinian (sixth century) the culture, at least that of the upper classes in the cities, had become predominantly Greek, as had the language of the court. Yet among the lower classes of the peoples enumerated, it must be assumed that, for the bulk of those outside the towns, their primary language could not have been Greek. Hence, although Greek culture then had some importance, what basically served to preserve unity in this earlier period of a multiracial or multinational empire would appear to be the two *universal* Christian institutions—the emperor and the Orthodox Church. As already stressed, these two were closely tied together; indeed the Byzantine church and state in many ways formed one organic unity. But of course the problem of the unity of church and state is somewhat different from that under investigation here.

It goes without saying that if the emperor were not looked upon as Orthodox, allegiance to him was considered to be dissolved. This may be seen clearly in the requirement imposed by the patriarch on all emperors beginning with Anastasius at the end of the fifth century that each take an oath to defend the inviolability of the seven ecumenical councils and the official creeds of the church.<sup>8</sup> But note that this was an oath explicitly to preserve the tenets of Orthodox *religious* belief rather than of any particular *civil* aspect of government. Despite the unwritten constitution of Byzantium, no one ever really questioned the traditional absolutist authority of the emperor in civil affairs.<sup>9</sup>

Beginning with Byzantium's foundation—and this is an ideology that persisted even until 1453—the Byzantines looked upon their empire (Basileia) as *the* political organization sanctioned by God for the world. The chief requirement for admission to this Basileia was conversion to Orthodoxy and, through this means, many barbarian peoples, sometimes even of extreme cultural backwardness, were able to enter into the Byzantine ecumene. Once converted, another process—that of cultural adapta-

<sup>7</sup>See D. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* (New Haven, 1976), chap. 5, "Church Construction and Caesaropapism in East and West from Constantine to Justinian," pp. 118-122, and in the same book, see Epilogue, pp. 281-295.

<sup>8</sup>P. Charanis, *The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First* (Madison, 1939); also Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 58.

<sup>9</sup>Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 61.

tion or even in some cases assimilation—began. Yet though, as noted, many of those converted did enter the Empire to become citizens, other peoples such as the Moravians, and especially the Russ—not to omit the Bulgars who entered but who managed forcibly to break away—remained *outside* the borders of empire. For them, religious conversion, while effective, did not result in a feeling of ethnic solidarity with Byzantium. True, the distant Russ, though technically not belonging to the empire, were provided with Greek metropolitans to head their church until virtually the end of the Byzantine period.<sup>10</sup>

Paradoxically, the Orthodox religion, rather than serving to integrate these other peoples into the empire, was able, according to certain modern historians, to provide them at critical stages of their development with a political and religious ideology that made for greater unity, an ethnicity, we might say, in their own previously disunited society. Despite these ramifications (some of which would apply to our second period as well as to the first), the rulers of such peoples as the Russ, the Bulgars, the Moravians, the Armenians (and even the Venetians) were granted, and were extremely proud to accept, titles in the imperial hierarchy of ranks and dignities, or, as it has been termed, in the Byzantine "Family of Princes." Thus, because of these specifically religious, cultural, and loose political ties—they were not ethnic—such peoples were considered part of what has been called the Byzantine "commonwealth," or as I would put it, the community of Orthodox Christendom.<sup>11</sup> In this unusual relationship between Byzantium and these satellites, there is often present, however, a tension which expressed itself alternately in attraction for, and repulsion to, Byzantium. For, as the new nations drew closer to Constantinople and the magnetism of its civilization grew too attractive, they feared a loss of their own ethnic identity which they sometimes expressed in wars on Byzantium.<sup>12</sup>

Within the Empire some exceptions were unofficially allowed to the general principle that all citizens accept the precepts of the Orthodox faith. Mention has been made of the special cases of the Jews and the Armenians. There are also examples of Latins passing through Constantinople as pilgrims or even remaining as residents (the mercenary Western Varangian

<sup>10</sup>On Bulgars and Russ, see Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 83-98 and 274-275, esp. 200-201: "Vladimir and his successors were wholly independent of Byzantium in political matters [but] they all . . . recognized that the Emperor as the head of the Orthodox Christian community, possessed by divine right a metapolitical jurisdiction over Russia"; G. Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order," in *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1956-57): 1-14.

<sup>11</sup>"Commonwealth" is Obolensky's term (*Byzantine Commonwealth*, *passim*). Also on the Byzantine "Family of Princes," see A. Grabar, "God and the Family of Princes Presided over by the Byzantine Emperor," *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 (1954): 117-123.

<sup>12</sup>Obolensky, pp. 284-285. Cf. the analogy of the West and Byzantine culture in my Epilogue in *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*.

guard, for instance),<sup>13</sup> who were permitted to worship according to the Latin faith. There was, moreover, an Arab mosque in Constantinople and at least several Latin churches in Galata as well as, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, an Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, as regards the Nestorians and, even more, the numerous Monophysites of the fifth to seventh centuries and the Paulicians of the ninth and tenth, they were subjected to the fullest coercion available to the state power. How best can we explain this paradox?

The tolerated groups were considered to be special exceptions, and the overall principle of religious unity, it must be underlined, was therefore not sacrificed. This was absolutely indispensable for survival of the empire as it was then constituted. In the case of small, dissident groups such as Jews and the earlier Arabs who had no particular desire to proselytize, no real danger to the state was posed. But in the extreme intransigence of the very numerous Monophysites (comparable to that of the early Christian martyrs) they already seemed to possess, partly through their religious beliefs, a kind of national or ethnic unity. Since they placed allegiance to their "ethnic" traits above allegiance to the emperor, they threatened, religiously, not only to alter the purity of Orthodox dogma but, politically, to unglue the unity of the entire empire. In the case of the Paulicians who believed that matter was evil and thus human institutions were invalid, there was present the danger of destruction of the very fabric of Byzantine society and of the state organization itself.<sup>15</sup> Thus the Orthodox faith served in a very real sense as the basis not only for the emperor's authority but for the very existence of the empire. And it was therefore considered the palladium of the life of the state.<sup>16</sup> This is to be understood not only theoretically but practically as well. The cumulative effect of every peasant and city dweller every Sunday in every parish of the vast empire hearing the purity of the faith in effect equated with the power of the empire cannot be underestimated. And yet, paradoxically, the doctrinal views of the Nestorians and especially of the Monophysites, as related to the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, were closer to those of Orthodoxy than were

<sup>13</sup>On Varangians, see the Byzantine author, George Acropolites, in Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, p. 346, n. 37. Their commander at the time was the future emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus.

<sup>14</sup>On mosques in Constantinople, see *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 283, 726, and 734 for various periods. On the Amalfi monastery, see A. Pertusi, "Monasteri e monaci italiani all'Athos nell'alto Medioevo," *Le Millénaire du Mont Athos*, 1 (Chevtagne, 1963), pp. 217-253; also P. Lemerle, "Les archives du monastère des Amalfitains au Mont Athos," *Ep. Het. Byz. Spoudon* 23 (1953): 548-566. Cf. also now R. Lopez, on "Foreigners in Byzantium," *Miscellanea C. Verlinden* (1974), pp. 348-349 for Arabs, Armenians, Italians, and others.

<sup>15</sup>On the Paulicians, see D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), and his *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 119-122, 215-216; and S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge, 1947).

<sup>16</sup>P. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum* 37 (1962): 341-357.

those of the Jews or the Paulicians. One may recall the old adage that it is the enemy from within that is the more dangerous, especially if the view is very similar.

But were there other factors besides allegiance to the two universal institutions, the emperor and the church, that contributed to a sense of unity among the Byzantines? In the earliest stages of Christianity pagan Greek culture had been the chief enemy. Then merely to be called a Hellene meant to be a pagan. But with the remarkable process of the fusion, or rather integration, of pagan literature and philosophy into Christianity—one might say the acculturation of classical learning to Christianity—it became standard for the educated classes in all areas of the empire to be educated in both the precepts of the Orthodox religion and, to a considerable extent, those of ancient Greek learning. Nevertheless, especially in this earlier period, though we find some important scholars of the Greek classics, Orthodoxy remained paramount over classical culture.<sup>17</sup> In this first period, from 330 to about 717, we may see that in the ethnically nonhomogeneous state of Byzantium, despite the growing significance of Greek learning, the Orthodox religion in conjunction with the state was the basic factor for the preservation of political unity.

## 2. 717-1204

During the second period, that between the Arab conquest of the Byzantine Semitic provinces and the period of the Crusades, the empire became still more Greek in culture. And with the elimination of non-Greek elements, consolidation of Byzantium into a more culturally homogeneous state began. It was in this period that, for reasons still unclear, several emperors attempted to alter—common opinion held they were altering—the basic beliefs of Orthodoxy by decreeing the destruction of the holy icons. This brought about a dramatic struggle lasting over a century in which church and state were shaken to their very foundations. The emperors were, however, finally defeated and Iconoclasm was declared heretical.

Among the theories advanced by historians for the initiation of Iconoclasm is one affirming that, aside from theological reasons, Emperor Leo III was attempting to conciliate the Arab rulers.<sup>18</sup> Strange as this may sound, it is not impossible, given the existence in the Arab Empire both of great numbers of Orthodox Christians who might be persecuted and of heretical Monophysite Christians within the Byzantine Empire, whose emphasis on

<sup>17</sup>Cf. P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>18</sup>On Iconoclasm there is much literature. I cite only two recent ones: M. Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pt. 1, pp. 61-103, and pp. 66-67 on the Arab ruler; and P. Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *English Historical Review* 346 (1973): 1ff.

the singularity of Christ's nature was not unlike that of Arab monotheism. What connection this point would have had with the thesis of conformity or pluralism of faith at this time can only be speculated upon. In any event, with the triumph of the icons, allegiance to the emperor after this conflict remained more or less the same as before in civil matters, though the authority of the patriarch in purely ecclesiastical affairs seems to have waxed greater. This was largely due to the resistance of Theodore of Studius and John of Damascus, whose virtual identification of Orthodoxy with the integrity of the empire, and emphasis therefore on absolute religious conformity, tended to exalt the role of the faithful head of the church, the patriarch.

It was in this period that the law code, the *Epanagoge*, even if not actually promulgated, was composed, which attempted to define somewhat more clearly the spheres of authority between church and state. In this connection we find in some sources an appellation now applied to the patriarch, which previously seemed to be applied only to the emperor, "the icon of Christ." The increase in patriarchal authority, in Byzantine eyes, may be seen in the iconographic representation of emperor and patriarch standing side by side in the manner of Moses and Aaron, instead of the emperor's appearing, as formerly, in a posture very superior to that of the patriarch.<sup>19</sup>

It was in this second stage also that the momentous conversion of the Slavs took place. As is well known, an important if not the main reason for the ultimate success of the Byzantines in this respect was their permitting the liturgy to be translated into the vernacular language of the Slavs (thus making it immediately more meaningful to them), in contrast to the papacy whose policy it was, in the long run, to insist on the use of Latin exclusively.<sup>20</sup> This is perhaps as striking an example as can be found for the significance of the relation between "ethnicity" and religion. One may justifiably speculate whether such a success could have been achieved at all without recourse to use of the vernacular. In my view, though this is of course highly hypothetical, such a permissive, tolerant attitude on the part of the Byzantine authorities of church and state in the earlier period of the Persian and Arab turmoil, when the state was in a very weakened condition, would have been less likely. And indeed much later, in our third period, when a much weakened Byzantium, as we shall see, would virtually completely identify its Greek culture with its ethnic identity, such flexibility would have been even more implausible. The fact that the great

<sup>19</sup>On "icon of Christ," see Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, esp. p. 59. On Moses and Aaron, see C. Ostrogorsky, "Relations Between Church and State," *Sem. Kond.* 4 (1933): 121ff (in Russian); and Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 63.

<sup>20</sup>On exceptions to this policy of tolerance, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 1, n. 11; on the occasional Byzantine objection to the liturgy in the vernacular, see G. Soulis, "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965): 34.

Slavic conversion took place when Byzantium was entering the apogee of its political power would suggest the necessity for the precondition of political stability and power during any serious activities involving changes in church practices and customs.

While the Slavs were being converted, the problem of the connection between religion and ethnicity in the form of the liturgy came again to the foreground in another form, but this time it involved a dispute between Greeks and Latins. Ill-feeling between East and West had of course been growing from earlier times. Associated closely with the ecclesiastical rivalry between Rome and Constantinople was the Greek disdain for the West because of the "spurious" claims of the Holy Roman emperors to world hegemony and, culturally, the low level of civilization prevailing in the West until at least the First Crusade. (In this connection to clarify one point here: when the Greeks, as often happened, criticized Latin as a barbaric language—as even Photius did—they usually had in mind, and quite correctly, not the classical Latin of Cicero but the corrupt vulgar Latin then prevailing in the West.)

Ecclesiastically speaking, besides the basic question of papal claims to jurisdiction over the entire church, including the Eastern, the significant question that now came to the fore, and with particular emphasis in the schism of 1054, was the question over the use of the azymes in the liturgy, that is, whether the eucharistic bread should be unleavened as in Western usage, or leavened, as in Greek custom.<sup>21</sup> This question today may seem rather inconsequential, but as time went on, besides its religious meaning it gradually assumed a cultural meaning and, finally, because of the widening differences between East and West, it assumed strong ethnic overtones. Thus we may note that certainly by the eleventh century, and increasingly so later, a common name applied to the Latins by the Byzantines was simply "azymites." Once again we observe the significance of the liturgy as a bearer or expression of cultural identity. For although in the last analysis they were co-religionists, the growing antipathy between Latins and Greeks tended in the spirit of the age to find expression in the public services of the church. In the liturgy were reflected not only such basic cultural differences as language but also the development of theories and practices characteristic of the mentality of each people.

It is interesting that, for the Greeks, the Latins—the *azymites* who had altered the original creed by the *filioque* addition—were considered heretics, whereas, to the Latins, the Greeks were at least technically schismatics. Though in a basic sense this reflects rather questions of dogma and ecclesiastical organization, one is tempted to believe that it also indi-

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<sup>21</sup>J. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 14 (1970): 3-23. While the West used "azymes," it sometimes grudgingly tolerated the Greek "enzymes." But the Greeks always condemned the Latin "azymes."

cates that the Greeks, fearful of the motives of the West and increasingly on the defensive politically and culturally, already in this period felt more of an identification between ethnicity and culture than did the Latins.

We skip through the period of the first Crusades with the growing estrangement between East and West to come to the Fourth Crusade with the sack of Constantinople by the Western armies under the banner of the cross, and the resultant division of Christendom into two opposing blocks. It was the Latin victory of 1204 more than anything else that henceforth made the religious schism final and irremediable. From this time on we can, I believe, for the first time validly speak of a "Roman Catholic" church, in contrast to a "Greek Orthodox" church. In the West the Roman church, or rather papacy, as a supranational institution somewhat like the Byzantine Empire before its final period, remained above the "nationalism" of the developing Western nations. But in Constantinople, because of the Latin occupation of 1204, with its enforced conversion of the Greek populace to Roman Catholicism and the bitterness this engendered, the religious faith of the Greeks and their sense of ethnicity now reached the point of becoming virtually congruent. Indeed with the Greek recovery of Constantinople in 1261 and the reestablishment of the Byzantine state, and increasingly up to 1453, the two may be said to have coincided. This may be seen in the fact that, after 1261, the Greek population as a whole refused under any circumstances to accept papal aid, and this even in the face of the attempts of such powerful princes as King Charles of Sicily to recapture Constantinople and restore the Latin Empire.<sup>22</sup>

The papal price for aid was religious union with the Roman church, which of course entailed recognition of Roman claims to jurisdiction over the Eastern church. But the vast bulk of the Greeks firmly believed, or at least intuitively realized, that this would lead not only to political domination, but ultimately even to the gradual Latinization of the Greek people. What other interpretation can be given to the taunt cast in 1274 by the Greek rabble at the envoys of Emperor Michael Palaeologus returning from the West where they had just signed ecclesiastical union with Rome in order to secure papal aid against Charles of Anjou? The envoys were hooted at with the abusive words: "Frangos kathestekas" ("You have become a Frank!")—that is, "Through union you have changed your religion and become Latinized").<sup>23</sup>

### 3. 1261-1453 and After

So now at the very end we see the *complete* identification of Greek

<sup>22</sup>On Charles, see D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus* (Cambridge, MA, 1959; rpt. Hamden, CT, 1972), pp. 189ff.

<sup>23</sup>See M. Laurent, *Le bienheureux Innocent V* (Vatican, 1947), p. 424, n. 23. On Latinization, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, Prologue and Epilogue, nn. 20ff.

culture or *ethnic identity*, as we may call it, with Orthodoxy. Earlier when Byzantium was politically ascendant, it could afford to translate the liturgy into the native languages of projected converts; now that it had become almost impotent politically, indeed when it was completely on the defensive, it not only did not have the strength to reach outward to convert other peoples, but it had to remain extremely wary of any foreign and especially Latin advances—and this even when it seemed that without foreign aid the empire would surely fall. How else can we explain the popular intransigence in the face of Michael Palaeologus' blandishments or his brutal coercion to achieve religious union with Rome? The Byzantine people had come more firmly than ever before to believe that the purity of their Orthodox faith was their city's only protection and that the slightest deviation would bring divine punishment and the utter destruction of their empire. Such, in fact, was common Greek opinion after the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453—that the Greek acceptance of union, finally, at the Council of Florence in 1439, had brought down upon their heads the wrath of God for their pollution of the faith.<sup>24</sup>

In the protracted negotiations with Rome for religious union from 1261 to 1453, the most famous example of this Greek insistence on preservation of the faith intact was to be seen in the question of the *filioque*. In the Greek view any addition to the creed as established by the seven ecumenical councils was sheer heresy, and they therefore branded the Latins heretics. Not even recourse to the old theory of *economia* could satisfy the bulk of the populace and especially the archconservative monks who had great influence over the people. To the mass of the people *economia* had no application where the safety of the city guarded by God was concerned and evidently, also, where the cultural identity of the people was concerned. As Michael himself put it, "*economia* had honorably been made use of by Greeks in the past. Only one thing now impels me to seek union [with Rome], the absolute necessity of averting the peril that threatens us."<sup>25</sup> But the deep-rooted suspicions of his people, the result largely of the Crusades and the years of Latin occupation, were too strong.

The most extreme statement reflecting such sentiment came from an educated Greek, the Grand Admiral of Byzantium, Lucas Notaras, only a few months before the capital's fall to the Turks. He is quoted as saying, "Better the turban of the Turk in Constantinople than the tiara of the pope." A number of historians believe that he may actually have headed a party in the city who were so fearful of the loss of their national identity and

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<sup>24</sup>On Michael, see esp. D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus*, pp. 269-271; for 1453 see, on the Greek "sins," Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261-1453" in K. Setton, ed., *History of the Crusades*, vol. 3, chaps. 2-3, esp. pp. 100ff; I. Sevchenko, "Decline of Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961): 179. Cf. the similar Russian Orthodox reaction in G. Vernadsky, *A Source Book for Russian History* (New Haven, 1972), I, p. 126.

<sup>25</sup>Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, p. 270.



culture through Latin religious union that they preferred an Ottoman takeover to a Latin conquest. Many examples may be cited to demonstrate that this Greek fear of the West, a national trauma almost pathological in its intensity, was not groundless. On the Latin side we know that the cultivated humanist Petrarch, celebrated for his love of *ancient* Greek culture, was so aroused by the Byzantine refusal to accept Latin religious rites that he could write of "the enemy Turks and the schismatic Greeks who are worse than enemies and hate and fear us with all their souls."<sup>26</sup>

In the same period the anti-Greek Crusader propagandist William of Adam, recognizing clearly the role of the Orthodox religion for the preservation of Greek ethnicity, proposed to "brainwash" the Greeks by forcing every Greek family to send its oldest son to the West to be brought up in the Catholic faith. And as late as the first decades of the fifteenth century when Alfonso of Aragon proposed to launch a crusade in aid of Constantinople, his plans included, as documents only recently have revealed, the capture of the Greek capital, not for the benefit of the Greeks but to aggrandize his own ambitions.<sup>27</sup>

As for the Greeks, suffice it only to demonstrate the potency of the relationship between religion and ethnicity by quoting the typical remark of the educated Joseph Bryennios of Crete who wrote in 1400: "Let no one be deceived by delusive hopes that the Italian allied troops will come to save us. If they pretend to rise to defend us, they will take arms only to destroy our city, *our race, and our name*."<sup>28</sup> Still later, at the Council of Florence, one Greek prelate, when urged by the Byzantine emperor to sign the union in order to bring aid to their beleaguered capital, said: "I will not accept the *filioque* and become Latinized."<sup>29</sup> All of these examples point to the inescapable conclusion that, more than ever before, the Greeks, now in a defensive position, fearing not only Turkish attack but subversion from the Latin West as well, had come to equate their Orthodoxy with what was unique to them alone—the ancient Greek cultural heritage. And it was the conjunction of these two factors, cultural "nationalism" and religious "nationalism," according to some scholars, that now produced the beginnings of the modern Greek nation.<sup>30</sup>

And yet, it has to be noted that in spite of this commonly-held antagonism and distrust of the Latins, a number of Greek intellectuals, including some of the highest ranking Greek prelates—greater in number than is usually realized—were able, in a veritable *tour de force*, somehow

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, pp. 3-4, and cf. p. 104, n. 77.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 2 and n. 3.

<sup>28</sup>N. Kalogeras, *Mark Eugenikos and Cardinal Bessarion* (Athens, 1893), p. 70.

<sup>29</sup>Cited in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 106 and n. 84.

<sup>30</sup>On this, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9, "The Greeks of the Diaspora: The Italian Renaissance and the Origins of Modern Greek Nationalism," *passim*.

to disengage in their minds this identification of religion and ethnic identity. It was a remarkable achievement that Demetrios Cydones, the Grand Logothete (prime minister), Maximos Planudes, and especially the great statesman and scholar of the Renaissance, Bessarion, were able to accept the idea of religious union with Rome while at the same time believing they could retain their cultural identity. True, some Greeks accused Bessarion of having sold out to the pope. And the Greek rabble which could not understand their thinking termed all of these men *Latinophrones* (Latin-thinking or Latin-“lovers”), a term then particularly pejorative in its ring.

The good faith of many of these persons cannot, I believe, be successfully impugned. But the answer is too simple that most of them were convinced of the superiority of the Latin faith. Actually there is good evidence that some had, rather, begun to appreciate the advances which had been made by Latin culture and that they saw, especially in the developing Italian Renaissance, a future role for their own Greek culture. Cydones, to take a leading example, when accused of following Thomas Aquinas to the detriment of Greek patristic writings, is supposed to have replied that Aquinas was based on Aristotle who was one of “*our own* Greeks.”<sup>31</sup> In a few cases also, notably that of Bessarion, several may have been persuaded of the need for a return to the early patristic unity of the church, what we would today call the “ecumenical” spirit. Moreover, for Bessarion and his teacher Gemistos Pletho, it seemed that the advances made by the Latin West in technology and engineering might even be utilized to revitalize the moribund Byzantine state, now in the last stage of its life.<sup>32</sup> That the complete identification of Orthodoxy and “national” identity was not valid or, at least, less valid for these scholars mentioned renders them a remarkable exception—the first of a cultured group who, extending from the late fourteenth all the way to the nineteenth century, became an important part of the diaspora, or scattered remnants of the Greek people, in Western Europe. Of course it cannot be denied that many Greeks emigrating to the West in this same period, and especially after 1453, chose Catholicism simply for the sake of expediency, that is in order to avoid persecution or for business and political gain.

It is also worth noting that some Greek politicians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in their aversion for the West and in equating religion and ethnic identity, looked rather to their fellow Orthodox Slavs of the Balkans and especially of Russia for salvation from the Turkish danger.<sup>33</sup> Some little Russian help was in fact forthcoming in the form of alms. The

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<sup>31</sup>On Cydones, see Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the “Sibling” Cultures*, chap. 4, also Prologue and Epilogue.

<sup>32</sup>A. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, vol. 1 (New Brunswick, NJ, 1970), esp. pp. 126-135 and 172-178.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 257ff.

emperors appealed several times to the Russian princes for assistance, but the latter were themselves at this time caught up in the storm following upon the Mongol conquest. Moreover, Kiev had long fallen and Moscow was too distant to be deeply concerned. Besides, in the Slavic areas, especially Moscow, the feeling for a long time prevailed that the Greeks, by their espousal of union with Rome at Florence, had betrayed Orthodoxy and, as the Russ believed, they alone were now the true Orthodox.<sup>34</sup> (This belief, by the way, would seem to have contributed something indirectly at least to the growing ethnic feeling of the Russians.)

When the Turkish Sultan Mohammed II entered Constantinople, one of his first official acts was to name the rabid anti-unionist George Scholarios patriarch of Constantinople, and to grant him the full privileges of his predecessors over not only his Greek fellow citizens but over all other subject Orthodox peoples as well. Indeed, partly owing to the sultan's acts, the coincidence of religion and nationalism in its political and cultural aspects now reached its climax, becoming more complete than ever before. For George Scholarios, placed by the Sultan at the head of the millet or *nation* of the Greeks became, as such, not only the political but the religious head of *all* Balkan Christians as well, subject only to the high suzerainty of the sultan himself.

In the succeeding centuries, especially the sixteenth and early seventeenth, the occupied Greek areas in the Balkans sank to their cultural nadir. But as is widely recognized, it was, above all, the Orthodox Church that preserved the national identity of the Greeks. (This is not to overlook the splendid work of preservation of the spirit of a free Greek nation by the scholars of the diaspora in Western Europe.)<sup>35</sup> With few exceptions the Greeks of the mainland had become almost illiterate, and it was fear of this very eventuality that moved Bessarion, as early as 1468, to bequeath his remarkable collection of Greek manuscripts to Venice, that haven for Greek emigres, not so much as he put it, prophetically, in his letter of grant to the Venetian Signoria, "to disseminate Greek learning to Western scholars but so that my own countrymen will recall the actions of their ancestors and not degenerate into becoming no better than barbarians or slaves."<sup>36</sup> This generally overlooked statement is doubly meaningful because it comes from the pen of the man termed derisively by many of his own Greek compatriots a *Latinophron*, a traitor to the Byzantine people, but one who actually realized, probably better than many others, the significance of the Greek cultural heritage. On the other hand, to be sure,

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 363, on the Russian view that Greek sins brought on the catastrophe of 1453. S. Runciman, *Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 159-161.

<sup>35</sup>Passim, esp. nn. 15ff.

<sup>36</sup>See D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium and the Renaissance: Greek Scholars in Venice* (Hamden, CT, 1972), p. 81. Cf. my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9, "The Greeks of the Diaspora," n. 1.

the statement also does tend by implication to diminish the close identification between the church and national identity. But Bessarion, a church leader himself as noted, was an ecumenically-minded patristic scholar who nostalgically looked back to the early centuries of the church when East and West had been one.

In contrast, the Greeks of the patriarchal court in Turkish Constantinople and those who served as administrative aides and envoys of the Turks to Vienna, Moscow, and elsewhere—Greeks such as the Grand Dragoman (Interpreter) Panagrotos Nicousios<sup>37</sup>—were more conscious of their *Orthodox* inheritance as such. What they stressed was primarily their *Byzantine* heritage, and their aim, if not always explicit, was to achieve a restoration of the old Byzantine Empire through the agency of the patriarchate. Some, after 1453, placed their hopes in the Russian Tsar, the sole surviving independent Orthodox ruler. Maxim the Greek of the early sixteenth century is often cited as one of such a group. But, contrary to Russian and other historians, I do not feel that Maxim, even when admonishing Prince Vassili III in the same words used centuries earlier by Photius to the Bulgar Tsar Boris, envisioned a restoration of the old Byzantine Empire under the Tsar. What he wanted basically was Russian aid for the reestablishment of a *Greek* or possibly Greco-Russian Empire to supplement the Greek patriarchate of Constantinople.<sup>38</sup> What finally brought on the Greek Revolution, besides the actual events of 1821, was the rise of a Greek middle class; the decline of Turkish power; the permeation of Enlightenment ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and also, it should be stressed, the conjunction of the ancient Greek ideals with the Byzantine religious ideology.<sup>39</sup>

It is interesting that, in the last two centuries of Byzantium's life, when the nation was threatened from without as never before, it witnessed an astonishing renaissance of culture. This would accord with the theory of von Grünebaum that a nation, when it is most threatened, is often able to gather its energies and to produce a revival of its culture.<sup>40</sup> This happened to Byzantium in the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries not only in the literary and artistic spheres but also in the religious area, in the form of a new but more intensive kind of personal piety: the mystical beliefs of Hesychasm. This, some scholars claim (and in some cases rightly, though there are exceptions), reflected a deepening sense of "nationality," a feeling that one was expressing traditional Byzantine beliefs and prac-

<sup>37</sup>On Nicousios, see bibliography in Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, esp. p. 179 and n. 28.

<sup>38</sup>On Maxim and Greek, see esp. V. Ikonnikov, *Maksim Grek i ego vremia*, 2 vols. (Kiev, 1915). Cf. R. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York, 1970), pp. 87-95.

<sup>39</sup>Cf. recently, G. Arnakis, *The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States to 1900* (Austin-New York, 1969), chaps. 5-6. On education cf. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9.

<sup>40</sup>On this term, see the Prologue, n. 2 in my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, and my Epilogue to the same work, nn. 21ff.

tices as opposed to Latin. Moreover it was in this later period, when to the Greeks Orthodoxy and Greek culture became coterminous, that some of them once again began to revert to calling themselves *Hellenes*, a name which had hitherto been reserved for the pagan Greeks, instead of the Byzantine term *Romans*. This meant that they were now beginning to see a continuity between their ancient forebears and themselves. This did *not* mean, however, that any of them, except perhaps the famous Gemistos Pletho, wished to invalidate, or apostatize from, their Orthodox faith, that is, to separate their religion from their recently found "ethnicity."<sup>41</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

What may we conclude from this survey of the relationship between religion and ethnicity, conformity and pluralism, in the history of the Byzantine Empire and beyond? In all this long period, with the shifting, and later contraction, of political boundaries of the empire, the element which seemed most steadfast in the vicissitudes of the Greek people was the Orthodox religion. True, existing even before that chronologically was the ancient Greek culture which unquestionably has always constituted the quintessence, the nucleus, of Hellenism. But in times of peace as well as in times of danger and crisis, it was the church, which early had assimilated Greek culture unto itself, that primarily served to preserve this continuity. And even in the final period of the Palaeologi, from 1261 to 1453, when a new emphasis on "nationalism" emerged very strongly, it expressed itself in a Hellenic culture for the most part anchored in the church.

In our first and second stages, during the times when the state was strong, it did not seem to matter that the ethnic composition of the empire was very heterogeneous, because religion was successfully identified with the ideology and strength of the empire, which was itself a genuine reality. Here the state, in the person of the emperor, served as the protector of the church and the guardian of Orthodoxy, although, as we have seen, at certain points—during the Iconoclastic conflict for example—the church had to assert itself over the claims of the emperor in the matter of establishing dogma, a proof incidentally that in strictly religious matters the church was stronger than the emperor.

At the same time, in our second period, the element of Greek culture was becoming more pervasive and as such could provide a still further bond of unity in the empire. It was then that the question of ethnicity began to

<sup>41</sup>On nationalism, see my *Interaction of the "Sibling" Cultures*, chap. 9. Also on "Hellenes," Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, passim. On Pletho's paganism, see F. Masai, *Pléthon et la Platonisme de Mistra* (Paris, 1956). An early reference to "Hellenes" is in A. Lepathenos' letter to Gregoras, ca. 1355: S. Runciman, "Byzantine and Hellene in the Fourteenth Century," *Tomos Harmenopoulos* (1952), pp. 27-33; and his *Last Byzantine Renaissance*, pp. 18-23. Also C. Patrinelis, "An Unknown Letter of D. Cydones," *Greek Roman Byzantine Studies* (1973).

take on some significance, not only among the Slavs—who made use of Orthodoxy and especially the Slavonic liturgy to strengthen their own emerging ethnic feelings—but among the Greeks themselves. To the latter, however, ethnicity of “national” consciousness was as yet of secondary importance, because the power of the state was still overriding and Greek culture was dominant.

Progressively, however, by the time of our third period, and especially after the Latin occupation of Constantinople when the Byzantine state itself was destroyed—though the successor states of Nicaea and Epirus tried to foster the illusion of an uninterrupted continuity of empire—relations between church and state, and especially the question of religious conformity, began to take on a different form. Henceforth, even with the reestablishment of Byzantine power at Constantinople in 1261, because of the weakness of the state, the Byzantine people had to find something besides Orthodoxy to provide them with a feeling of identity as a people. This became necessary not only because they shared Orthodoxy with a different ethnic group, the Slavs, but, even more, in order to differentiate themselves from the hated Latins. This was all the more imperative since the very heads of their own state, the Palaeologian emperors, were seeking to effect ecclesiastical union with the Roman church, and a few of their own leading intellectuals, the pro-unionists or *Latinophrones*, were, in the minds of the common people, blurring the differences between Greek and Latin to the extent that the East might even become Latinized.<sup>42</sup>

This new element, which emerged to undergird the people's dependence on the church, was found in the *ancient* Greek cultural tradition or heritage which was now finally made to coincide *exactly* with the Byzantine attachment to Orthodoxy, though it had begun earlier to grow in significance. This is not to gainsay that the state, or rather the *idea* of the Byzantine state, had lost all importance or potency. The imperial authority had grown much weaker in large part because of the shrinkage of imperial territory, but the authority of the patriarch, despite this territorial contraction, had been increasing, especially among the Slavs. Striking evidence for the culmination of this transposed relationship between power of church and state, patriarch and emperor, where now the church instead became the protector of the state, is to be seen in the extreme statement made in 1395 by the Greek patriarch Anthony. In response to Russian disparagement of the weak authority of the Byzantine emperor, he replied categorically to the grand prince of Moscow: “There can be no Christian church without the Emperor.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>On Latinization see esp. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the “Sibling” Cultures*, Prologue and Epilogue. Also D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West*, passim; also D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East*, p. 104, n. 79, p. 106, n. 84; and T. Congar, *After Five Hundred Years* (New York, 1959), pp. 29-48.

<sup>43</sup>See quotation in Obolensky, *Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 264.

In times when state power was supreme, the church could, theoretically, demand and secure conformity to the one religion on the grounds that otherwise the state would be divided and therefore weakened. But pragmatically it could and did sometimes shut its eyes in exceptional cases such as those of the Jews and Armenians. With regard to heretics such as the Nestorians, Monophysites, Paulicians, and Bogomils, however, whose numbers and proselytizing activities posed a grave danger to the very life of the state, the thesis of conformity was theoretically as well as in practice insisted upon by the Byzantine authorities to the point of intolerance and often severe persecution. In the third or last period, as we have seen, the positions were reversed. With the drastic decline of the state power, the church, in order to preserve the political structure and the social order, had to become the protector of the state. But in order to bolster both church and state, and, above all, to find a genuine ethnic identity of their own in the face of the collapse of both empire and society, the Greek people had recourse to what they believed was unique to them, the cultural tradition of the ancient Greeks.

In all three periods, then, it may be said that religious pluralism was, with certain non-dangerous exceptions, not tolerated in the Byzantine state. In the first period, the state authority maintained religious conformity as it did in the second, though with certain qualifications, but in the third phase, conformity of religion increasingly coincided with the need for conformity of culture, since the state authority was weakened and the external and internal threats to the empire had become overpowering. And it was the coincidence of this religious and cultural conformity which finally produced among most Byzantines what we may call the new Greek "nationalism."

#### Study and Discussion Questions

1. What exceptions, if any, were there to the legal requirement of adherence to Orthodoxy? Discuss why exceptions were permitted.
2. In what particular way, according to the author, was the Byzantine Empire distinguished from the Roman Empire of Augustus? Could the same characteristic be used to distinguish the Byzantine Empire from the Holy Roman Empire? Discuss.
3. Discuss the Eusebian political ideology regarding the Christian Emperor.
4. Discuss what the author means by the Byzantine "commonwealth" or "community of Orthodox Christendom."
5. According to the author, in what way could ancient Greek learning be called a factor in the preservation of Byzantine unity?
6. The concession of a vernacular liturgy to the Slavs would seem to violate the desirable principle of unity of liturgy. How does the author see this matter?
7. The author sees as one significance of liturgy its being a bearer of cultural identity. What aspects of Western liturgy were considered unacceptable to Easterners and why? Discuss.
8. Discuss the relationship which was seen by many Greeks between the Council of Florence in 1439 and the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453.
9. According to the author, what was the significance of George Scholarios' being named patriarch of Constantinople? Discuss.

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*ALBERT STONE, JR.*

## **SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE: ROMANCE AND REALISM**

It was a great honor for a non-Greek to be invited to address you this evening. I am mindful of the audacity of accepting the invitation and the risks involved. My topic is "Samuel Gridley Howe: Romance and Realism."

A reasonable query to put to such ceremonies as this is what purpose can such an occasion be expected to serve, what purpose in which this talk should share. The climate of our times is cynical, depressing, revisionary, violent. Our flags are tattered; our monuments are defaced with graffiti, besmirched with excrement; we listen but faintly to platform speeches. Can we reasonably expect more than the momentary diversions of fireworks, verbal or visual, marching bands and costumed parades? Finding a useful emblem for this occasion was difficult.

I searched diligently for a subject which could bring together several strands: the literary, and especially Byron; the American—after all, this is our Bicentennial (though I realize that one revolution per evening is quite enough); Boston, where our school is located; and the Greek, our main reason for being here. Furthermore, I sought a subject which would serve as an example we could consider with profit, aware that so many models no longer inspire. Inevitably, magnetically, the illustrious Boston Philhellene Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe claimed this place. I wish then to draw a sketch of this remarkable man as he participated in the Greek War of Independence. And I have a thesis. My thesis is that he went to Greece out of romanticism, but he survived in Greece and served Greece out of realism.

Who was he? Samuel Gridley Howe was born in Boston on November 10, 1801. His parents were purebred New England. His mother was a Gridley; the Howes were freedmen here in Massachusetts in the 1630's. An ancestress—the like few of us could claim—was hanged as a witch in Salem.

Samuel went to a grammar school, then to Boston Latin, then—a surprising but welcome exception—he did not attend Harvard but went to Brown instead. His father thought Harvard—how times have changed—too conservative for his son. Mr. Howe was democratically inclined, opposed to Federalism. It is said the father, being somewhat impoverished at the time, decided which of his three sons would be sent to college by having each of them read aloud from the Bible, an admissions test we might institute here.

After graduating from Brown, Samuel undertook medical studies and in 1824 received a degree from Harvard Medical School. Thereupon, to the consternation of family and friends, he sailed for Greece, where revolution had been underway for three years.

Why did he go? First—Yankee opportunism. He recognized the limitless opportunities to practice medicine and surgery on the countless casualties of war. The rest was romance. He had had an unhappy love affair, been rejected or circumstances had prevented; whatever, he had a wounded if not broken heart. And, most important, Byron.

It is difficult today even to imagine the extent of Byron's influence in England, Europe and this country. *Childe Harold* and the so-called Oriental Tales had literally captured the imagination of the western world. A major ingredient of Byronism was an elegiac rendering of Greece, where Byron had sported sensually and written about ideally in 1810 and 1811. The first two cantos of *Childe Harold* were published in 1812 and made him famous overnight. Here are some excerpts depicting Greece:

Wher'er we tread 'tis haunted, holy ground;  
No earth of thine is lost in vulgar mould,  
But one vast realm of Wonder spreads around,  
And all the Muse's tales seem truly told,  
Till the sense aches with gazing to behold  
The scenes our earliest dreams have dwelt upon;

And

The Sun, the soil—but not the slave, the same;

Unchanged in all except its foreign Lord—  
 Preserves alike its bounds and boundless fame  
 The Battle-field, where Persia's victim horde  
 First bowed beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword,  
 As on the morn to distant Glory dear,  
 When Marathon became a magic word.<sup>1</sup>

And so on. Untarnished, undiminished glory! You would think the age of Pericles was a mere two or three generations back. "Unchanged in all." But there had been changes in over two thousand years, changes ignored by the Byronic romantics.

Howe was an ardent admirer of Byron. His daughter, Laura E. Richards, wrote in the *Journals and Letters* she edited:

I have spoken of my father's great love for poetry and romance. Byron was at this time, as always, his favorite poet and hero. I can see him now, with kindling look, reciting some passage in his ringing, musical voice.

Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,  
 along Morea's hills the setting sun;

or the more familiar "Isles of Greece"; and I have sometimes wondered whether, had it not been for Byron, he would never have seen those isles and hills which he was to know so well. Just at this time, however, Byron's example as well as his poetry was a beacon to him as to many others, and lighted up a scene as romantic as any in modern history.<sup>2</sup>

(You recall that Byron, goaded into action more by ennui and a cooling liaison than by enthusiasm, had finally sailed for Greece in May 1823; had, after a long stay in the Ionic Islands, then under British protection, reached Missolonghi in December and died there of an illness on 19 April 1824, thereby insuring his immortality as a hero for the Greeks.)

Howe stopped at Malta on the way to Greece and wrote to a friend this typically Byronic lament:

My chance of return is not great, but I care little for that. There are few, (but very few) in America to whom I am sincerely attached, and whom I should rejoice to meet;

<sup>1</sup>*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto the First, Stanzas 88 and 89, *The Complete Poetical Works of Byron*, ed. Paul E. More (Boston, 1933), p. 33.

<sup>2</sup>*Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, ed. Laura E. Richards, 2 vols. (Boston and London, 1906-1909), I, 21.

but besides that, what is there for me to wish for? Suppose I should succeed according to my sanguine hopes—What then?<sup>3</sup>

What indeed, for a young man of twenty-three?

Howe arrived in Greece the winter of 1824, a time when prospects for the Revolution were not bright. The actualities of war-ravaged Greece were immediately, cruelly incongruous with the romantic expectations of so many Byronic adventurers. Physical hardships, disillusioning political and military situations, all manner of adversities fell to the Philhellenes as well as to the Greeks. One had to cope with harsh realities or go under. Howe was able to confront realities—as he saw them—without losing his enthusiasm for the cause of freedom for the Greek people. Here are a few of these realities, as Howe saw them, in his own words, mostly from the journals and letters he wrote at the time.

The horrors of war—to be expected but still shocking:

War has its horrors viewed at a distance, but how they are augmented when we are on the spot! . . . Then the limping wounded come in, those who lie on the field in torture, and those who are writhing in the agony and sweat of death, mingle with those of their comrades who lie cold and still, sleeping their eternal sleep on the spot where a moment before they stood all life and vigour.<sup>4</sup>

An incident reflecting the peculiar cruelty and barbarity of the Turks:

I was once with a party of soldiers, three of whom got separated from the rest, and were surprised upon the plain, at daylight, by a few Turkish horsemen; they ran for the mountains, but the cavalry pursued them, and fired upon them with their carbines, just as they approached the position of their companions. Two of them fell dead, and the third, hearing the horsemen at his heels, fell also, but not wounded; the Turks came up, dismounted, cut off in haste the noses and ears of all three, the living one having the fortitude to keep up a counterfeit of death; and the Turks strung their prizes on a string with some others, and galloped off. The poor fellow then got up, and came to us

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 125.

covered with blood from head to foot. I soon cured him, and promised him a new *talicotian*, nose and ears, at the expense of the first of his mutilators whom he should overtake.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, the Greek soldier:

A Greek soldier is quite a man at ease; a gentleman, in fact, who does and says what he will, and goes where he wants. When he enters the army, as it is called, he goes to some captain and agrees with him to pay him some two and a half dollars per month and shoe leather. . . If they are on the march the soldier goes ahead, behind, or strolls to one side, according to his will. . . A soldier obeys the order of his captain or not, just as he chooses. If ordered to march on such a day to such a place, he goes, or says he will not go so soon, or perhaps not at all. . . When in the village, he lives on the villagers. There is no baggage wagon, and seldom a horse. A soldier carries with him his bed, his table, his chair, his all, in his capote. His knife is to him dagger, fork, and spoon. He carries no change of clothes nor will he lay off his dress, perhaps, once in three months. At night he never thinks of getting more than a dry place and a smooth stone for a pillow.<sup>6</sup>

Howe is being critical, but we may tend to be envious of this independent spirit.

There is no romance here; neither is there any complaint. As Howe wrote: "As for this way of life, one soon gets used to it. It is now two months since I took off my clothes at night, or have had any other bed than the floor and a blanket, yet I sleep as sound as ever I did on a feather bed with linen sheets, and my head is as easy, with only my handkerchief between it and a flat rock, as it was on down pillows."<sup>7</sup>

Howe was dismayed at corruption, factionalism, greed: "The sordid spirit of gain, and what is worse, the spirit of party, has sprung up to blight the hopes of the friends of liberty."<sup>8</sup> And:

<sup>5</sup>Samuel G. Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, 2d. ed. (New York, 1828), p. 370.

<sup>6</sup>*Letters and Journals*, I, 136.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 183.

The jealousies and dissensions which had manifested themselves among the leading men of Greece contributed in no small degree to give an unfavourable aspect to their affairs. In Greece sectional feelings and prejudices are particularly strong, and until the people become sufficiently enlightened, these prejudices will always be made subservient to the selfish view of individuals.<sup>9</sup>

And further: "Napoli [that is, Nauplion], the capital, was now a scene of continual party quarrelling: government was in great embarrassment from many causes. The Hydriote and Spetziote, sailors, having tasted of the loan, had become entirely selfish and absolutely refused to sail without pay."<sup>10</sup> And this long before the day of the unions.

On hunger, Howe spoke at a later period to his family:

I knew more than once what probably you never had any realizing sense of, to wit, the sharp gnawing of real hunger... I have been months without eating other flesh than mountain snails, or roasted wasps, weeks without bread, and days without a morsel of food of any kind. Woe to the stray donkey or goat that fell within our reach then; they were quickly slain, and their flesh, cut up hastily in little square bits, was roasting on our ramrods, or devoured half-raw.<sup>11</sup>

His daughter wrote: "I remember asking him once, in childish disgust, if wasps were not 'horrid' to eat. 'Not at all,' he replied. 'Roasted to a crisp, and strung on a straw like dried cherries, they were not bad at all.' And he added, 'I was often thankful enough to get them.'"<sup>12</sup>

Howe was no saint; he had his faults. He could be supercilious, condescending, arrogant. As, for instance, toward Greek doctors:

I have never felt toward any of the native doctors anything but pity for their ignorance and contempt for their presumption. Gladly would I do my duty and endeavour to instruct them in the principles of surgery, but they are so conceited or so stubborn that they will not allow any mode but their own to be even worthy of trial. I have no doubt

<sup>9</sup>*Historical Sketch*, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>11</sup>*Letters and Journals*, I, 35.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

that many of them would give me a dose of poison if they could get a chance.<sup>13</sup>

And you can hardly blame them.

Or the Greek religion, for which he showed little understanding or sympathy:

Such accidents [a storm], and the frequent recurrence of festivals on which the people will not work, cause me vexatious delays. These holidays are a serious injury to Greece. The people are obliged to remain idle one-third of the year at least, and if the . . . priesthood had full power they would have to remain idle half the time, for on festivals all that is done is for the people to put on their finest clothes, to go to church at two hours before day, to witness and perform ridiculous ceremonies, and afterward to spend the day in lounging about the coffeehouse in worse than idleness."<sup>14</sup>

On religious cures: "The priests have a way of getting money from the peasantry by pretending to disenchant cattle. A man whose horse, ass, or beast of any kind is sick or unmanageable, calls a priest, who reads the Testament aloud before it, from beginning to end."<sup>15</sup>

The shift from romantic idealism to disillusioning realities is touchingly summed up in this passage about the discovery of a bathing pool in a brook: "Alas! where are now the nymphs and swains, so beautifully sung by poets of old? transformed into ugly, silly girls, and dirty, lazy loons!"<sup>16</sup>

Disenchanted by such depressing realities, many of the Philhellenes from various countries collapsed. As Howe wrote in his journal:

Most of the foreigners. . . usually came for personal distinction, and for honour; they were brave, longed to expose themselves and to be distinguished, and were generally discontented and disappointed because there was a hard fare, hard marches, and no glory. Many and many a poor fellow I have known—German, Swiss, French, or English—who came with high hope and ambition, who were only disappointed. Many could not bear to wait; they disliked the poor fare, the exposure, the poverty, but above all, the lack of glory—

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 134

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 322.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

gazetting glory. Some were killed, some were broken down and died on marches, some took to raki (rum), some deserted, and but very few got off alive.<sup>17</sup>

Howe was different:

I liked the excitement immensely; the dangers gave zest to it, and I was happy as youth, health, a good cause, and tolerably clean conscience could make me. I think I was unconscious of any purpose usually called selfish. I wanted no money, and got little. I did not think about other glory than the approval of those about me. . . I can say sincerely that I found the Greek kindly affectioned, trustful, grateful, and as far as my intercourse with them went, honest people. They always treated me as well as I wished to be treated. My desire was to help along the cause.<sup>18</sup>

In what ways did Dr. Howe "help along the cause?" When he arrived in Greece in the winter of 1824, he was welcomed and made surgeon of the army, but there then being no army as such, he went on like a common soldier to accompany guerilla bands operating in the Morea. He did put his profession to use, tending the sick and treating the wounded. He later established a hospital on Poros open to both combatants and non-combatants. He participated in an attempt to liberate Crete. He accompanied the unsuccessful attack on Athens designed to relieve the Greek garrison on the Acropolis. There he killed a Turk:

We anchored within close musquet-range and blazed away. The Turks would only poke out their heads, fire their musquet, and retire. But one of them held his head out long enough for me to take aim at it and level him with a rifle-ball; he fell sprawling on his face, and I hardly know whether pleasure or pain predominated in my mind as I witnessed his fall. Said I, "A moment more and I may fall the same way."<sup>19</sup>

When American relief supplies began to arrive, he resigned from military service and along with Jonathan P. Miller and George Jarvis, the other notable American Philhellenes, supervised the distribution of food and clothing, preventing misappropriation.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 209.



On his return to the United States in November 1827 he worked tirelessly for Greece: lecturing, assisting Greek Committees, soliciting and collecting funds. He wrote and published a *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*, actually more than a sketch, some four hundred very readable if not always accurate pages.

When he went back to Greece a year later in 1828, the country was more settled. The Government was located at Aegina. There, feeling that charity should be compensated, he put his recipients to work constructing a seawall, a mole, to create a new harbor for the island. The stones for this construction, already cut, came from an Ancient Greek temple—another radical shift from romanticism to realism; dismantling a Greek temple may seem to us today a little too pragmatic. Finally, as his last major undertaking in Greece at this period, he established an agricultural refugee settlement at Heximilia on the Isthmus of Corinth. Stricken with malaria, he had to leave the country the spring of 1830.

To round out his Greek associations: In 1844 on his third visit to Greece he was awarded the Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. One of his daughters married a Greek. In 1867 he was in Greece again supervising relief for the Cretan refugees.

His career in this country, in Boston, long and distinguished, can be given only passing mention. The first director of what soon came to be known as the Perkins Institute for the Blind, he was a great innovator in educating the blind and otherwise handicapped. Laura Bridgman, a deaf, dumb and blind child, became his most famous pupil, as remarkable then as Helen Keller was later. He fostered humane schools and institutions for the handicapped all over the country. He was active in anti-slavery endeavors.

In 1843, rather late in life, he married the Julia Ward who in 1861 wrote our famous "Battle Hymn of the Republic." This is a centennial year for Dr. Howe as well; he died in 1876.

I have called this sketch a model, an icon, an example. Examples do not necessarily require explanations, but I will make a few concluding comments. I have emphasized realism at the expense of romanticism, but of course we need both. Romanticism is individualism, egotism; it turns inward. Realism is more social, more practical; it turns outward. As Howe wrote in 1848,

It is beginning to be seen, also, that man has a double nature and double interests; that he is a social being, as well as an individual; that he cannot sin with impunity against the one nature any more than he can against the other. God has joined men together and they cannot pull themselves asunder. The ignorance, depravity, the sufferings of one man, or of one class of men, must affect other men and other classes of men, in spite of all the barriers of pride and selfishness they may erect around themselves.<sup>20</sup>

We need romanticism to set on fire our enthusiasm, to illuminate our ideals, to move us to change, but we need clear-headed, cold-blooded realism to proceed successfully, to see things through. Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe is a model of a successful synthesis of both romanticism and realism.

<sup>20</sup>*Letters and Journals*, II, 211.

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## SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS

The new Inter-Orthodox Center at the sixteenth-century Monastery of Penteli, Athens, Greece, was the setting of the Second Conference of Orthodox Theological Schools, 19-29 August 1976. Hosts were the two faculties of the Theological Schools of the University of Athens and the University of Thessalonike. An international organizing committee headed by Professor Savvas Agourides was responsible for the academic program of the Conference. Participants included faculty members of Orthodox theological schools from all over the world, notable Orthodox theological figures, and also observers from several Churches and the World Council of Churches. Only the second such conference ever held (for the papers of the First Conference held in 1936 see *Procès-verbaux du premier Congrès de Théologie à Athènes*, ed. H. Alivizatos. Athens, 1939), this Conference will prove significant for the future elucidation of Orthodox thought.\*

The theme of the Conference was "Orthodox Theology and its Application (*Pragmatosis*).” N. Nissiotis delivered the keynote address entitled "The Theology of the Church and its Application." The Conference was divided into three major parts with sub-headings of narrower scope. The first sub-heading of the Conference was "Theology as the Expression of the Life and Consciousness of the Church." Six papers were read as follows: C. Andronikof (France) and A. Jevtich (Yugoslavia) on "Liturgy and Spirituality"; N. Zabolotsky (Russia) and K. Mouratides (Greece) on "Communal Spirit and Conciliarity," and Th. Stylianopoulos (United States) and T. Koev (Bulgaria) on "Historical and Eschatological Aspects." To each of the above papers, as well as to all subsequent papers, two responses were given by various Orthodox scholars who here unfortunately cannot be named because of lack of space.

The second sub-heading was entitled "Theology as the Expression of the Church's Presence in the World." It featured the following papers: A. Schmemmann (United States) and N. Tarazi (Lebanon) on "Witnessing the Dynamics of Salvation in the

\* Publication of the papers is expected in early 1977 out of Athens. An issue of this journal will also feature several papers in English by the summer of 1977.

World"; Bishop A. Yannoulatos (Greece) and G. Marcu (Roumania) on "Mission and Pastoral Care," and D. Staniloae (Roumania) and C. Eltchaninoff (France) on "The Dynamics of the World in the Church."

The third and final sub-heading was "The Role of Theology in the Renewal of the Life of the Church." It included the following papers: J. Romanides (Greece) and Metropolitan Chrysostomos Constantinides (Ecumenical Patriarchate) on "Critical Examination of the Applications of Theology"; J. Karmiris (Greece) and Bishop Anthony of Ploiesti (Roumania) on "Catholicity and Ethnicity," and A. Osipov (Russia) and V. Istavrides (Ecumenical Patriarchate) on "The Ecumenical Dimensions of Orthodoxy."

As one would expect, there was considerable variety in the papers. Some set forth the teaching of the Church on a particular subject. Others described the historical aspects. Still others more eagerly pursued burning issues in the present life of the Church. In a similar fashion some of the responses were direct and contributed to the advancement of the discussion of an issue while others were indirect and supplementary. Each contributor naturally spoke from his own perspective, sometimes modifying the assigned title of his paper, a fact which was itself illuminating. The Conference devoted as much time to five ongoing group discussions as to the reading of papers. There were also four plenary sessions. On the whole the Conference was quite successful both for its papers and for the interaction afforded the participants. One was impressed by how much could be learned within the short period of eleven days.

Although it is certainly too soon to venture any evaluations of the theological work of the Conference prior to the publication of its papers and responses, it would not be amiss to sketch some impressions of the Penteli meeting and to mention some issues of central concern. The first question that could be raised is to what degree the Conference achieved the aim set by the international preparatory committee, that is, to what degree it succeeded in grappling with the matter of the "application" (the Greek word *pragmatosis* may also literally be rendered "actualization" or "realization") of Orthodox theology in the life of the Church. Although the Conference was rich in many ways, it came somewhat short of its hoped-for goal largely because most of the contributors were not sufficiently able to free themselves from the strong pull of traditional doctrinal and

historical theology. It was, however, interesting to note that many participants voiced repeated concern for the "application" of theology. We no doubt have here an expression of a deeper awareness that Orthodox theology, despite familiar affirmations that it is a theology of and for the Church, has in many ways remained an "ivory tower" or "school theology" in modern times, whether in its "scientific" or "mystical" articulations; that is, it has had little to say to or to do with the actual life of the Church as the people of God on earth.

In this connection two highly successful papers by Bishop Yannoulatos and N. Tarazi deserve mention. Bishop Yannoulatos offered not only an analysis of the condition of the Orthodox Church and its people in contemporary secularized society, but also a courageous description of "traumatic situations" in the Church such as the ineffectiveness of many clergy, the feudal-like relations between bishops and priests, the lack of spiritual power in modern theology, and a consequent general passivity among the people of God—his point being that only a spiritually healthy Church can hope to bear genuine witness to Christ in the world. N. Tarazi in his own paper struck a welcome chord of evangelical power as he spoke about the dynamics of salvation according to the Bible and pointed to the need of a kenotic Christian witness among peoples who are "the not-yet-Bride" of Christ. This chord needs to sound time and again within the Orthodox Church both with regard to mission and in the preaching of the Gospel in the power of the Spirit to our own people.

A second recurrent question throughout the Conference was that of the definition of "theology." Despite the noted call for the "application" of theology, it was clear that most participants assumed that the "theological issues" first had to be straightened out before one could deal with "practical issues," as if the two could possibly be dealt with separately. One had the feeling that, according to them, it would be preferable to fall short on the side of "practice" rather than on that of "theology." Yet it was also clear that discussion of theological issues seemed both ambiguous and endless in two ways. In one way there was a tendency to spiral upward and to be lost in the search for the meaning of substantives such as "spirituality," "catholicity," "conciliarity," not to mention "pneumatology." In another way a theological habit could be detected of ab-

strating principles and concepts from the history of the Church, perhaps erroneously, and then somehow substantializing them as saving eternal truths or doctrines in a platonizing, even gnostifying fashion, to finally re-impose them on the present life of the Church! What has such a theology of ideas, concepts, and doctrines to do with the new life in Christ? Perhaps a definition of theology could solve the problem. What is the true nature and task of theology itself? How is one to relate the patristic understanding of theology as a spiritual fruit of a theologian's communion with God in prayer and cleansing of the heart with, on the other hand, the modern division of theology into biblical, historical, dogmatic, and practical studies(as done in our schools) which seem to end up as intellectual achievements without spiritual power?

For this writer, the papers by J. Romanides and N. Nissiotis pointed to a possible solution of the above problem. Romanides best answered the question of what theology is qua theology or what a theologian is qua theologian when he placed the gravity center of theology on the person of the Prophets, Apostles, Fathers, and Saints, down to present-day living witnesses, as Spirit-bearers and Christ-bearers for whom immediate knowledge of God with spiritual discernment is focal. Nissiotis in his keynote address called for a diversified understanding of theology in the derivative sense with mutually supportive, not exclusive, accents on the mystical, liturgical, prophetic, and scholastic/scientific aspects. He suggested the overcoming of "Orthodox monisms" and also asked for a self-critical and prophetic theology which has both the depth and courage to work toward renewal. Romanides' approach seemed most satisfactorily to resolve the question of theological authority which is ultimately placed not in a document (Bible), nor theoretical doctrines (even patristic ones), nor a Synod as a canonical institution, but on Christ-bearers who themselves show an amazing unity of theological and spiritual vision in the Orthodox tradition. The approach of Nissiotis suggested a rich variety of research remaining mindful that, whereas critical research uncovers a wealth of historical and theological data, it can never answer the problem of final theological criteria without an authoritative theological vision based on experiential knowledge of God. A unity of both approaches holds the promise of liberating Orthodox theology from a certain terminological and

conceptual fundamentalism which guards more than releases the power of Orthodox theology. To say all this, however, is merely to sketch in very rough strokes a direction toward defining theology and its tasks, for many questions remain.

Another related observation about the Conference has to do with the unity and diversity among Orthodox scholars. Although a fundamental unity of theological and even cultural orientation qualified the thinking and quests of Orthodox participants, some seemed to think that the divergencies were greater than they actually were! At one level this feeling seemed to arise from a kind of familiar Orthodox assumption that there must be a complete unity of thought in everything or else things are not quite what they ought to be. At another level there was a tendency to see things as either/or, a hesitation to draw necessary distinctions followed at the same time by an insistence on a single presumably all-decisive principle, theme, or focal point. For example, it seemed for some impossible to speak about any aspect of Christian life without extensive use of the term "liturgical." To the observation that Christ is the center of Christian life and one must not appear to speak of the Liturgy as the only source of spiritual life, since one can have communion with Christ through prayer outside of the Eucharist, a participant objected that one must not make such distinctions between the mystery of the Eucharist and the total mystery of Christ but must of course retain the exclusive focus on the Eucharist! A trace of theological narrowness in the name of theological plenitude could here be discerned which needs to be corrected for an appreciation of the diversity as well as the unity of the Orthodox tradition.

There were many other notable aspects to the Conference. Intensely interesting discussions on ethnicity, the canonical problem of the Orthodox diaspora, and the ecumenical movement took place. There were many individual contributions both in the formal responses and the ongoing discussions throughout the Conference. There was also a personal element as participants discussed, worshipped, and took their meals together, an element heightened by the presence of revered men. The octogenarian Panagiotis Trembelas officially opened the Conference, greeting the participants with words filled with the Spirit. There were monks from the Holy Mountain, a revered ascetic named Fr. Porphyrios with the presence of a living saint,



lay and clergy theologians, students, young scholars, bishops, and archbishops. The papers and responses were usually read to overflowing audiences, among them women. At least once a woman theologian also offered remarks to a plenary session and raised the question of ordination of women to deaconesses, the first order of the priesthood, claimed to be an ancient practice. Her contribution was a forceful, if also somewhat startling, reminder of the silent witness of Orthodox women who, as one participant had earlier observed, constitute half of the Orthodox faithful and three quarters of the regular worshippers of the Church.

The Conference was an image of the Church heightening its consciousness about what the Church is and about the nature of its sacred tasks. Theology has to play a crucial role in this search. The disparity between theory and practice must first of all be resolved in the concrete person of the Bishop, clergyman, lay scholar, and individual believer. Fr. Basil, Abbot of Stavronikita Monastery of the Holy Mountain, spoke of the new life in Christ as a "theanthropic unity," a unity of man's spirit with the Holy Spirit, which, he noted, when found breaks down all dividing walls. The believer and the Church as Christ-bearers are filled with the Holy Spirit and are ready without losing themselves to be "all things to all men" because of profound love for all people—a theology not only of words but also of deeds.

The writer will be forgiven for dwelling on some unforgettable remarks made by the same abbot. Speaking extemporaneously because there was not sufficient time for the reading of his response to a paper, Fr. Basil spoke in the following way. Many, he said, speak and write about death and life in an artful and literary fashion, but they leave us in death. Christ, however, truly died and gave us life. In order to live, we also have to die and live for God and our brothers. Then we can experience here and now the state of paradise, eternal life and freedom from hell. Our theology, he continued, goes as far as our sacrifice, our humility, and our own crucifixion. When we humble ourselves, Christ comes to us as He did to the two disciples on the way to Emmaus. Their hearts burned with love. They understood the present things and received strength for the future.

The Penteli Conference was indeed more than an academic conference. It was an event which will hopefully bear much fruit within the Orthodox Church. The publication of the papers and the proceedings of the Conference will be valuable. Much credit is due to the host schools, the preparatory committee, and to the Inter-Orthodox Center which provided its facilities for a fine Conference. Credit is especially due to Professor Savvas Agourides, whose driving initiative for two years at all levels transformed the Conference from theory into reality.

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## SOME REMARKS CONCERNING A THEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF PRAYER \*

Literature concerning prayer is enormous. In fact, many of the most ancient written monuments are sacred or religious writings containing many different prayers, as well as views on the nature, importance, necessity, goal, usefulness and kinds of prayer.<sup>1</sup> Also, one normal human life would be by far too short to collect complete and scholarly bibliographical data concerning prayer in the Christian tradition alone. In recent times comparative-religious, ethnographical, ethnological, historical, philosophical, literary, psychological investigations, etc. of prayer are truly flourishing and bear many scholarly and scientific fruits.<sup>2</sup> However, in the area of Christian theological de-

\* Sincere thanks are due to Mr. Yakiw Krekhovetskyi, who corrected the English of the manuscript. All biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. T. Ohm, *Die Gebetsgebärden der Völker und das Christentum* (Leiden, 1948); P.W. Scheele, (ed.), *Opfer des Wortes. Gebete der Heiden aus fünf Jahrtausenden* (Paderborn, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> In the rich literature on prayer without doubt the most prominent place is occupied by F. Heiler, *Das Gebet. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und religionspsychologische Untersuchung* (Munich/Basle, 1969). Extensive bibliography is found on pp. 498-503 and 619-26. Translations of this work: *Prayer* (New York, 1932, 1958); *La Priere* (Paris, 1931); *Bönen* (Stockholm, 1922). It is necessary here to mention another monumental work by the same author—a prominent scholar of the Christian East, *Die Ostkirchen* (Munich/Basle, 1971). There, on pp. 276-93, he deals with Eastern mysticism, hesychasm and prayer. On pp. 523-33 one finds an extensive bibliography. Among more recent works on prayer the most distinguished are: Th. Solron, *Das Geheimnis des Gebetes* (Freiburg, 1937); J. C. Fenton, *The Theology of Prayer* (Milwaukee, 1939); V. Lossky, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Eglise d'Orient* (Paris, 1944); Idem, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957); H. Kuhauf, *Abba Vater. Christliche Lehre vom Gebet* (Freiburg, 1948); E. Behr-Siegel, *Prière et sainteté dans l'Eglise russe* (Paris, 1950); J. Arinterio, *Grados de oracion* (Salamanca, 1950); J. de Monteleon, *Traité sur l'oraison* (Paris, 1950); H. Urs von Balthasar, *Das betrachtende Gebet* (Einsiedeln, 1955); R. Guardini, *Vorschule des Berens* (Einsiedeln, 1956); K. Rahner, *Von der Not und dem Segen des Gebetes* (Innsbruck, 1959); A. Hamman, *La Prière*. Vol. I. *Le Nouveau Testament* (Tournai, 1959); H. Urs von Balthasar, *Prayer*, tr. A. V. Littleale (New York, 1961); F. Wulf, *Gebet: Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe*, H. Fries, ed., (Munich, 1962) 1,424-436; Φιλοκαλία τῶν ἱερῶν νηπτικῶν, 5 vols. Athens, 1963), Russian translation: *Dobrotoliubiie* (Moscow, 1905); an abbreviated English edition: *Writings from the Philokalia on Prayer of the Heart*, E. Kadloubovsky and G.E.H. Palmer, trans. (London, 1951); D. Z. Phillips, *The Concept of Prayer* (London, 1965); H. Dumoulin, *Östliche Meditation und christliche Mystik* (Freiburg/Munich, 1966);

scription of prayer one can notice a certain stagnation, for very few theologians and spiritual writers ventured beyond the definition of prayer given to us towards the end of the fourth century by Evagrius Pontikos in the 35th chapter of his famous *Chapters on Prayer*, which reads: "Prayer is an ascent of the spirit to God."<sup>3</sup>

It is not easy to explain why the Fathers of the Church and innumerable theologians have repeated either literally or with some more or less important additions precisely this definition of prayer, and why after one and a half millennia it still enjoys tremendous popularity. The above definition of prayer, which suggests a monologue originating in the human being, overshadowed other definitions and descriptions of prayer given by Evagrius Pontikos in his *Chapters on Prayer*, e.g. in chapter three we read: "Prayer is a continual intercourse of the spirit with God."<sup>4</sup> This definition quite clearly classifies prayer as a dialogue, and thus is much richer and more precise than the definition given in chapter thirty-five of the same work, which can be interpreted in a Pelagian sense, i.e. a human being can pray by his own power, on his own initiative and thus elicit supernatural acts of faith, hope, and love without divine assistance.

Thus it is clear that the definition of prayer contained in chapter 35 does not clearly indicate the efficient causality of prayer and can be interpreted as a purely human phenomenon which originates in the human being and which by the power of the same ascends to God. It is our intention to show that prayer is a supernatural act which is gratuitously given from above, or a charism of the Holy Spirit, i.e. it is a product of supernatural grace and originates within the realm of the primary or divine Causality. The divine and human synergism, which

J von Gardner et al., *Kult und Kontemplation in Ost und West* (Regensburg, 1967), K J Healy, "Prayer, Theology of," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967) 11 670-78, Ch Humphreys, *Concentration and Meditation A Manual of Mind Development* (London, 1968), Thomas Merton, *Contemplative Prayer* (New York, 1969), Idem, *The Climate of Monastic Prayer* (Spencer, 1969), K. Cragg, *Alive to God Muslim and Christian Prayer* (London, 1970), O H Pesch, *Sprechender Glaube Entwurf einer Theologie des Gebetes* (Mainz, 1970), Kirpal Singh, *Prayer Its Nature and Technique* (I ranklin, 1972)

<sup>3</sup> For the Greek text cf PG 79 1173 For an English translation and a commentary cf Evagrius Pontikos, *The Praktikos Chapters on Prayer* (Spencer, Mass., 1970)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p 56

composes the act of prayer, does not detract from the above mentioned fact of the divine initiative and condescension. In this article we shall deal first of all with the concept of 'natural' prayer, which flows from the very core of our being. Further, we shall consider the witness of Holy Scripture concerning prayer as a supernatural reality, which is given to us along with the supernatural virtues of faith, hope and love, all of which constitute the supernatural foundation of prayer. Subsequently we shall define prayer not as a monologue, or a dialogue, but as polylogue, i.e. as a conversation and exchange of spiritual goods between three or more parties. Finally, on the basis of all previous expositions we shall try to give a theological description of prayer. We say a 'description' and not a 'definition,' simply because each true prayer (i.e. both Christian and non-Christian) is a mysterious reality in the order of action with very far-reaching consequences in the semantic, logical and ontological orders. Besides, each prayer reflects the cultural, spiritual, psychological, ethnopsychological, philosophical, religious forms, heritage, etc. of the one who prays. For these reasons it is not possible to strictly define prayer. It is possible only to describe it more or less exactly.

In its primitive and fundamental form, prayer can be described as an act of cult by which a human being feels called to attempt to establish a contact, or in fact establishes one, with the highest, superhuman extrasensory being, which is believed to be a personal, true and truly present being, on whose omnipotent glory one feels dependent. Already this very general description of each true prayer points to the fact that each human person is a being destined for prayer. In the life of each of us there comes a moment during which we experience an inner necessity, or even an uncontrollable urge to know, love, and worship either some superhuman element, or the eternal, infinite, true, holy, omnipotent, and infinitely beautiful being from whom the whole human being totally depends in its life, existence, and activity. The same phenomenon can be observed on the social level when some human society starts to experience a desire for a communal religious expression and for public cult. This state and activity was very well described by Tertullian's

famous statement *anima naturaliter Christiana* (a soul is naturally Christian).<sup>5</sup> This means that a human being possesses an inborn tendency and capacity to know, love, and worship God, for a human being is naturally open to an eventual divine self-revelation, and precisely this prepares and predisposes him to reception of the Christian faith. Therefore, a Christian concept of prayer on the one hand must be based precisely on this natural, intrinsic, and God-given structure of the human being, who is a rational, social, emotional, sexual, esthetic, economic, and religious being. On the other hand the reality of Christian prayer must be rooted in the divine and divinizing process (in Greek *theosis*, in Latin *divinisatio*), into which a human being is drawn by a call of the Triadic God and invited to respond to Him freely in faith, hope, and love.

Here we have to beware of a possible misunderstanding which would interpret *theosis* or divinization as a true 'deification,' or a transformation of the human being into 'god.' In this issue I made my position clear:

Theosis or divinization (or sometimes even deification) can be described as the omnipotent and sanctifying, divine and Triadic activity which, because of the indwelling of the Trinity and grace, and because of the unborn and natural capacity of the creature for transfiguration, induces a process of assimilation to God the Father of the whole human person, of mankind and of the visible and invisible universe in its totality, through the mediation of the incarnate Logos, Christ the Pantocrator, and in the Holy Spirit.<sup>6</sup>

This tendency to divinization or even deification can be observed in many religions of the world. There is no doubt, that the human being has a natural tendency towards transcendence or self-transcendence towards the absolute, the infinite, and the eternal, which manifests itself in the religious phenomena of meditation, prayer, contemplation, cult, moral responsibility, tendency towards the holy, mysterious, and occult, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Apol. 17.6: PL 1:377. Cf. on this topic also my article "Anima Naturaliter Christiana," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1545.

<sup>6</sup> P.B.T. Bilaniuk, "The Mystery of Theosis or Divinization," *The Heritage of the Early Church* [Florovsky, *Festschrift*]. D. Neiman and M. Schatkin (eds.), *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 195 (Rome, 1973), 337-59.

These phenomena must be interpreted primarily as a tendency towards divinization, or better, as a process of divinization which leads towards the eschatological fulfillment in a certain form of union with the Godhead. In my opinion, this constitutes a cornerstone of an interfaith polylogue on prayer, cooperation, and mutual understanding.

But let us return to the question concerning supernatural prayer, which is a call and a gift of the Triadic God, and which originates from his initiative. The Hebrew language of the Old Testament preserved many different terms which express prayer or cultic activities.<sup>7</sup> In the Old Testament we find also many descriptions of traditional elements of prayer, namely adoration, glorification, thanksgiving, and imploration. All Old Testament prayers and divine names are structured in such a way that they may be applied or directed to the one and unique God only, Whose name is Yahweh, or 'He who is,' i.e. whose essence is existence itself. Yahweh is the Creator of heaven and earth. He is the only ruler of the general history of the whole cosmos and of the special history of salvation. He is omnipotent and omnipresent, and therefore He can freely enter into a covenant with His chosen people Israel (Lev 26.1-46). And it is precisely He, Yahweh, who calls Israel to prayer and invites all its members to a prayerful dialogue. The vocation of Abraham by Yahweh (Gen 12.1-3) is a prototype of the divine initiative in establishing the official and private prayer, or spiritual dialogue. The most classical example of this call of Yahweh to a prayerful dialogue we find in Deut 6.4-9. This text proves that the supernatural prayer is not the doing of man, but of God, who calls man to prayer and transfigures him by His divine grace; and it is then, and only then, that the true prayer on the part of man becomes possible.<sup>8</sup>

Prayer as a dialogue originating from God's initiative is beautifully described in 1 Sam 3.10:

<sup>7</sup> For the biblical aspect of prayer cf. J. de Fraine, *Praying with the Bible*, tr. J. W. Saul (New York, 1964); M. R. E. Masterman, "Prayer in the Bible," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 11.669-70.

<sup>8</sup> On the mystery of Transfiguration of Christ, man, and the visible and the invisible cosmos see my article "A Theological Meditation on the Mystery of Transfiguration," *Diakonia* 8(1973)306-31.



And the Lord came and stood forth, calling as at other times, 'Samuel! Samuel!' And Samuel said: 'Speak, for thy servant hears.'

Concerning this prayerful dialogue and its rejection the prophet Jeremias (35.17) wrote:

Therefore, thus says the Lord, the God of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I am bringing on Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem all the evil that I have pronounced against them; because I have spoken to them and they have not listened, I have called to them and they have not answered.

In the book of the prophet Isaias (50.2) Yahweh again expresses His displeasure:

Why, when I came, was there no man?  
When I called, was there no one to answer?  
Is my hand shortened, that it cannot redeem?  
Or have I no power to deliver?  
Behold, by my rebuke I dry up the sea,  
I make the rivers a desert;  
their fish stink for lack of water,  
and die of thirst.

In the Old Testament there are many examples of Yahweh's dialogue with Israel, in which on Yahweh's initiative Israel praises Him for His uniqueness, glory, and omnipresence and thanks Him for His omnipotent assistance, His great deeds, and wonderful gifts. Also, Israel brought before Yahweh in its prayers all its troubles, needs and sorrow, for Yahweh was to Israel the personal God, the omnipotent Lord, and a friend in heaven.

Origen, who was the first Christian author to write a *Booklet on Prayer*, was aware of the above teaching concerning prayer:

The grace of God, immense and beyond measure, showered by Him on men through Jesus Christ, the minister to us of this superabundant grace, and through the co-operation of the Spirit, makes possible through His will things which are to our rational and mortal nature impossible. For they are

very great, and beyond man's compass and far transcend our mortal condition. It is impossible, for example, for human nature to acquire wisdom by which all things were made (for according to David, God has made all things in wisdom); yet, from being impossible it becomes possible through Our Lord Jesus Christ . . .<sup>9</sup>

A little further in ch. 2.6 of the same work Origen adds:

Since then to treat of prayer is such a great task that one needs for it the illumination of the Father, the instruction of the *first-born* Word Himself, and the operation of the Spirit, in order to understand and speak as one ought of such a problem, I beseech the Spirit—imploring Him as a man (for I myself make no claim whatever of being able to pray) before I begin to speak of prayer—that we may be given, to speak fully and spiritually and may explain the prayers recorded in the Gospels.<sup>10</sup>

No doubt, this is one of the most important texts concerning the nature of prayer, for it is presented here as a supernatural gift of the Triadic God, which comes from above and as a result of that carries upon itself a Triadic seal. Besides, this supernatural charisma or gift called prayer is very clearly distinguished from mere human and natural activity, which is described as beseeching or imploring. However, Origen's concept of prayer was unfortunately overshadowed since the end of the fourth century by the definition of prayer of Evagrius Pontikos mentioned above.

Prayer by its very nature is a *polylogue*. It is not a monologue of one person or another who does not answer or maybe does not even listen. It is not a dialogue, or a conversation of two persons exchanging ideas and spiritual goods. Prayer is an interpersonal polylogue because it necessarily involves many persons. It is necessarily a call of God the Father, through the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, to man, woman, child, but as a member of the whole human community. Prayer is also an answer of man, woman, or a child, who are members of the

<sup>9</sup> Origen, *Prayer: Exhortation to Martyrdom*, tr. and annotated by J. J. O'Meara (Westminster, 1954), p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

human community, which is generated by the natural and supernatural experience, activity, and events of their existence.

In the inner divine life of the Most Holy Trinity we see the prayer of God the Son to God the Father and in the Holy Spirit. There also we discover the prayer of the Holy Spirit through the Son to the Father on behalf of mankind and of the whole world. This divine prayer between the Three Divine Persons precedes and accompanies any prayerful human activity of an individual or of a society. The same divine prayer also fills in the gaps in human prayer, whenever it is imperfect on account of human weakness, or it even supplants our prayer whenever it is lacking on account of a physical impossibility, as in the case of an infant or a mentally retarded person.

All we have just said is exemplified by Christ the Lord. In the New Testament we can observe a tremendous intensification of prayer, that is of a dialogue between God and a human being, as well as between God and the human community or mankind. Again, we see the divine initiative, for it is God the Father Himself Who in the Holy Spirit spoke into the world His Divine Word, His only-begotten Son, and the same Divine Word became flesh and dwelled among us. Through the mystery of Inhominization (a term I coined, for it is closer to the mysterious reality than 'Incarnation') the Divine Word became our brother and our Lord, for He assumed full human nature and a true historic existence, except sin. Our Lord and brother Jesus Christ offered to God the Father the most perfect prayerful answer, for in the name of the whole human race and of the whole cosmos He Himself in the Holy Spirit (i.e. in the divine atmosphere of light, life, and love) and in full obedience and as a perfect sacrifice returned in the mystery of His holy ascension to God the Father. This was the most perfect act of prayer, for it took place between God the Father and one of us—the New Adam—who at the same time was one of the Most Holy Trinity, i.e. the Son, the Divine Word and the Pneumatophor *par excellence*, i.e. the only true carrier of the Spirit.

When we take a closer look at the witness of the New Testament, we can observe that the prayer of Christ the Lord is primarily an act of listening to God the Father in order to per-

form a command of His Divine and salvific will. We see this in the life of Christ already at the age of twelve, when He decided to remain in the Temple. His answer to Joseph and to His blessed Mother is crystal clear: "How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be in my Father's house?" Further regarding Christ's listening to the voice of His Father we read in the narrative about His stay in the desert after His baptism in the Jordan (Mk 1.12), and each time when on account of some event he suddenly felt that "his hour has come" (Jn 12.23; 17.1), or that as yet it did not come (Jn 2.4). The Holy Gospel portrays Christ first of all as a listener (Jn 5.30). It cannot be otherwise, for He said of Himself (Jn 5.19,21):

Truly, truly, I say to you, the Son can do nothing of his own accord, but only what he sees the Father doing; for whatever he does, that the Son does likewise . . . For the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so also the Son gives life to whom he will.

Each revelation of good news which Christ transmitted to mankind was given to Him beforehand by God the Father (Jn 17.8). Also each major decision made by Christ was preceded or accompanied by a prayer, which in fact was an act of listening to the voice of God the Father. We see this during His baptism in the Jordan and the unction with the Holy Spirit (Lk 3.21); before the vocation of the twelve Apostles (Lk 6.12); before His Transfiguration (Lk 9.28); before His Passion (Mt 26.36), etc. It is always God the Father Who in the Holy Spirit begins His prayerful conversation with His Son, the New Adam, Who answers in the name of the whole of mankind and of the whole cosmos. In the narrative concerning the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan (Lk 3.21 and Mt 17.5) we read of the open heaven, the voice of God and Father, and the descent of the Holy Spirit. All these events are the symbols of our salvation and sanctification as well as the fruits of the prayerful dialogue between the Father and the Son in the Holy Spirit. And precisely this is the foundation of describing prayer as a polylogue.

The polylogue character of prayer becomes manifest in the fact that the human being necessarily acts and prays as a member of the Church, of mankind, and of the created visible

and invisible cosmos of which he, she, or it is a representative, even if this is not intended. The polylogue character of prayer is truly visible in the Divine Liturgy in which the bishop, priests, deacons, readers, and laity alternately express their prayerful views and feelings, all of which coalesce into one powerful drama. In this prayerful drama, through eucharistic *kenosis*, the Divine Inhumanized Logos reveals Himself as the sacrificing High Priest, as the sacrificial victim and eucharistic food, and as the pantocratic Lord. The Holy Spirit through a *kenotic epiclesis*,<sup>11</sup> is intimately connected with the polylogue drama, which evolves in front of and ascends to God the Father, and which makes His presence possible through the Son and in the Holy Spirit. This is so, because the Father is the Head of the Divine Family to which all persons and all things are called as to their ultimate end.

The pneumatic quality of Christian prayer is firmly rooted in the biblical witness. Therefore it is essentially a prayer in the Holy Spirit. This, however, is true of all aspects of spiritual life, for the Holy Spirit is the dynamic and moving power in the world.<sup>12</sup> St. Paul teaches (Rom 8.14-17):

For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry, "Abba! Father!" it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God, and if children, then heirs, heirs of God and fellow heirs with Christ, provided we suffer with him in order that we may also be glorified with him.

A little further on (Rom 8.26-27) St. Paul adds:

11 On the epiclesis cf. S. Khaburskyi, *Epikleza* (Yorkton, 1968) [in Ukrainian]; M. J. Giacchi, "Epiclesis," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 5:464-66(Bibl.).

12 For Eastern Christian doctrine concerning the role of the Holy Spirit cf. S. Boulgakof, *Le Paraclet*, trans. C. Andronikof (Paris, 1944); P. A. Florensky, "The Holy Spirit," *Ultimate Questions*, ed. A. Schmemmann, (New York, 1965)137-73; T. Hopko, "Holy Spirit in Orthodox Theology and Life," *Commonweal*, 6(1968) 186-92; P. Evdokimoff, *L'Esprit Saint dans la tradition orthodoxe* (Paris, 1970); D. Staniloae, "The Role of the Holy Spirit in the Theology and Life of the Orthodox Church," *Diakonia* 9(1974)343-66.

Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words. And he who searches the hearts of men knows what is the mind of the Spirit, because the Spirit intercedes for the saints according to the will of God.

It is the Holy Spirit who gives us the prerequisites and fruits of real Christian prayer. He gives us knowledge and love (Eph 1.17f; 3.14-21; 2 Thess 3.5), peace and joy (Rom 15.33; Gal 5.22; 2 Thess 3.16) and, finally, unity (Rom 15.5). But His primary function is to be the Spirit of truth, who reminds us of Christ and His heavenly Father, and prompts us to witness and prayer (Jo 14.25-26; 15.26-27). The role of the Advocate in the Church and the world is very extensive and describes the context in which Christian prayer takes place (Jo 16.5-16). It is this gracious activity of the Holy Spirit which comes to us as a call, or as a warning, or as a strengthening, or as a consolation, or as an illumination of our minds. It comes to us to open our hearts, as a motion by which the listeners of the Word of God realize their sinful condition, and reverting from it, convert themselves to Christ with a prayerful contrition (Acts 2.40; 9.31; 11.22f; 13.15; 14.14; Rom 8.28-30; 12.8; 1Cor 14.3; 2 Cor 8.4; Heb 12.5; 1 Tim 4.13).

It is the Holy Spirit Who makes a human being capable to speak the faithful and prayerful 'Yes' to Jesus the Lord (1 Cor 12.13; 1 Jn 4.2-3; Eph 1.17-18). He gives to the human spirit an internal witness that he, the human being, is a child of God (Rom 8.16; 1 Jn 3.19-24). He also prays in the human being when he is silent before God (Rom. 8.26f; 1 Jn 2.20-27; Jn 16.13).

The awareness of this biblical teaching concerning the Holy Spirit and His activity is very vivid in Eastern Christianity. The best example, however, is a prayer to the Holy Spirit from Byzantine Liturgy:

Heavenly King, Consoler, the Spirit of Truth, present in all places and filling all things, the Treasury of blessings and the Giver of life: come and dwell in us, cleanse us of all stain and save our souls, O Good One! <sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> J. Raya-J. de Vinch (eds.), *Byzantine Daily Worship*, Allendale, N.J. 1969), p. 37.

Origen was aware of this pneumatological view of prayer when he wrote:

Our understanding cannot pray if the Spirit has not, as it were in its hearing, prayed before it. In the same way it cannot sing nor hymn the Father in Christ with due rhythm and melody, time and harmony, unless *the Spirit* that *searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God*, first has praised and hymned Him whose *deep things* He has searched and, as He is fully able, understood.<sup>14</sup>

In conclusion let me attempt to describe Christian prayer from an Eastern stance: Christian prayer is a mysterious and loving gift of God the Father through the Son and in the Holy Spirit, which comes to us as a supernatural call in faith, hope, and love, and develops into an intimate and personal polylogue with the Tri-Personal God, which includes His praises, petitions, and thanksgiving, and is the expression of a participation in His inner life, light, and love, and which ascends from us to God the Father, as to the Head of the Divine Family, through the Son and in the Holy Spirit.

<sup>14</sup> Origen, *Prayer*, p. 20, i.e., *Booklet on Prayer*, 2.4.

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*VESELIN KESICH*

## THE SPIRITUAL HERITAGE OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH\*

The spirit of any particular national church is manifested above all in its saints, as well as in the work and writings of its most outstanding leaders. Therefore we shall devote this paper to those shepherds of the Serbian Orthodox Church who in their lifetimes were immersed in the spirit of universal Christianity and at the same time served in their local churches as witnesses and martyrs of Christ. We shall select a few of them; those who filled their time with Church work of lasting importance.

At the beginning of the history of the autocephalous Serbian Church, we have its greatest son, St. Sava (1173-1236). The history of this church starts really with him. As a young man, Rastko Nemanjich showed an inclination for a life of prayer and meditation. His father, Stevan Nemanja, was the founder of the Serbian state which sharply extended its boundaries and became an empire later on, in the fourteenth century under Tsar Dushan. Rastko left his father's home, went to Mount Athos, and became a monk, Sava, when he was eighteen years old. For the next sixteen years he lived the life of an ascetic and passed through the school of Orthodox spirituality at its very center, Mount Athos. There he transformed an abandoned monastery into a place for training and educating future spiritual leaders of the Serbian Church. This monastery, Hilandar, has performed just this role throughout centuries. At the end of his rule, Sava's father became a monk, joined his son, and died in Hilandar in 1900.

\*A paper read at the meeting of the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Alumni Association, Brookline, Massachusetts.

Soon, eight years after his father's death, Sava wrote about his life, "The Life of St. Simeon," which was the monastic name of Nemanja. And with this biography, Sava produced the first original work in Serbian medieval literature. This life is written with force and simplicity. There is very little rhetoric and no miraculous elements at all. The "Life" expressed the sincere feeling of a son for his father, without restraint or hesitation. At the moment when his father died, Sava tells us that he prostrated himself and wept for many hours. Finally getting up, he thanked God for giving his father such a good end. Sava's work is the shortest, simplest, and most moving of the ancient Serbian biographies. The style and choice of expressions is best suited to convey the image of his father as Sava would have him remembered, without neglecting historical reality and following historical facts faithfully.

The times in which he worked were extremely turbulent and difficult. The crusades had established the Latin Kingdom in Constantinople. The Ecumenical Patriarch left his see and went to Nicea. There was a deep split between Sava's two brothers. One, Vukan, with the help of the Hungarian king and his army, forced the other brother, Stefan, to give up his throne. The new ruler, Vukan, now opened his court and country to Latin influences. Stefan's supporters could not accept this change, and with the help of the Bulgarians they brought Stefan back to the throne. During Stevan Nemanja's lifetime he had been able to keep the conflicting groups under control; now with his death civil war broke out.

As a result of this struggle, there was doubt whether the Serbian people would remain in the family of the Eastern Orthodox Churches or come under the authority of the Roman Pontifex. Without animosity toward the Latin Church, Sava was profoundly convinced that the Eastern Orthodox tradition was the only basis for his people to retain their national and religious independence. To accomplish this goal, Sava had to fulfill two important tasks. First, he had to reconcile his brothers and bring peace to his people, and second, to persuade the Ecumenical Patriarch to make the Serbian Church independent, autocephalous.

To carry out the first task, Sava took the body of his father and brought it to Serbia. In the life of St. Simeon, he wrote that he had received a message from his brothers, Stefan and Vukan, to bring the relics of St. Simeon to Serbia because the Latin armies in the Fourth Crusade had captured Constantinople and one group of Crusaders had even reached Mount Athos.

Sava claimed that his brothers had expressed concern for the safety of their father's relics on Mt. Athos at this troubled time. Those who wrote the life of St. Sava, however, recorded that it was Stefan who asked Sava to come with the body of St. Simeon in order to strengthen his shaky position. Whatever the reason, Sava's most important act after his return from Mt. Athos was to reconcile Vukan and Stefan.<sup>1</sup> Sava does not link the transferral of the body with the reconciliation of the brothers, probably because he hesitated out of humility to mention anything that might throw a favorable light upon himself.

There was also possibly an element of political judgment in Sava's omission of reference to the brothers' struggle. At the time when Sava wrote the life of his father, the event of the brothers' reconciliation had occurred quite recently. Thus any mention of this would have disturbed one or another group. The process of healing had not yet been finished, and the peaceful relations between brothers had to be strengthened and not weakened.

After he brought peace to his troubled land and spent considerable time on the Christianization of his people, Sava became the first archbishop of an autocephalous Serbian Church in 1219. He was elevated to this position by the ecumenical patriarch.

The principle of autocephaly had already been implicit in the work of the Greek brothers, Sts. Cyril and Methodios, who were active in the ninth century. St. Cyril knew all the sacred languages, and yet he did not impose them upon the Slavic people. Instead he composed a Slavic alphabet, thus creating the first literary language of the Slavs, Old Church Slavonic, and he translated into it selections from the Gospels and liturgical prayers. In his prologue to the Gospels, which consists of 109 verses, St. Cyril writes;

<sup>1</sup> Djoko Slijepchevich, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve*, I (Munich, 1962) 69ff. Slijepchevich's history of the Serbian Church, two large volumes of which have appeared, is probably the best and the most complete account that exists in any language on this subject.

As without light there can be no joy—  
 For while the eye sees all of God's creation,  
 Still what is seen without light lacks beauty—  
 So it is with every soul lacking letters,  
 Ignorant of God's law,  
 The sacred law of the Scriptures,  
 The law that reveals God's paradise.

. . . . .

Hearing the Word in a foreign tongue,  
 As if you heard only the voice of a copper bell.<sup>2</sup>

With the preaching of the Gospel that the people could understand, there was a growing need for Church leaders who would care for the people and participate and share in their joys and sorrows. The autocephalous church meant for St Sava a new responsibility, service and privilege. The goal of his mission was to Christianize the way of life and the way of thinking of his people, and to prepare them for the future. Sava interpreted this independence of the Church to mean not separation or isolation from other Eastern Churches but the recognition that the Serbian Church is one with them, and in the words of Bishop Nikolai Sava "wanted, only through the national organized Church, to make his people a worthy member of the universal Orthodox family of Christ. He himself was permeated with the spirit of ecumenical Christianity. As such, he felt at home in every Orthodox community of every race and language."<sup>3</sup>

In organizing the Church in Serbia, St Sava did not persecute anybody or attack any other religious group. His father had persecuted the Bogomils and burned their books, thus destroying potentially valuable records of the period. Sava never accepted the sword as a means for a solution of religious problems. He knew well that by persecuting the Bogomils, his father had not solved the problem nor had he overcome their anti-Christian teachings. As head of the Serbian Church he had to cope with the same problem, but he used a different method. Instead of persecution, he used persuasion, instead of simply rejecting their teaching, he showed what the Christian life should be like. Sava's tolerance and humility came from his faith and spirituality.

<sup>2</sup> Roman Jakobson, "St Constantine's Prologue to the Gospel," *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 7 (1963), 17f

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Nikolai D Velimirovich, *The Life of Saint Sava* (Libertyville, Ill., 1951), p. 192

## II

Without some knowledge of the work and person of St. Sava, we would have great difficulty in grasping the meaning and significance of the events that followed. Without the work that St. Sava had started, the people would not have had the faith and hope to endure and persevere throughout the long period of slavery. After St. Sava's death the Serbian Church grew and expanded. In the middle of the fourteenth century, it became a patriarchate, but at the end of this century tragedy struck the Serbian nation, and in the course of a hundred years, all Serbian regions were conquered by the Turks.

The central event in this period was the battle and defeat of Kosovo in 1389. The meaning of the defeat and the people's hope for the future found lasting expression in the Kosovo cycle of epic poetry. All the tragedy of Kosovo is vividly pictured in two poems: *The Maiden of Kosovo* and *The Death of Jugovic's Mother*. These poems express the dreams of the youth as well as the destruction of the life of the nation. And yet the spirit of the nation was still alive. The people who produced this poetry were able to see the inner meaning of the tragic event. They regarded Kosovo as analogous to Golgotha. The Serbian leader, Prince Lazar, who chose the heavenly kingdom and road that led to suffering, represented Christ of the Gospel passion narrative:

Mighty God, what now shall my choice be?  
Shall I choose to have a heavenly kingdom?  
Shall I choose to have an earthly kingdom?  
If I now should choose an earthly kingdom,  
Lo, an earthly kingdom is but fleeting,  
But God's kingdom shall endure forever.  
And the Tsar he chose a heavenly Kingdom.

The choice was made. The suffering of the nation therefore was not a consequence of historical necessity to which man must succumb, but it was the outcome of the choice, and its meaning is seen only in the light of the death and resurrection of Christ. Kosovo is the nation's Golgotha, and the poet goes beyond defeat and perceives the glory of the future.

In epic poetry the supper that Lazar gave at the eve of the battle corresponds to the Lord's supper, and Vuk Brankovich, who according to the epic poetry deserted his leader on Kosovo, points to Judas in the Gospel narrative. The greatest hero of the Kosovo cycle is Milosh Obilich, who, by slaying the Sultan, sacrificed himself, thus removing any suspicion that he might be disloyal to Lazar, and he proved his faithfulness and cleansed his honor. In a sense his role is parallel to Peter's in the Gospels.

The New Testament theme is not imposed artificially upon this poetry. The parallels between the New Testament and the Kosovo cycle that we have indicated are not obvious to all listeners. Once we are immersed in the atmosphere and spirit that permeates this poetry, then we come to appreciate this parallel as a creative interpretation of historical happenings, which are thereby lifted from one level of existence to another, higher level, and which the Christianized mind and heart of the people see only in the perspective of the supreme sacrifice on Golgotha. An historical event has been transformed into a symbol, linking the two worlds, heavenly and earthly. The actuality of earthly events is not minimized here but is seen in a new light.

Why do we deal with poetry in a lecture on Serbian church history? For the simple reason that this history cannot be fully understood without taking into account the influence of this poetry on the Serbian people. They lived by it, and they saw in this poetry unforgettable portraits of men and women, of people with ideals and high morality. Through this poetry they absorbed what is best and purest in their past. It sustained them, giving meaning to their suffering, for suffering without meaning can be the most destructive power in the life of men and of nations. Having found meaning in suffering, the people never yielded to despair. Their hope opened to them a vision of the future. Removed from historical happenings by conquest, they still lived in history, in the past as well as in the future. Gathered together around the bard and his gusle, a simple instrument with a single strand of horsehair, they attentively listened to tales about those *men of glory* and once again were confirmed in their belief that "All was done with honor, all was holy, God's will was fulfilled upon Kosovo." They lived

in the world of epic poetry while at the same time suffering from the world that came into existence with the Turkish conquest and slavery.

Life in slavery, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was very grim and gory. Various merchants from Asia Minor used to visit the conquered Serbian territory to buy slaves. The Turks would sell them men and women. A healthy and attractive Serbian girl would be sold to these merchants for a pair of shoes. For almost two hundred years Serbian children would be taken from their homes to serve the Sultan as Janisaries. Their names would be changed and their religion would be Islam. Many of them forgot the place of their origin. One of the best known of these Serbian boys who was taken away and later played an important role in the Turkish Empire was Mehmed Pasha Sokolovich. According to some accounts, he was taken by the Turks from the monastery of Milieshevo, where St. Sava's tomb was. He learned to read and write in this monastery. Ivo Andric, the Yugoslav Nobel Prize writer, in his book *The Bridge on the Drina* gives a dramatic account of how the Turks took Serbian children and how their mothers suffered because of this tribute in blood:

The mothers were especially persistent and hard to restrain. Some would rush forward not looking where they were going, with bare breasts and dishevelled hair, forgetting everything about them, wailing and lamenting as at a burial, while others almost out of their minds moaned as if their wombs were being torn by birthpangs, and blinded with tears ran right onto the horsemen's whips and replied to every blow with the fruitless question: 'Where are you taking him? Why are you taking him from me?' Some tried to speak clearly to their children and to give them some last part of themselves, as much as might be said in a couple words, some recommendation or advice for the way . . . 'Rade, my son, don't forget your mother.'

On that November day in one of those countless panniers a dark-skinned boy of about ten years old from the mountain village of Sokolovici sat silent and looked about him with dry eyes . . . What this boy in the pannier was later to become has been told in all histories in all languages and is better known in the world outside than it is amongst us. In time he became

a young and brave officer at the Sultan's court, then Great Admiral of the Fleet, then Sultan's son-in-law, a general and statesman of world renown, Mehmed Pasha Sokolli, who waged wars that were for the most part victorious on three continents and extended the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire, making it safe abroad and by good administration consolidated it from within. For these sixty odd years he served three Sultans, experienced both good and evil as only rare and chosen persons may experience them, and raised himself to heights of power and authority unknown to us, which few men reach and few men keep.<sup>4</sup>

The life of this Islamic leader influenced the history of the Serbian Church, for in 1557, the patriarchate of the Serbian Church, which had been abolished with the Turkish conquest, was now suddenly restored. The new patriarch was none other than Makarije Sokolovich, a Serbian monk from Hilandar and the brother of the Prime Minister of the Ottoman Empire. More than four centuries separate us from this unusual event. The question of why Mehmed Pasha wanted the restoration of the Serbian patriarchate has not yet been answered satisfactorily. Some recognized historians think that Mehmed Pasha never forgot the place of his origin, that in secret he was a Serbian patriot and for this reason helped the Serbian Church to regain the right to manage church property, to confess its faith freely, to appoint new bishops, and to deal with marriages whenever Serbs were involved. The Serbian patriarchate was a small state within the empire. There are other historians, as might be expected, who are in total disagreement with the *Serbian patriot* theory. They regard the restoration of the patriarchate not as a result of Mehmed Pasha's attachment to his people but as caused by practical need. The Serbs represented a significant segment of population in the Turkish Empire, and those of the leaders who were dreaming of further conquests in the north and west wanted to have a peaceful population behind their advancing armies. Whatever the reason, the fact cannot be changed that in a crucial period for Serbian existence in the sixteenth century, when the people and the church were living in utter humiliation and poverty, when they had no rights, at that moment a powerful statesman worked to bestow upon the Church certain privileges which were essential for its survival as well as for the survival of the nation, and brought his brother, a Serbian archimandrite, from Hilandar to the throne of the patriarchs at Pech. The church was the only institution which



survived the collapse of the Serbian Empire, and only the church could give the people hope for the future and a unifying principle.

Now that they had their own patriarch and bishops, the people dreamed more than ever about their freedom and the Kosovo heroes. They supported any movement from inside and outside that might bring them to their desired goals. But these many attempts were doomed. The Turks would liquidate the leaders of these revolts in various gruesome ways, as well as those who tried to come into contact with the outside world. Finally in 1766 the Pech Patriarchate was abolished, the unity of the Serbian Church was broken, and the churches in various Serbian regions followed separate roads. They would have to fight and wait for 154 years to be united again. This occurred only after the first World War, in 1920.

### III

After the Serbian Patriarchate was abolished in 1766, the Church in Montenegro became independent. Contrary to popular view and the epic tradition, this mountainous region of Crna Gora was not continuously free from Turkish occupation. The Turks occupied the territory from 1499 to 1684, but even then there was some local autonomy. From the end of the seventeenth century, the bishops of Montenegro, who were also its rulers, came from the family of Petrovich-Njegosh. The greatest Serbian poet came from this family. He was Peter II Petrovich-Njegosh (1813-1851). Although his major work has been translated into European languages, including English, his poetry is still waiting for a successful translator.

This poet and bishop and prince was the last in the line of prince-bishops. As a prince of Montenegro, Njegosh was obliged by tradition to become a monk in order to be consecrated bishop. He probably would have preferred the life of a shepherd and the beauty of nature and recitation of epic poetry to being prince-bishop and to ruling in Montenegro. He was very young when his dying uncle, the Metropolitan, selected him to be his successor. The boy asked his uncle what he should do. The metropolitan made an effort to raise himself up and from a sitting position on his bed looked at his young nephew and said: "I can't help you now. My last words to you are: Pray to God and keep good relations with Russia." This was the only advice he received, and after some preparation Njegosh became the prince-bishop when he was twenty years old. His consecration took place in Russia. When he became a monk and bishop,

Njegosh did not know much about the Church Fathers, but quite a lot about Serbian epic poetry, particularly the songs connected with Kosovo.

He was a poet with all his being. Seven days before his death at the age of thirty-eight, Njegosh wrote: "I am a lover of poetry. It has occupied me much. Ah, divine poetry, mysterious spark." With his poetry, however, Njegosh accomplished more toward the social cohesion of his people than he would have achieved with any coercive measures. His people disliked any law, and Njegosh with his poetry kept them together and called them to heroism and moral perfection. Njegosh lived in the tradition of Kosovo. Milosh Obilich was more than a hero for him. He was the "miracle of heroism," a kind of divine principle, the defender of truth and justice. In contrast, Njegosh regarded Vuk Brankovich, who had betrayed Prince Lazar, as an evil principle. By killing the Sultan in the field of Kosovo, Obilich shows that he has power over evil.

Njegosh was not a bishop by vocation. He attended the church services only on the great feasts and when he had to ordain deacons and priests. His poetry on the other hand, shows that he was a profoundly religious man. This does not mean that he followed the Church doctrines in his poetry. Sometimes we find evidence to the contrary. In his philosophical poem *Rays of Microcosm*, which has been compared with Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Njegosh's Adam is not Milton's Adam, nor is he the Adam of Scriptures nor of church tradition. For Njegosh he is a fallen angel who had lived in heaven, took part in Satan's revolt, and then was thrown upon the earth. This is not a new story, Njegosh's creation. He borrowed his plot, but Njegosh like any great poet "transformed and expressed it in his own manner . . . proceeding from existing motifs, developing these in conformity with his own views and inspiration."<sup>5</sup>

Nobody has written so well and expressed so clearly Njegosh's religious view as the twentieth century religious leader, Nicholai Velimirovich, whose work we shall discuss later, but who, as a young monk, gave the most brilliant literary analysis of Njegosh's religion. To Nicholai, the great poet of Montenegro was not a pious man but he was a religious man in a higher sense of

<sup>5</sup> Milovan Djilas, *Njegosh*, Intro. and trans. Michael B. Petrovich (New York, 1966), p. 268.

the word. Njegosh felt a need for a constant spiritual communion with God. He was preoccupied with universal questions and the mystery of the universe, and he could not live without these problems. The idea of the enlightenment, that if men would use more of their common sense, reason, and will, they could transform this earth into a paradise, is contrary to Njegosh's tragic sense of life. Bishop Nicholai stresses that Njegosh's poetry is not for the very young. When we start to feel and understand "that everything in our life does not depend upon reason and good will, that we are not absolute masters of our destiny . . . when we sense the universe above us and the heavy pressure of 'silent heavens'," then we begin to cherish Njegosh.<sup>6</sup>

Njegosh opened his last 'testament' with the following introduction: "Thanks be to thee O Lord, for having graciously granted to bring me to the shore of this world of thine and for having been pleased to nourish me in the rays of this wondrous sun of thine . . . From my childhood up as often as thine unattainable majesty has moved me to hymns of divine rapture and awe before thy great beauty, so often have I beheld in horror and bewailed men's wretched lot. Thy word has created all from nothing. To thy law are all things subject. Man is mortal and must die."<sup>7</sup> In this short introduction to his "testament" Njegosh summarized his religion.

#### IV

Between the two world wars, after 1920, when the Serbian patriarchate was reestablished and united all the Serbian regional churches, and until Yugoslavia's involvement in the second World War (1941), the most influential and the most productive figure in Serbian Church life was Bishop Nicholai Velimirovich. The village in Serbia where he was born in 1880 had a symbolic significance for him. There, in an extended family, he performed his first duty as a shepherd. He was taken from his sheep to school. Educated in Belgrade, Oxford, England and Berne, Switzerland, he never ceased to be the shepherd, and as Bishop of Ohrida, Bitolj, and Zica he took good care of his flock. At the most critical moments his flock wanted his leadership and listened to his voice. He spoke and wrote for intel-

<sup>6</sup> Nicholai Velimirovich, *Religia Njegosheva* (Belgrade, 1921), pp. xi-xiii.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Djilas, *Njegosh*, p. 431.

lectuals and simple people, old and young. His unusual strength and influence came from his intimate knowledge and participation in the national and religious life of the people, as well as from a profound grasp of the Orthodox mission in the world. Bishop Nicholai was a man of powerful intellect, who had been trained in some of the best modern universities, but above all in Christian learning and spirituality.

His literary output, books, articles, sermons, missionary letters, was enormous. With his essay on Njegosh's religion, he entered the history of Serbian literature. In his book, *The Universe as Symbols and Signs*, he offers an interpretation of the mysticism of the Eastern Church, and in such books as *Harvest of the Lord* he displays an intimate knowledge of the Bible and meditation upon it. Like St. John Chrysostom he used to warn his people that a Christian without knowledge of the Bible is like a workman without his tool, like a man who lives in darkness although the light is given to him. "Ignorance of the Holy scripture is self-treason," he warned, quoting St. Epiphanius of Cyprus. His *Life of St. Sava* in many places reveals as much about the author of the book as it does of his subject. He lives in the spirit of St. Sava's universal orthodoxy. We have mentioned only three of his books, for they are readily available and all three were written in America, where he came in 1946 after he was released from Dachau Prison Camp.

Bishop Nicholai became the leader of the popular religious movement that was spreading rapidly and widely through the villages of Serbia after the first World War. Those who belonged to this religious awakening were known as Bogomoljci ("those who pray to God"). These people used to attend church services regularly and were particularly happy if the Gospel was read in the vernacular, in Serbian instead of Old Church Slavonic. They also expressed a strong desire to hear the priests preaching on the Gospel. If there was no sermon, they regarded the liturgy as not quite complete, and they would often gather together after the church service to listen to one of their own lay preachers. This they regarded as a supplement to the service and it occurred either immediately after the liturgy in the vicinity of the church or in private homes. Some of them read the New Testament daily, and others added the Old Testament to their reading as well. They would meet in private homes to

read the New Testament, and sing the Psalms and other religious songs.<sup>8</sup>

As we would expect there were priests who were unfriendly to the movement. It was not their custom to preach in their churches, and they did not like these lay preachers. There were also fears that sectarian influences might be reaching the faithful through the Bogomoljci. Due to all this, many priests were suspicious of this new way of religious expression and started criticizing outside preachers and those who followed them. The situation became more and more critical. Unjust criticism could have created barriers between the church and the movement. At this decisive point, a powerful personality, a new bishop, Nikolai Velimirovich, entered the scene and changed these potential tensions into a fruitful cooperation between the Bogomoljci and the local church leaders. He published an article called "Do Not Reject Them."<sup>9</sup> In well chosen words, he directly attacked "our inertia." He pointed out that the Bogomoljci came to church in a state of expectancy, and for this, Bishop Nikolai declared, we must be grateful. He exhorted the priests to preach more often and to be more active in performing their Christian duties. Nobody should throw stones at these pious people, for in doing so we may hit Christ himself. By putting the movement in the proper perspective and associating himself with it, Bishop Nikolai changed the atmosphere and prepared the basis for a more alive religious life in Serbia. He recognized the need to find a religious press and he encouraged a monastic revival. The new monks took an active part in the Bogomoljci movement. Many of the them came from this group of the pious people. The bishop organized missionary courses for the Bogomoljci and devoted his enormous talents and energy to the people. Among his numerous writings are missionary letters on the spiritual life. In one of these he deals with a problem that is so difficult for us to approach, the problem of death and tragedy. To a mother whose son was killed in battle and who looked for her son in all military cemeteries but could not find his grave, the bishop addressed the following words of consolation:

<sup>8</sup> For a good account of the main characteristics of the Bogomoljci movement, see Episkop Chrizostom, "Narodna Hrisćanska zajednica," *Srpska pravoslavna crkva, 1920-1970*. (Belgrade, 1971), pp. 345-62. This book, published by the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, is indispensable for those interested in Church life from World War I to the present.

<sup>9</sup> A central part of this article is printed in Episkop Chrizostom, *Srpska pravoslavna crkva*, p. 349.

If your son is hidden from you, he is not hidden from God. The location of many graves of great and holy people is also unknown . . . The graves of many of Christ's apostles and martyrs, of many desert fathers and ascetics. We glorify their memory, we build churches in their names, to them we address our prayers. But we do not know their graves. Do not grieve because your son's grave is known only to God, just as are the graves of so many saints.

Then he tells her a story of another mother whose son was buried somewhere far away. It was impossible for her to go there and visit her son's grave, but each Saturday she would visit a nearby military cemetery, where there are graves of many whose mothers cannot visit them, and "on these graves she lights candles and whispers a prayer." Then the bishop concludes his letter: "Stop your weeping also and begin to do works of mercy for the repose of your son's soul . . . Don't separate your prayer from works of mercy, and blessed comfort from heaven will descend into your heart, just like dew on the thirsty grass."<sup>10</sup>

The Second World War broke out and all these activities stopped. Nicholai was arrested, and at the end sent to the concentration camp at Dachau. Although he came to the United States after the war weakened by his long confinement, he immediately started his work, which the war had interrupted. He wrote, preached, taught and had time for everyone who came to see and speak with him. Among his last projects were the Serbian Bible Institute, which published several of his small tracts, and a book on the life of Christ, which he did not complete. Twenty short chapters of the book have been published under the title of *Jedini Chovekoljubac* (The only lover of man).<sup>11</sup> These twenty chapters are really twenty well-rounded, beautifully written homilies. Bishop Nicholai wrote them in the spirit of the Fathers. The ancient homilies were Biblical commentaries, in which theology and spirituality were intertwined and expressed. In this sense, we should define the chapters of this book. In it, Bishop Nicholai enables us to know the mind of Christ as He reveals the mind of God to man. This is precisely what "spirituality" meant for the Church Fathers.

<sup>10</sup> From an unpublished translation of Bishop Nicholai's missionary letters by the Rev. James Doyle.

<sup>11</sup> Published in Serbian by *Library Svecchanik* (Munich, 1958).

## V

Bishop Nicholai was born in Serbia and died in the United States; Bishop Varnava Nastich, with whom we shall bring this paper to a close, was born in the United States in 1914 and died in Yugoslavia in 1964. As a boy of nine, he moved with his family to the country of his father's origin. There are still Serbs in Gary, Indiana, where he was born, who remember him well as an altar boy and as one who knew hundreds of verses of Serbian poetry by heart. The family settled in Sarajevo in Bosnia. The future bishop studied theology at Belgrade University and he took monastic vows just before the Second World War in the monastery of Mileshevo, where for centuries the body of St. Sava had rested before it was burned by the Turks in 1596. By this the Turks hoped to destroy the cult of St. Sava among the Serbian people. In 1940, Varnava wrote in a letter: "I became a monk in the monastery of Mileshevo, the monastery in which the remains of the greatest Serbian Saint and the greatest Serbian monk, St. Sava, for centuries rested. That fills my being with a mystic stream . . . Oh, how majestic that feeling is! To become worthy of it a man must give everything of himself."

The place of Bishop Varnava in the life of the Serbian Orthodox Church cannot be understood or separated from the events following the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1941. The city of Sarajevo and the provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina were incorporated into the Independent Croatian State. With the blessings of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the power of life and death was given to an extreme totalitarian group, already known before the war for its violent acts. This group called themselves Ustashi (those able to raise arms), and their leader (poglavnik) was Ante Pavelic. They planned to rule a state that was purely Croatian, but within their borders lived about 2,300,000 people of Serbian origin. They undertook to "solve" the Serbian problem. Blinded by hatred of the Serbs and their church, the Ustashi inaugurated a "final solution" for its large Serbian population, a public reign of terror. Among the first victims of this new policy were the Serbian bishops and priests. The churches were used as slaughter houses. Here the people were killed or burned alive. In some of these churches, Serbian girls were raped and then liquidated. According to conservative

estimates, about 750,000 Serbs in the independent Croatian state were murdered. Of the 577 Orthodox priests who were active in parishes in this area before the Second World War, 217 were killed and 334 were forcibly deported to Serbia. The remainder were either in German prisoner-of-war camps or joined the resistance in the forests.<sup>12</sup> In this atmosphere of ultimate terror, those still alive were asked to join the Roman Catholic Church. There is no doubt that the power of the sword was behind this conversion. Some were "converted," but after the war they returned to their mother church.

This persecution continued at full intensity through 1941 and 1942. Then the leaders of the Ustashi state realized that the Serbian problem could not be solved by terror, for the masses of the people still resisted conversion. Although they were without protection, living under the most humiliating condition, they could not accept sheer physical survival at the price of their dignity. Due to this resistance, in 1942, Ante Pavelic declared the formation of an independent Croatian Orthodox Church. A Russian metropolitan, Germogen, who had come to Yugoslavia after the Revolution, agreed to be its leader. The Synod of the Serbian Church in Belgrade rejected the new church as noncanonical and condemned Germogen for accepting the position. The Synod of the Russian Church in Karlovci removed Germogen from its episcopate.

The Croatian Orthodox Church had no success. An insignificant number of priests and people supported it. Therefore Pavelic decided to appoint a man of Serbian origin as the leader of his new church. Varnava Nastich had somehow survived the terror of the previous years. In 1944, he was invited to meet Pavelic, who asked him to accept the leadership of the Croatian Orthodox Church. Some of Varnava's friends urged him to accept, because they regarded Pavelic's offer as a God-sent opportunity for saving the lives of many unfortunate Serbs in the Croatian state. They argued that the war was almost over and that he should humble himself for a short time to save some lives. Varnava was tempted, but he responded that the good he could do to his people "we can never do at the cost of their dignity—much less at the cost of God's principles."<sup>13</sup> He

<sup>12</sup> For data, see Dushan Lj. Kazich, "Srpska Crkva u tzv. Nezavisnoj Drzavi u Hrvatskoj" in *Srpska pravoslavna crkva, 1920-1970*, pp. 196f.

<sup>13</sup> Bishop Varnava's account of his meeting with Pavelic was sent to the *Reader's Digest* for publication but was not printed. This account, as well as letters to his relatives and friends in Gary, Ind., may be found in Thomas Kazich, "Bishop Varnava Nastich: Witness for Christ, 1914-1964," unpublished essay written for the Master of Divinity degree, St. Vladimir's Theological Seminary, Crestwood, N.Y., 1975.



had made his decision, but he still had to confront the all-powerful Pavelic. When the meeting with the "new Herod" occurred, Varnava spoke about the meaning of his monastic vows, renouncing the glory of this world. After this introduction he addressed Pavelic directly: "You ask me to become a bishop of a so-called church, which means to become a traitor to both Christ and the Serbian people. What good could you have from a traitor?" Despite this defiance, Varnava survived, and Pavelic's state collapsed with the end of the war.

With the return of Patriarch Gavrilko, who had also been in Dachau, the Serbian Church made a serious effort to organize the broken life of its parishes and dioceses. For this purpose new bishops were consecrated for the vacant sees, one of whom was the monk Varnava Nastich. In his first sermon as bishop, Varnava revealed what kind of bishop he would be.<sup>14</sup> He saw his elevation as an act that would lead inevitably to suffering:

Everything that I could say and the most I could say, that I will joyfully ascend my Golgotha, and that honor I will never exchange for any other honor under God's sun.

He said real honor is inseparable from sacrifice. He continued:

Although I know the weaknesses of my soul, I am not afraid that my legs will tremble on the thorny path of Golgotha on which today I am set out . . . [and] if they wanted to tremble . . . the countless examples of Christ's heroes would restore to them confidence and given them strength.

He could not finish his sermon without a reference to the tragic event of Kosovo. After exhorting the faithful to arm themselves spiritually, to be ready for the struggle with the "spirits of evil" and not "against any political party of the world," he adds: "You shall win this war only by the weapons of sacrifices. Don't forget that you are the offspring of the Prince of Kosovo, who sacrificed the earthly to gain the heavenly."

<sup>14</sup> The sermon was translated by Rev. Firmilian Ocokoljic, now bishop and published in *A Spiritual Hero of Our Time*. The Serbian text appeared in *Glasnik*, the organ of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Belgrade, Sept. 1947, pp. 248-59.

Varnava was indeed prepared to be a martyr. Soon after this sermon, delivered in 1947, Varnava was brought to trial in 1948. He was accused of being an enemy of the new Yugoslav state, tried, found guilty and condemned to eleven years of hard labor. However, he was released by the Communist authorities in 1951. He died under suspicious circumstances in 1964.

In conclusion we should stress that these great church leaders lived and worked in critical and tragic periods in Serbian church history. They were persons of different talents and came from different family backgrounds. But all of them were Christian monks. All of them were deeply rooted in the tradition of their people. By opposing the disruptive and pagan forces of their times, they understood that the power of Christianity was not in destruction but in the transformation of life. They filled their times with decisive events. Faithful to God and His gospel, their concern was the salvation of their flock. The following words of St. Sava to his contemporaries may be applied to all others also: "I ask nothing from you. I want the salvation of your souls, and for the sake of your salvation I disregard my own soul."

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## ST. ROMANOS THE MELODOS AND HIS FIRST NATIVITY KONTAKION\*

This is a *panegyrikos logos* in honor of St. Romanos, Byzantium's prince of sacred poets. Although countless other poets have hymned the birth of Christ, none rivals Romanos' song. For all Eastern Christendom he remains unchallenged, the Christmas poet par excellence.

Ikons of St. Romanos the Melodos show a young, serious deacon wearing the shining white robes that belong to his priestly office. In his right hand he carries a scroll partly unrolled. On it are inscribed the most famous verses ever written in Greek for Christmas: they are the opening lines of his first Nativity Kontakion.

As the title may suggest, this essay has a dual purpose: to discover the deacon-poet of the sixth century in his Christmas hymn and to better understand this masterpiece.

There are several reasons for concentrating on Romanos' first kontakion. To begin with, it is more strictly appropriate to the occasion than a general lecture on the poet. Secondly, although universally hailed as a masterpiece unmatched in Christian liturgical poetry, East or West, it remains more admired than studied. A recent bibliography lists only four analytical studies, the first by a cardinal in 1867, and the fourth by an American a century later, published in the twelfth volume of the *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* (1966). It is time, therefore, to have another look. Thirdly, I believe this kontakion to be the closest thing we have to a personal testament by Romanos. At its best, liturgical poetry need not be impersonal. The first Nativity Kontakion is more than a superb example of Romanos' literary art. In it we can hear, if we listen, and discern evidence of his personal religious experience. Without the poet's compelling emotions and the overflow of his powerful feelings, this kontakion would have been a hollow failure, nothing more than sounding brass or

\* This essay was delivered in the chapel of Hellenic College-Holy Cross Seminary on 4 December 1975, at a celebration of the *proeortia* of Christmas.

tinkling cymbals. Finally, in the study of literature as in the sacrament of baptism, I think immersion is more efficacious than sprinkling.

I shall try to open out for you the religious and poetic riches of this Christmas poem by Byzantium's genius poet. You are going to be immersed in one kontakion rather than sprinkled lightly with drops from all fifty-nine. It is my hope that on Christmas Eve along with the angels' starry music you will also hear Romanos singing.

In the almost inexhaustible treasury of Byzantine hymnography—its only rival is the *Akathistos Hymnos*—it enjoys primacy of honor. Recognizing in Romanos' verses the perfect expression of its religious ideals, Byzantium at once claimed it for its own Christmas hymn. Until the twelfth century double choirs from Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles sang this kontakion at the imperial court on Christmas day. The sole kontakion for this feast day, the entire poem of twenty-four strophes was inscribed in the liturgical books. Byzantine missionaries carried it with them abroad, and it was translated into the various liturgical languages of the Eastern Church. Largely because of this hymn, the Russians venerated Romanos, calling him "The Singer of Sweetness."

A remarkably unified textual tradition attests to its widespread acceptance and success, as does its influence on later hymnography. The new music which Romanos composed for his hymn likewise achieved great popularity. No less than eighty-nine hymns in the kontakia have copied its metrical pattern. Very early this kontakion became legendary, perhaps during Romanos' lifetime. In any case, it quickly established the deacon from Syria as the *poeta vere Christianus* of Justinian's Golden Age (A.D. 527-565). Sometime during the next century the poet was canonized. We know of a sick man during the reign of Heraklios (610-641) who regained his health by singing the hymns of St. Romanos, poet and composer.

The *synaxarion* of the poet-saint pays him the supreme compliment of attributing this beautiful hymn to a miracle. I translate from the *Synaxaristes* of St. Nikodemos the Athonite (1748-1809), published in Athens, 1868.

Our holy Father Romanos, now among the saints, was born in Syria, Emesa on the Orontes being his native city. At Beirut he served as deacon in the Church of the Resurrection. He left this city during the reign of Anastasios I and came to Constantinople. There he served with perfect piety and dignity in the Church of the Panaghia Theotokos in the Kyrou quarter. Romanos often kept all-night vigils in the Church of the Theotokos at Blachernae. In the mornings he returned to the church in Kyrou, where once he received the divine gift of writing and setting to music kontakia for the whole year.

The Lady Theotokos appeared to him in a dream, and handing him a scroll, she commanded him to eat it. The holy man obediently opened his mouth and swallowed the paper. Upon awakening, he climbed into the pulpit and began to chant the Nativity Hymn, Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει, because it happened then to be the holy day of Christmas.

Yielding to the scholar's professional weakness, Nikodemos added a footnote:

Before this miracle Romanos had been uninspired (*amousoi*), awkward in both voice and song. For this reason he was ridiculed, even though he was extremely virtuous. So he often prayed before the Theotokos' miracle-working ikon, begging her to grant him a *charisma*, the gift of poetry.

Graciously the Theotokos answered Romanos' prayers and he won an immortal halo because of his poetry and the perfection of his life. The legend in the *synaxarion* attributes one thousand kontakia to Romanos. Fifty-nine of these survive, five hundred pages of text in the Oxford edition, by P. Maas and C. A. Trypanis (1963).

This charming legend embodies not only Byzantium's appreciation of the Nativity Kontakion, but also its awe of poetic genius. The miracle is metaphorical shorthand, an attempt to explain the mystery of poetic creativity, to account for the hieratic beauty and profound truth of Romanos' hymn. As for the poet, who many times signed himself in the acrostic as *ταπεινός*, he would have agreed that there was no other reasonable explanation. The Theotokos, not he, was responsible for the kontakion.

This legend further suggests the dual nature of Romanos' relationship to the Theotokos. Since he was deacon in her

church, the poet was directly involved in the popular Marian cult that had risen around the *Kyriotissa* ikon housed there. But beyond his liturgical obligations, it is clear that Romanos had a strong, personal devotion to the Theotokos, since he spent many nights privately, alone in prayer before her ikon at Blachernae. The two ikons and churches of the Theotokos formed the cardinal axis of his personal and liturgical life.

To her the deacon-poet prayed both for his soul's salvation and for his sacred art. What these petitions were like we learn from this prayer addressed to Christ at the end of his lyrical *kontakion* for Palm Sunday:

καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν λύσιν κατὰπεμψον, σωτήρ, τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου·  
 παράσχου μοι λαλεῖν ἃ θέλεις ὡς θέλεις·  
 μὴ νωθρόν μου τὸν νοῦν ἢ λύπη ποιήσῃ·  
 δεῖξον με καλλίεργον βοᾶν·

l: "Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀνακαλέσασθαι":l

16 ι στ' 5-9

*Καλλίεργον*, a rare word meaning "beautifully wrought," expresses the poet's artistic ideal.

Thus one important aspect of Romanos' relationship to the Theotokos repeats the archetype of poet and muse. Although the nine muses of Homer and Pindar had been banished along with their father Zeus and other Olympian kin, Christian poets, as much as pagan, required a heavenly muse to inspire and sustain them. In Byzantium the Theotokos was many things to many people. One of her multiple roles was that of divine patroness of poets and musicians, from the days of Romanos in the sixth century to John Koukouzeles in the fourteenth.

We, of course, realize that the Nativity *Kontakion* did not just happen suddenly, like Athena out of Zeus' head, that Christmas Eve long ago in the suburban Kyrou church in Constantinople. The *kontakion* is an elaborate literary form, not a simple troparion of four or five verses. This miracle of poetry resulted from a fusion of Romanos' faith, imagination, and art, from the long, lonely hours of writing in the peace of his monastic cell, and ultimately from his love and trust in his muse, the Mother of God and of sacred poets.

Modern scholarship has confirmed Byzantium's evaluation of Romanos' poem. The Nativity *Kontakion* appears at the head of

the kontakia in the first modern critical edition, that of Cardinal Jean B. Pitra in 1876. Krumbacher (1901) and Maas-Trypanis (1963) followed his lead in their enumeration. Attracting ecumenical attention, the poem has been edited by German, French, Italian, and Greek scholars. It has been translated into English and several modern European languages.

Because a poet always speaks best for himself and in his own tongue, I shall quote as generously as possible from the Greek.

This most magnificent of all Christmas hymns is identified in the acrostic as ΤΟΤ ΤΑΠΕΙΝΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ Ο ΥΜΝΟΣ, that is, an ode singing the praises of God. Its two hundred forty-six verses are divided into a proem of six verses, and twenty-four strophes of ten verses each. These spacious proportions accommodate Christianity's epic theme, the Incarnation of God. The poet's vision encompasses sacred history from the first creation to the new, the coming of the second Adam to redeem the first. The spacious religious spirit of Justinian's Byzantium created complementary monuments in Romanos' great kontakia and in the soaring architecture of Hagia Sophia.

In the manner of a Euripidean prologue, the proem summarizes the kontakion. Within its short six lines Romanos creates a complete poetic ikon of the Nativity:

Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει,  
καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπῆλαιον τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ προσάγει·  
ἄγγελοι μετὰ ποιμένων δοξολογοῦσι,  
μάγοι δὲ μετὰ ἀστέρος ὁδοιποροῦσι·  
δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγεννήθη  
ὁ παῖδιον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.·!

The dominant images are introduced, as are the three sacred protagonists, Christ, the Theotokos and the Magi. For the first time we hear the refrain, a ringing declaration and acclamation to be sung by the congregation at the end of each strophe. Repeated twenty-four more times, the refrain proclaims the kontakion's theme, God become child.

Romanos expands this lyric prologue, delicately sharp as an enamel miniature, into a sweeping epic of man's first encounter with God on earth. Since the kontakion is a sermon in verse, the poet is also a priest. He must not only praise God, he must also interpret his word. With one voice in this Nativity Kontakion Romanos preaches and sings a rare harmony of psalm and lesson,



*dulce et utile*. I know of nothing comparable in the vast repertory of Christmas sermons and hymns.

Within the kontakion Romanos welds together many diverse elements, some traditional, and others new, to fashion an intricate, complex Byzantine design, which at the same time possesses Attic symmetry and intensity. Like thousands of tiny tesserae in a mosaic, these elements form an organic, eloquent image of the central event in Christian sacred history. Highly organized metaphorical patterns emphasize the theme and deepen the reader's comprehension of the Incarnation. Blazing images of fire and light illuminate every strophe, symbolizing the cosmic brightness that entered the universe with the coming of God on earth. The entire dramatic action takes place within the dynamic symbol of the "way," God and man coming and going to find each other. Romanos proves again the dictum that "Imaging is, in itself, the very height and life of poetry" (Dryden).

In addition to the angels, Magi and plain "home-spun" shepherds of the traditional Nativity, we find in Romanos' poem a pageant of hallowed figures from the Old Testament, beginning with Adam, and including Cain and Abel, Sarah, Moses, David, Daniel and several lesser prophets. They constitute a prehistory of the Incarnation, and broaden the temporal dimensions of the kontakion, extending them all the way back to Genesis, and then forward again to the birth of Christ.

The poet-priest skillfully develops character and psychological portraits through soliloquy and dramatic dialogue. In the tenth kontakion *On the Sinful Woman* he admits his intense interest in the psychology of religious experience:

Τὴν φρένα δὲ τῆς σοφῆς ἐρευνῆσαι ἦδελον  
καὶ γινῶναι, πῶς ἐν αὐτῇ ἔλαμψεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς,

δ'1-2

The important verbs are *ἐρευνῆσαι*, *γινῶναι*, to examine in order to understand.

Spirited dialogue, doxology, prayers, exhortations, lyrics, and displays of theological wit vary the poem's style and tone. Inevitably, Romanos' verses echo the Divine Liturgy and the Scriptures, including the Old Testament of which he seems to have had extraordinary knowledge. There are also occasional reverberations from the Greek Fathers. The Nativity as recorded

by St. Matthew (2.1-12) and St. Luke (2.1-20) furnished Romanos the texts on which his hymn is based.

I have indicated few of the riches of the poem, whose sublime style is worthy of its theme. I have said nothing about the subtle, spell-binding magic of its rhythms, the strength of its language, or the felicity of phrasing and rhyme. The kontakion does not contain a single static line. Everywhere there is light, movement and music. Heaven and earth sing together; past and present merge; Eden and Bethlehem become one. The universe is born again. Although Romanos' ears always rang with the angelic symphony, this is a new song, his own *poiesis* to honor God's birth.

Conceiving the Incarnation to be an eternal encounter and dynamic interaction between God and man, Romanos casts his Christmas hymn in the shape of a sacred drama. Thus he immediately communicates the mystery that was initiated when the timeless intersected time, the new creation that dawned when God stooped to earth to raise man to heaven. What happened that first Christmas unfolds before our eyes in vivid dramatic representation. That yesterday of long ago becomes the eternal "today," which Romanos announced in the proem's opening line.

The first strophe serves as an introduction to the sacred drama. In it the poet-priest joyfully announces the birth of God and summons us to accompany him to Bethlehem:

Τὴν Ἑδέμ Βηθλεέμ ἤνοιξε, δεῦτε ἴδωμεν·  
τὴν τρυφὴν ἐν κρυφῇ ἡὔραμεν, δεῦτε λάβωμεν  
τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐντὸς τοῦ σπηλαίου·

...  
ἐκεῖ παρθένος τεκοῦσα βρέφος  
τὴν δίσταν ἔπαυσεν εὐθὺς τὴν τοῦ Ἀδάμ καὶ τοῦ Δαβὶδ·  
διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπειχθῶμεν, ποῦ ἐτέχθη  
Ι: παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός..!

a' 1-3, 7-10

The Byzantine poet invites us to a spiritual journey. Using four verbs in the first person plural, in the liturgical manner of the deacon's office, he fervently exhorts us to share his vision of the Incarnation. Since the kontakion is part of a *leitourgia*, the *laos* must participate. To lead the *laos* to God is the poet's *diakonia*, like that of the Nativity star to which he applies this very term

(η' 8). Through his poetry the deacon-poet of the Kyrou church accomplishes his liturgical mission.

The sacred drama begins in the second strophe and extends through the final refrain. Contrary to the usual practice in which the poet pronounces the concluding prayer, here one of the dramatic protagonists speaks it. After the initial exhortation, Romanos appears in his own *persona* only to introduce the sacred persons and to comment twice on the dramatic action. The drama falls into clearly defined scenes.

In the first scene (β' γ') the Theotokos is alone with her child, confronting the mystery of his birth. She reveals her thoughts in a gentle soliloquy. In the second scene (δ' ε') the Magi arrive and outside the cave they and the young mother engage in their first dialogue. The Theotokos opens a lively exchange by asking who they are. The Magi respond with three sharp questions of their own. They then tell Mary that they want to see the divine child whose star they have followed to Bethlehem. In the third scene (στ' θ' 3) Mary returns inside the cave and asks her child to receive the waiting Magi. Silently Christ grants her request.

Here the poet interrupts the action to sing a hymn (θ' 4-10) to the Theotokos. Like a chorus in ancient Greek tragedy, Romanos comments lyrically on the dramatic episode just concluded.

Next follows the kontakion's longest scene (ι' ιθ'). This dialogue between the Magi and Mary stretches through ten strophes, almost half the poem, during which the Magi recount their adventures.

At strophe κ' Romanos appears a second time. Now he comments in solemn magisterial verses on the Magi's pilgrimage.

In the final scene (κα' κδ) the Magi offer adoration to the divine child. The kontakion and drama close with a *deesis* by the Theotokos, ending with her poignant words:

ὁδηγέ μου, υἱέ μου, ποιητά μου, λυτρώτά μου,  
Ι: παιδίων νέον ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός:.

κδ' 9-10

In this kontakion, as in several other masterpieces, Romanos demonstrates his sure command of the techniques familiar from ancient drama. His expert use of major and minor metaphorical patterns, the development of action and character through dramatic speech, the juxtaposition of colloquial and grand styles,

all follow patterns of Attic tragedy. The tight construction, the concentration on two or three figures and on a single action likewise conform to the canons handed down from the fifth century B.C. To compare the two hundred forty verses of this kontakion with the one thousand forty of Aeschylus' shortest play, *Eumenides*, is to measure the artistic control demanded of the poet by the metrical sermon known as the kontakion. Romanos must have learned his poetic craft from classical Greek models, which he studied in the schools of his native Emesa, a Hellenized Syrian city. Greek culture shaped his genius, perfecting his mastery of form and language.

The purpose of sacred poetry is to "imitate the inconceivable excellencies of God" (Sir Philip Sidney). So Romanos praises God first of all in his Nativity Kontakion. The hymn constitutes his gift to the Christ-child, his personal *proskynesis*.

By means of paradox, metaphor, hieratic titles and epithets, a vocabulary inherited from Scriptures and earlier Christian literature, the deacon-poet evokes a mystically majestic ikon of God at his birth. In every detail the ikon agrees with Orthodox Christological dogma. In contrast to some pedestrian kontakia in which theology eclipses poetry, here Romanos transmutes Orthodoxy's articles of faith into song. Singing a birthday ode for the infant in Mary's arms, he makes God's "inconceivable excellencies" conceivable.

Paradox forms the poetic axis of Romanos' ikon of Christ. Twenty-five times the refrain reiterates the fundamental Christian paradox—Christ is both man and God, flesh and spirit, within time and without. Other statements of paradox reaffirm this. Although God is *ὑπερούσιος* (Pr I 1), a maiden gives him birth. Although he is *ἀπρόσιτος* (Pr I 2), the earth offers and he accepts a cave for his birthplace. Strophe β' begins with two variations of the same startling figure. *Ὁ Πατήρ τῆς μητρὸς γνώμη υἱὸς ἐγένετο* defines Christ's paradoxical relationship to Mary. "Behold the father is his daughter's son." A chiasm in the second variation further dramatizes the paradox of the child-God:

ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν βρεφῶν βρέφος ἐν φάτνῃ ἔκειτο·

β' 2

Mary's question restates the paradox, which is enriched here by antithesis and parallel structure. The traditional "poverty" motif is introduced.

Ὑψηλὲ Βασιλεῦ, τί σοὶ καὶ τοῖς πτωχεύουσι;  
ποιητὰ οὐρανοῦ, τί πρὸς γήινους ἤλυθας;

γ'1-2

Why has God exchanged heaven for earth, glory for the poverty of the human condition?

In the lyric drama of this kontakion the Theotokos and the Magi come face to face with the paradox and accept it. Through their experience and the repeated statements of paradox Romanos forces a similar situation upon us. We too must accept in faith this mystery, the union of the two natures in the person of Christ.

Accordingly Romanos' ikon of Christ consists of two distinct images. Concrete images assert Christ's humanity, revealed in the newborn infant. God became the *παιδίον* of the refrain, a *βρέφος* (α'7, β'2, δ'1, κ'3), visible, palpable proof of divine participation in and identification with the world. Romanos makes explicit the physical condition of God. Wrapped in swaddling clothes, God lies in the manger or in Mary's lap. Helpless and dependent on his mother for life, he drinks her milk. Like any other newborn child, God lies still. The infant Logos does not speak.

The physical bond between Mary and Christ irrevocably establishes his humanity. Romanos calls him *ὁ ἐκ σπλάγχων αὐτῆς* (στ'2). Mary tenderly calls him her child *τέκνον* (β'4, στ'3, ζ'1), *υἱός* (κδ'9), and *σπλάγχνον* (β'5), the last an intensely intimate term of endearment suggesting the indissoluble tie between child and mother.

Mary and the Magi see God in the young child. Five strophes end with the motif "seeing the child-God." The poet-priest intends our eyes to see him too:

θεωρῆσαι ποθοῦντες, προσκυνῆσαι καὶ δοξάσαι

ιθ'9

The insistent repetition thirteen times of the verbs "to be born," "to give birth" reminds us that God's life on earth began exactly like ours. At the moment of his birth, God forever touched the universal human heart. A millennium and a half after Romanos, Nikos Kazantzakis also perceived this. Zorba listens to his pen-pushing boss after they leave church on Christmas Eve.

Ἄν ἔλεγαν «Σήμερα γεννιέται τὸ φῶς», δὲ θὰ λαχτάριζε ἡ καρδιά τοῦ ἀνθρώπου...καὶ δὲ θὰ καταχοῦσε τὸν κόσμον...δὲ θ' ἀναστάτῳνε τῇ φαντασίᾳ, δηλαδὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν. Μὰ τὸ φῶς ποῦ γεννιέται στὴν καρδιά τοῦ χειμῶνα ἔγωγε παιδί, τὸ παιδί Θεός, κι εἴκοσι αἰῶνες τῶρα ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν κρατάει στὸν κόρφο τῆς καὶ τὸν βυzaίνει.

Despite himself Zorba succumbs to the irresistible appeal of God who became child, “Αφεντικό,” he exclaims, “ἀρχίζω πάλι καὶ τὰ πιστεύω...Μυστήριον ὁ ἀνθρώπος.”

The fierce opponent of all heresies, Romanos insists equally on Christ's divinity. The child is ὁ πρό αἰώνων Θεός. The swaddled baby in the manger possesses all the attributes of God. Strophe ἡ begins with a simple creed-like declaration by the poet—Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός ὄντως καὶ ὁ Θεός ἡμῶν. The mother recognizes him to be her and heaven's creator. The star-gazing Magi acknowledge the child as πάντων ἄστρον ποιητής (ε'8). In another lordly verse Romanos identifies the infant as the ruler and maker of the universe—τῶν πάντων τούτων κτίστην καὶ κύριον (κβ'4). In recognition of his divine kingship Mary and the Magi prostrate themselves before the child, the *pantokrator*. The verbs προσκυνέω, προσπίπτω occur five times (στ'1, ιθ'9, κα'2, κβ'2, κδ'5).

The dramatic action reveals Christ's divinity intact, undiminished by his humanity. The child remains God unapproachable. The Magi cannot see him until the Theotokos intercedes. Nor does Christ speak to them. He receives their adoration and gifts in imperial silence. Christ's godhead isolates him even from the loving woman who gave him birth. The divine Logos does not speak to her either. Christ answers Mary's request by invisibly touching her thoughts. Thus, Christ's single speech in the kontakion is outwardly unspoken, unheard, symbolizing God's transcendent glory and the immeasurable distance separating him from his creation.

God omniscient and omnipotent speaks silently in a brief speech of eleven verses (ἡ'3-θ'3), addressed to the Theotokos. The child identifies himself with the Logos, whose power is manifested by the star. Simultaneously he has lain quietly in Mary's arms and travelled with the Magi, leading them to God. Motionless, yet forever moving, he transforms and re-creates the world. God's appearance on earth as a poor, helpless child charges the universe with new grandeur and renewing energy.

Romanos extolls the child's divine power, but above all his *philanthropia*, the most divine of all God's attributes. Since God's supreme gift to man is himself, Romanos calls Christ τὸ δῶρον τῶν δώρων (κα'3). By means of this superlative the poet suggests Christ's infinite compassion and love. The poet declared in the proem that God became man for our sakes. The Theotokos and the Magi repeat this in their prayers to Christ. To become man's Savior, Redeemer, and Guide, God was born of a woman in Bethlehem.

The bright star that heralded God's birth provides Romanos with a symbol for divine *philanthropia*. First mentioned in the proem, the star shines throughout the kontakion, as though the poet wished to chart its heavenly course in his verses. Romanos lavishly exploits the rich Greek vocabulary for light and fire—the nouns φῶς, πῦρ, ἀστήρ, ἀκτίς, λύχνος and ἀνατολή that most enchanting of all bright words, and the epithets πύρινος, φαιδρός, φαιώς, φωτανγός. Together they irradiate the birthday hymn to the *philanthropos theos* with an all-embracing, deifying light. To find a similar mystical incandescence one must turn to El Greco's paintings of the Nativity. In the vision of both the Constantinopolitan poet and the Cretan painter the light of divine love unites earth to heaven.

This, then, is Romanos' Nativity ikon of Christ, child and God, remote and near, sovereign and savior. In the final words of Mary's prayer Romanos voices clearly his own belief and trust in God, the true light of the world:

Σῶσον κόσμον, σωτήρ· τούτου γὰρ χάρις ἦλυθας·  
 στήσον πάντα τὰ σά· τούτου γὰρ χάρις ἔλαμψας  
 ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς μάγοις καὶ πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει·  
 ἰδοὺ γὰρ μάγοι, οἷς ἐνεφάνισας τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου,  
κδ' 1-4

The pronoun in the first person singular, placed emphatically at the beginning of the verse, must surely include also the poet himself.

Romanos also hymns the "excellencies" of the divine child's mother, the *kore* (δ'4) who accepted her destiny and became Theotokos (ιζ'1). From the first word to the last the Theotokos dominates this kontakion. She initiates the dramatic action and speaks first. One hundred twenty-eight verses of the total of two-hundred forty are devoted to her, ninety-two being direct

speech, the rest hymn and commentary by Romanos. As in the painted and mosaic ikons of mother and child, the Theotokos looms the larger of the two, a symbolic reminder that a woman made the Incarnation of God possible. God's grand design for man's redemption depended on Mary, as does also the design of Romanos' Nativity Kontakion.

With unsurpassed sensitivity and sympathy the Byzantine poet depicts Mary's unique encounter with God in the flesh. The most sensitive of the evangelists, St. Luke, merely hints at Mary's feelings: *ἡ δὲ Μαρία πάντα συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα συμβάλλουσα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς* (2:19). In contrast, Romanos discloses the secrets of her heart, and explores her intimate response to God who chose her for his mother.

Wonder and awe mark Mary's first speech (β'3-γ'10) as she contemplates the paradox of her situation. In this interior, unspoken soliloquy the Theotokos meditates on the birth of God, the child of her womb. She begins

*Εἶπέ μοι, τέκνον, πῶς ἐνεσπάρης μοι ἢ πῶς ἐνεφύης μοι;  
ὁρῶ σε, σπλάγχχνον, καὶ καταπλήττομαι,  
ὅτι γαλουχῶ καὶ οὐ νενύμφευμαι.*

β'4-6

She knows herself to be maiden and mother, God's servant and his parent. Convinced by his miraculous conception and birth that her child is God, she is equally convinced of his humanity. No one appreciates this reality more than the woman who gave him her flesh and nourishes him with her milk. She does not know how to address him. So she alternates between "child" and "king," "son" and "creator." The Theotokos marvels at God's *philanthropia*, his willingness to become man. Looking at the child in her lap, Mary asks,

*σπηλαιίου ἡράσθης ἢ φάτνη ἐτέρφθης;*

γ'3

Introduced here simply as *ἡ τεκοῦσα* (β'3), she is fully human, one of Eve's daughters. Romanos accents her humanity with homely realism. The Theotokos compares her lot with that of another woman. Through six verses (γ'4-9) she complains that when Jacob was born his mother Sarah had received a large inheritance, whereas she has not even an animal's nest for her own.



Mary's second long speech (στ'3-ζ'10) follows the first dialogue with the Magi. It reflects a change in her character, a growth in pride and self-esteem. Realizing now the unique splendor of her maternity, she sings a magnificat, a joyful song of gratitude to God, her own son:

“Μεγάλα μοι, τέκνον,  
μεγάλα πάντα, ὅσα ἐποίησας μετὰ τῆς πτωχείας μου·

· · ·  
αὐτόν σε δόξαν ἔχω καὶ καύχημα· δῶ οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι·  
αὐτὸς εἶ χάρις καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια  
τῆς σκηνῆς κάμου· νεῦσον εἰσεέλθωσιν·  
οὐδέν μοι μέλει τῆς εὐτελείας·  
ὥς θησαυρόν σε γὰρ κρατῶ, ὃν βασιλεῖς ἤλθον ἰδεῖν.”

στ'3-4, ζ'4-8

God's voluntary assumption of man's poverty has endowed his human mother with divine riches. She is the first to experience divine *charis*.

Mary has been transformed from the hesitant, awe-stricken young mother of the soliloquy into mankind's confident intercessor before God. At once beginning her mission of mediation, Mary intercedes in behalf of the Magi. She talks like an empress-mother, serenely sure of her influence before the throne. "Royal" images dominate her speech:

“ἰδοὺ γὰρ μάγοι ἔξω ζητοῦσι σε  
τῶν ἀνατολῶν οἱ βασιλεύοντες·

· · ·  
Ἐπειδὴ οὖν λαὸς σὸς ἐστι, τέκνον, κέλευσον  
ὕπὸ σκέπην τὴν σὴν γένωνται, ἵνα ἴδωσι  
πενίαν πλουσίαν, πτωχείαν τιμίαν·”

στ'5-6, ζ'1-3

The Theotokos' first *presbeia* proves successful, and she opens the door of the cave and admits the waiting royal visitors to God's presence.

At the end of this scene, the poet-priest sings a hymn (θ'4-10) in praise of the Theotokos, God's gateway to earth, and man's to heaven. Exuberant paradox and theological wit adorn the central image, which is derived from Ezekiel 44.2:

ἀνοίγει θύραν ἡ ἀπαράνοικτος  
πύλη, ἣν Χριστὸς μόνος διώδευσεν·

· · ·

αὐτὴ ἤνοιξε θύραν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐγεννήθη θύρα,  
 ἰ: παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.:|

0'5-6, 9-10

God and man at last are met. Through the Theotokos earth was their meeting place.

At the end of the kontakion, in a ceremonious, liturgical prayer, resounding with phrases and cadences from the Divine Liturgy, the Theotokos prays for the entire universe. Conscious of authority derived from her divine maternity, Mary becomes the world's partisan advocate. She speaks with parental firmness to God her own son:

Οὐχ ἀπλῶς γάρ εἰμι μήτηρ σου, σῶτερ εὖσπλαγχνε·  
 οὐκ εἴκη γαλουχῶ τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλακτος·  
 ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐγὼ δυσωπῶ σε·  
 ἐποίησάς με ὅλου τοῦ γένους μου καὶ στόμα καὶ καύχημα·

κγ'1-4

The Theotokos' maternal love excludes no one. God's mother belongs to everyone; all of God's children are hers. They depend on her for security and protection. A triad of strong, solid images indicates man's reliance on the Theotokos:

ἐμὲ γὰρ ἔχει ἡ οἰκουμένη σου  
 σκέπην κραταίαν, τεῖχος καὶ στήριγμα·

κγ'5-6

Τεῖχος was no empty metaphor for the deacon-poet and his congregation, citizens of Constantinople, a city protected by massive land and sea walls. For the Byzantines the strong, loving arms of the Theotokos held the world together. She was their mightiest wall, a bulwark against visible and invisible dangers alike.

Mankind's hopes for heaven also rested with God's mother. Exiled from Eden by the first disobedience, the descendants of Adam and Eve now see Mary opening the closed gates of Paradise:

ἐμὲ ὁρῶσιν οἱ ἐκβληθέντες  
 τοῦ παραδείσου τῆς τρυφῆς, ὅτι ἐπιστρέφω αὐτοὺς  
 λαβεῖν αἴσθησιν πάντων δι' ἐμοῦ τῆς σε τεκούσης

κγ'7-9

At the poem's end Mary repeats its first words—happiness, paradise, Eden—spoken at the beginning by Romanos (α'1-3). The Nativity Kontation begins and ends with Eden, thus symbolically

re-enacting man's return to God. Romanos sings of paradise regained and of the woman, the new Eve, who made it possible.

The deifying light of Bethlehem transfigures the maiden-mother into an eternally luminous saint, more glorious than the Seraphim. Borrowing two epithets used by ancient poets of pagan goddesses, Romanos calls her ἡ σεμνή (θ'1, κ'2) and ἡ φαεινή (ιγ'1). He encircles the Theotokos with a resplendent halo of burnished, golden light.

Yet he never forgets that she is one of us. At the end of the kontakion she turns abruptly from her sublime *deesis* to tend to the needs of the moment. Examining the Magi's gifts, she sees they are rare and expensive, and also useful for the flight to Egypt. Χρήσιμα (κδ'6) she exclaims, like any village woman.

Our poet's spiritual mother and celestial muse was Byzantium's shining spirit of hope, life and love. At the same time Mary was a practical woman of the people. Precisely because of her humanity the Theotokos remained always close, ever accessible to the human heart, especially to that of Romanos, her own sacred poet and votary.

In his exhortation at the beginning of the kontakion Romanos had urged us to go with him to the place where God was born. In the sacred drama this same journey is taken by the Magi. They enter the action in strophe δ' and we follow them through eighteen strophes (δ'-κα'). The poet sees to it that we become fellow-travellers of the kingly Magi.

Collectively the "star-led wizards" constitute the third protagonist of the sacred drama of the Incarnation, representing "us" for whom God became child. Poetically and psychologically the Byzantine hymnographer enlarges the account the Magi presented in Matthew 1.1-12 into a paradigm of man's positive response to God, his progress from darkness into light—τὸ φῶς τῆς θεογνωσίας (ιθ'3). Romanos offers the Magi for our *mimesis*. They carry the homiletic burden of the Nativity Kontakion.

The Magi's pilgrimage is a major theme. Eighty-eight verses of direct speech are assigned to them, only four less than to the Theotokos. Another forty-two verses refer to them, making a total of one hundred thirty, two more verses than for Mary. The Magi are the exclusive subject of Christ's single speech. Their prominence has led one modern editor to entitle the kontakion "Mary and the Magi."

This exceptional prominence of the Wise Men, Christianity's first converts, is due, in part, to the fact that one of them is Romanos himself. He keeps their number a secret, although tradition has already established their number as three. Three exotic gift-bearing Magi are shown on the border of Empress Theodora's robe in a sixth-century mosaic at Ravenna. Perhaps Romanos also wishes to imply that the Magi, like the world's spiritual pilgrims, are without number, beyond count.

From the first mention of the Magi in the proem—*μάγοι δὲ μετὰ ἀστέρος ὁδοιποροῦσι* (4)—a cluster of dynamic verbs is inseparably attached to the tireless travellers. Repeatedly used, verbs of "going," "coming," "travelling" set into motion a continuous current which soon implicates us in the Magi's journey. These verbs move horizontally through the kontakion, as the Magi parallel on earth the blazing course of the star across the sky. Together star and Magi finally halt at Bethlehem, the sacred center of the world where God descended from heaven to earth, where the divine vertical intersected the earthly horizontal.

A geographical catalogue of place names—Babylon, Chaldea, Persia, Jerusalem—further strengthens the poetic image of horizontal space and passage. This adds to the poem a broad spatial dimension. Romanos' ecumenical vision matches that of the Emperor Justinian, who built churches across the inhabited world from the Pillars of Heracles eastward to the Euphrates.

Closely associated with the "travelling" verbs are those of "seeking," "searching," "examining." The Magi's travels have a serious purpose. Theirs is a spiritual journey, an intensive quest for religious truth and God.

*τῶν χωρῶν πασῶν ὧν περ διήλθομεν,  
ἐθνῶν ἀσήμεν, γλωσσῶν ἀγνώστων,  
περιερχόμενοι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐξερευνῶντες αὐτήν  
μετὰ λύχνου τοῦ ἄστρου ἐκζητοῦντες, ποῦ ἐτέχθη  
ἡ παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.·|*

ιδ'6-10

With a flash-back technique Romanos opens out the map of the Magi's pilgrimage. Appropriately, in the kontakion's longest speech (γ'3-ιε'10) they retrace their odyssey step by step. Everywhere they went they examined the local religion, and everywhere they found error, blindness, vanity, a world divided into the deceiving and the deceived.

In gratitude they tell Mary that their redemption from error is due to the child she bore. Using the astronomical vocabulary of their profession and the fiery images of their abandoned religion, the Magi describe their salvation:

ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθε καὶ ἦρεν ἡμᾶς  
ὁ τοῦ παιδίου σου σπυθῆρ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ Περσικοῦ·  
πῦρ παμφάγον λιπόντες πῦρ δροσίζον θεωροῦμεν

ιγ'7-9

God sought them and they responded by following the star all the way to the divine source of all light. They contrast the destructive fire of false gods with the paradoxical "refreshing fire" of Mary's child. Every word of the Magi runs over with the enthusiasm and conviction of the convert.

In minute detail through five strophes (ιε'ιθ') the Magi recall their futile theological discussions with the Pharisees in Jerusalem. Mary bitterly describes this city as "evil-eyed, prophet-killing" (ιστ'3-4). Determined as Diogenes, with a star for a lantern, the Magi searched diligently for God in Jerusalem. But in vain, as they explain:

τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρῆλθεν· ἀνεκαίνισε γὰρ πάντα  
τὸ παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.·!

ιε'9-10

Romanos borrows for the Magi the words (II Corinthians 5.17) of another impassioned convert, Saul of Tarsus who changed into Paul the Apostle because of a journey to Damascus. Like Paul, the Magi had found Judaism wanting.

Their pilgrims' progress over, the Magi experience the mystic's ineffable joy. According to St. Matthew 1.10, ἐχάρησαν χαρὰν μεγάλην σφόδρα. In Romanos' poem their joy erupts into a jubilant ode to the star, a hymn to God whose glory outshines all the stars of heaven.

ἀστήρ σβεννύων πάντα μαντεύματα καὶ τὰ οἰωνίσματα·  
ἀστήρ ἐκλύων παραβολὰς σοφῶν  
ρήσεις τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα·  
ἀστήρ ἀστέρος τοῦ φαινομένου  
ὑπερφαιδρότερος πολὺ ὥς πάντων ἄστρων ποιητής,

ε'4-8

The brightest star of all has risen from the house of Jacob, ful-

filling the Old Testament prophecy of Balaam. The star-intoxicated Magi repeat the word "star" six times in their hymn. Like Christian philosophers, they hail the revelation of divine wisdom. At last the light of divine truth dissolves the dark riddles and parables of the past, and exposes the foolish who presumed themselves wise. In this dazzling hymn to the creator of light Romanos celebrates the triumph of *Haghia Sophia*, the Logos who was born in Bethlehem.

In the presence of the Christ-child the Magi achieve spiritual fulfillment in holy peace and joy. Having travelled far and long with the star, they are now themselves, at the journey's end, transfigured into creatures of light—οἱ τῆς ἀνατολῆς λύχνοι (172).

Romanos' radiant Magi would never have recognized themselves in T.S. Eliot's poem, "Journey of the Magi," written before 1935. These weary Magi from the wasteland of the twentieth century complain of the hardships, the futility of a "cold coming" in the "very dead of winter," and of the ambiguity of what they found in Bethlehem:

This set down  
This: were we led all that way for  
Birth or Death?

For them Bethlehem turned out to be a dead end. For Romanos and his Magi, however, Bethlehem meant a new Eden, and eternal life, the restoration of man to God, and his rebirth into the divine image.

A writer's best poetry is usually, it is said, the expression of his deepest feelings. Likewise, masterpieces often contain autobiography. Might not the same be true of Romanos and his first Nativity Kontakion?

Christmas comes in the dead heart of winter, the season that isolates, confines, the time for introspection. This feast of winter turns us inward and backward to our beginnings and past. Celebrating the birth of a child, Christmas makes children of us all. Might not Christmas have affected Romanos in this way as he was writing this Nativity Kontakion?

In no other kontakion does Romanos so unreservedly and directly reveal his soul. For once the poet's mask and deacon's robes do not completely conceal his heart. This hymn for the Nativity shines with the pure light of Romanos' faith in Christ, God whose *philanthropia* made him a child. In it Romanos also venerates the Theotokos whose love sheltered his life and art.

This poem enshrines his personal devotion to the Mother of God.

Far from home, the young deacon-poet looked inward and backward as he worked on this kontakion for Christmas. Like the Magi, he had travelled from afar and come from the East. Romanos' odyssey had started in the Syrian river town where he was born. From Emesa he went to Beirut and became a deacon in the cathedral there. From that provincial capital he had made a longer, more fateful journey to Constantine's imperial city, the many-domed queen city of the *oikoumene*. At the time he wrote this kontakion, around A.D. 518, Romanos did not know that he was destined to spend the rest of his long life and career in the monastery of the Church of the Theotokos in Kyrou. He died sometime after A.D. 555.

In the person of the Magi, too, Romanos relived his own pilgrimage, seeking and finding God in the child who was born in a Judaeon cave. The Magi's joyous, mystic vision of God, their attainment of divine wisdom, and their transfiguration into light—these mirror the religious experience of Romanos. His spiritual autobiography can be read in his first Nativity Kontakion.

A British poet of our time, John Betjeman, pondering the mystery of Christmas, asks a haunting question.

And is it true? And is it true,  
This most tremendous tale of all,  
Seen in a stained-glass window's hue,  
A Baby in an ox's stall?  
The Maker of the stars and sea  
Become a Child on earth for me?

The answer comes from Constantinople, thousands of miles across land and sea, almost two thousand years across time. "Yes, it's true, yes it's true."

Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει,  
καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπήλαιον τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ προσάγει·

δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγεννήθη  
ἡ παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός.·!

Pr. 1-2, 5-6

St. Romanos the Melodos is still singing.

His first Nativity Kontakion still lights the way to Bethlehem. It is for us to make the journey.

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plains the difference.

Inspired poet and teacher, St. Romanos the Melodos created liturgical poetry unmatched in other Christian traditions. His faith rested on the theology of his church. His poetic genius translated dogma into song. When Romanos sings, he teaches.

Eva Catafygiotu Topping

Cincinnati, Ohio

Jean Chrysostome, *Sur la Vaine Gloire et l'Education des Enfants*. Introduction, critically established Greek text, French translation and notes, by Anne-Marie Malingrey. Sources Chrétiennes Series 188 Paris: Cerf, 1972, Pp. 308. F 55. Paper.

One of the main concerns of Saint John Chrysostom is the education of children by Christian parents of his time. Five of the sermons of the great orator, entitled *De Anna* (PG 54:631-76), devote a large place to this important theme. But there is a specific work which, in the form that has been retained throughout our Christian tradition, reflects many of the educational ideas of the great churchman and saint. This is the work *On Vain Glory and on Children's Education* *Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεάς ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα*. The accepted Latin title since the *editio princeps* [1656] is: *De Educantis Liberis*, or *De Inani Gloria et ut Educandi a Parentibus Liberi*. One should be appreciative of the decision made by the directors of Sources Chrétiennes to include this work in their series, and also of the care and diligence of the editor, Professor Anne-Marie Malingrey, of the University of Lille III, who worked out the edition of this text.

Professor Malingrey presents us with a critical edition of the Greek text, accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* based on the two manuscripts in which the text has been preserved: the *Codex Parisinus Graecus* 764, dating from the beginning of the eleventh century; and the *Codex Lesbiacus Leimon* 42, from the end of the tenth century. The conjectures of previous editions, especially of the *editio princeps* by François Combéfis (1656), the German edition by Franz Schulte (1914), and the Greek edition by Vasileios K. Exarchos (1954), have also been taken into consideration.

The text is preceded by an extensive introduction (pp. 7-62), where the questions of authenticity, date, and manuscriptic tradition are discussed. An analysis of the text and a history of its editions is also part of this introduction. A French translation accompanies the Greek text. An impressive index of Greek words, established with the aid of the computers by the *Laboratoire d'Analyse Statistique des Langues Anciennes* of Liege, Belgium, is an important addition to the book (pp. 199-290). Indices of quotations from Holy Scripture and from ancient authors, together with an index of numerous quotations from the authentic works of Saint John Chrysostom, complete the work of this excellent edition.

This last dossier of quotations from Saint John's works has been presented by the editor in order to support the book's authenticity. In spite of severe attacks by some critics (Oudin, Montfaucon, and especially Moraites), the editor allies herself with those who defend the authenticity of this work (Combéfis, Haidacher, Schulte, Dubner, Hillard, and Exarchos). She offers her own hypothesis about the book, which is "not a homily delivered in church, but rather a lecture given to Christian parents" (p. 40). This hypothesis explains why the text is not as well written, much below the standards of the authentic works of Saint John Chrysostom. The text could be the work of a stenographer, who listened to this lecture of Saint John as he delivered it to a congregation of Christian parents.

The editor dates the work at the end of 393 or the beginning of 394. She finds that the two manuscripts in which the text is preserved depend on a third one, which has been lost. The two do not depend upon each other, but rather supplement each other. Professor Malingrey gives preference to the *Codex Parisinus*. The editor believes that, in comparison with all previous editions, her edition represents "a better presentation of this very interesting text."

As far as the contents of the work are concerned, the first part (pp. 65-96) discusses vain glory and its victims, people both inside and outside the Church. To the Christian audience Saint John states that: "Vain glory is a fire which devours the whole body of the Church, splitting the one body into many members and tearing apart Christian love" (p. 66). This theme of splitting the Church through vanity is one of the greatest worries of the great patriarch: "This is why I am saying and I am witnessing that dividing the Church is not a lesser evil than falling in heresy."

Victims of vain glory are specifically patrons of theaters, and those who like to show off their riches with their furniture, utensils, and vestments. "True dignity," Saint John testifies, "is not to wear nice vestments, but to be surrounded by good works."

Concerning the education of young people ( pp. 97-197), Saint John specifies its purpose, which is "to train a soldier for Christ." The child's soul is compared to wax, a pearl, a tableau, a statue, and a city. To be governed, this city needs laws. There are five doors with access to this city, the five senses. One should know how to keep these doors well guarded for the safety of the city. Citizens of this city are our will, our physical desires, our reasoning. One should learn how to make these citizens good ones, and how to punish the delinquent. By way of digression, Saint John speaks of the use of Scripture in educating children. Here he uses the literal interpretation of the Antiochian school. Saint John also discusses the following themes: the naming of children, preferring names of holy men instead of the children's forefathers (pp. 186-190); how to celebrate a wedding (pp. 194-96), and, finally, how to educate young ladies (p. 196).

It is evident that this work of the great priest of Antioch and Archbishop of Constantinople answers questions of Christian parents in the fourth century. But the question remains, is there any value in this work for contemporary Christian parents? After reading it, one can easily agree with the following statement of Professor Malingrey: "It is precisely their problems and the way in which they are resolved which give to the work its value. Life conditions might have changed, and so it is with the educational methods at certain points. But one finds here a depth of truth which remains the same throughout the ages: it is the extreme sensibility of a child in the presence of impressions coming from the outside; it is the importance of education during his first years; it is the irreplaceable role of a familiar milieu where the child grows, and the love and attention that is needed in order to make him into a man and a Christian" (p. 40).

The overall presentation of the book is excellent. The arguments concerning its authenticity as a work of the great Chrysostom are quite convincing. The Greek text has been well established. The French translation is faithful to the original Greek, except in cases where it is difficult to render it in another language. Then the translator gives a rather free translation of the text.

In ending these remarks, I feel that one should be allowed to offer a few corrections to some errors in the Greek text, due, I believe, principally to typing errors:

§ 18, line 270: *προομίων*, in lieu of: *προομίων*

§ 34, note 3, p. 126: *ῥδὰς*, in lieu of: *ῶδας*

§ 48, line 653: *μή μμοῦ* (my conjecture), in lieu of: *μή μοι*

§ 53, line 709: *μᾶλλον*, in lieu of: *μάλλον*

§ 61, line 763: *ἀρετῆς*, in lieu of: *ἀρετῆς*

§ 69, line 834: *ἀνήρ*, in lieu of: *ἀνήρ*

§ 73, line 897: *τό*, in lieu of: *τόν*

§ 90, line 1067: *ἀγαπῶσω*, in lieu of: *ἀγαπῶσω*

Also, may I suggest the following changes in translation, as our common interest is faithfulness to the original, in this case the Greek text, as established in this excellent critical edition:

§ 15, p. 95: *objets de cuivre*, in lieu of: *bronze*

§ 24, p. 111: *pour approuver*, in lieu of: *accueillir*

§ 24, p. 113: *si les soldats n'utilisent pas leur courage comme il convient*, in lieu of: *n'ont pas le courage qu'il faut*

§ 26, p. 113: *et défend les lois que l'on transgresse*, in lieu of: *sois le juge de ceux qui les transgressent*

§ 28, p. 117: *non pas de façon superficielle, non pas en passant* (or: *ni d'une manière secondaire; παρέργως* comes from *πάρεργον*, à côté de l'oeuvre, not de περιεργάζεσθαι), in lieu of: *ni en les scrutant de façon indiscrete*

§ 30, p. 123: *it sait que l'on lui sera indulgent*, in lieu of: *comment les chose vont se dérouler*

§ 39, p. 133: *L'autre semait et plantait. Tous deux trouvèrent . . .* in lieu of: *L'un semait, L'autre plantait. Ils trouvèrent . . .*

§ 52, p. 151: *lorsqu'il aura atteint dix huit ans*, in lieu of: *dix ans, ou huit ans*

§ 59, p. 157: *Montre lui d'autre part, d'autres belles choses*, in lieu of: *de belles choses*

§ 62, p. 161: *Fais naître en lui la méprise des femmes*, in lieu of: *des nobles pensées au sujet des femmes*

§ 65, p. 163: *la vertu c'est l'intégrité morale*, in lieu of: *maîtrise de soi*

§ 69, p. 169: *pour être à la fois viril (masculin) et doux*, in lieu of: *un homme digne de ce nom*

§ 69, p. 169: *Thymos*, in lieu of: *énergie*

§ 82, p. 191: cela suffit *pour qu'il évite tout danger*, in lieu of: pour assurer complètement sa protection

§ 90, p. 197: pour *maintenir son intégrité morale*, in lieu of: maîtriser ses passions.

It is obvious that the proposed corrections of the Greek and the changes in the French translation do not alter the substance of the text, which remains invaluable in the form given to it by Professor Malingrey.

I wholeheartedly recommend this book to scholars and educators interested in the educational methods used in Antioch and Constantinople during the fourth century of our Christian era. May I also specifically recommend the book to all Christian parents? I am certain that with their predecessors, they face similar problems of the fallen human nature, as they attempt to educate their children in today's society.

Maximos Aghiorgoussis  
*Holy Cross School of Theology*

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## REVIEWS

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*The Graeco-Roman and Oriental Background of the Iconoclastic Controversy.* By L.W. Barnard. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974. Pp. 1974.

A council in 787 and 843 decided on the icons but its historical and theological intricacies are still discussed and digested by historians, theologians, and artists alike. This book is a contribution to the historical understanding of the controversy and of its background. Its many qualities invite a praise and a critique.

For its length, it is comprehensive and informative. For its subject-matter, it is relevant and balanced. For its treatment, it is scholarly and precise. Consider its topics of study: An Introduction to the Iconoclastic Era; Islam and Iconoclasm; The Jews and Iconoclasm; the Graeco-Roman Background and the Image Cult; the Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Controversy; Pagan, Jewish and Christian Attitudes to Images; the Paulicians and Iconoclasm. More sketchy, although interesting, are the last two chapters: Art During the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D.

It is difficult for one to summarize a detailed book. General conclusions are found at the end of the book, while more specific ones appear within each unit-chapter. One can hardly disagree with the main conclusions of the book as to the complexity of the iconoclastic controversy, the role which the Byzantine Army played in the controversy, the repercussions of the Monophysite/Chalcedonian theological clash of the past, the Byzantine-Greek character of the controversy, the lack of proof of a direct 'influence' of Islam, the traditional reference to the Jewish rejection of human representations, the connection between the Imperial actions against the icons and the religious, political and military state of the Empire in the seventh-eighth centuries. Indeed, the controversy in its multi-faceted character had a significant, stimulating impact on the letters and the arts, as well as on the religious sectarianism (especially Paulicianism) and the strain of the relations between East and West.

However, one could take exception to the notion that Emperor worship was one of Leo III's interests, and, thus, a factor for his iconoclastic views and policies—although his reasoning that the military weakness of the Empire during his reign was not unrelated to the popular piety is a conjecture consistent with Leo's personality, and perhaps historically justifiable.

Of particular interest is the observation that "The tragedy of the Iconoclastic controversy lay not simply in an opposition of a magical view of images to a Neoplatonic view. Rather it lay in a different conception of

the relation of the image to its original" (p. 97). One finds weak Barnard's argument that the proclamation itself of the Iconoclastic Council of 754, that the Church allows in herself no foreign elements (Mansi, *Concilia*, XIII, 268), dispels the notion of a Muslim influence on Iconoclasm. "Is it likely," he writes, "that no mention would have been made of Muslim influence if such had in fact occurred . . ." (p. 27). Indeed, it is most likely that, under the circumstances, no Emperor or Council of the State Church would publicly admit an Islamic influence. Leo III was fighting against the Arab Muslims, and they were carrying the most vehement assaults—verbal and military ones—against the Empire. Influence, however, is something that cannot be proven or pin-pointed in space and time; it is a relative factor. For the defenders of the icons, the iconoclastic policies and actions of Leo III and Constantine V were reminiscent of Muslim proclamations and actions. That is why they called those Emperors "Saracen-minded"—certainly a term of abuse and polemics, but one which referred, according to the iconophiles, to historical realities.

Another point of exception with the book is the emphasis that Professor Barnard gives to the affinity between magic and animistic notions on the one hand, and the development of the cult of the icons on the other. "It was in the sphere of magic," he says, "that the most far-reaching developments of the image cult occurred and this caused the distinction between an image and its prototype to be blurred, if not to be entirely eliminated" (p. 54; cf. also 69, 84 and 144). Unfortunately, to a great extent the development of the veneration of the icons is treated in a vacuum from the rest of the life of the Christian community, where piety and religious expression were the *modus vivendi*. Theological thinking and articulation was the animating spirit and an everyday enterprise in the Byzantine society. Worship was elaborate and expressive. Artistic and architectural techniques were at the height of their experimentation and, perhaps, at their peak of maturation. For the Church who sensed its "catholic" (wholesome) character, nothing was to be left unused. It was believed—and articulated by the VII Ecumenical Council (787)—that with Christianity idolatry was abolished, as the one was self-exclusive of the other. The Incarnation of the Logos made possible the representation of God insofar as He became flesh, and it ushered man into a new creation in which material substance also had a share. Idolatry or animism did not enter the mind of the believer, even at the moment of the most extreme use of the icon. Perhaps it did, as it still does, in the mind of an outside observer; but this is of no significance to the believer or to the Church!

It is worth examining the development of the theology of the icon, its



reverence and its artistic expressions, *in conjunction with* the other expressions of the theological maturation of the Byzantine Church, as the "theology in colour." A. Grabar's assertion that the image cult grew out of the earlier cult of relics in the East Roman world—although a partial view of the matter—is, definitely, more contextual and congenial to the Byzantine reality. That is why the veneration of the icons is inherently related to the veneration of saints—and iconoclasm turned against both.

I have found no supporting evidence to the effect that the Christian thinkers who defended the icons had in mind the pagan apologia for images, especially as this is articulated on page 85. Particularly point (d) of this apologia ("The god is fashioned in human form since man is made in the divine image. This symbol proclaims the kinship which unites the divinity and man.") would be too simplistic to have been utilized by the Christian thinkers—defenders of the icons, especially since they were keen to make such elaborate distinctions between essence and hypostasis, nature and person, icon and image or idol, veneration and worship, etc.—all these being new and relevant distinctions because of the Incarnation.

Some minor oversights could be noted here: Sahas' correct title is *John of Damascus on Islam, the "Heresy of the Ishamelites"* (p. 27, n. 37). No title of Ladner's article is given (p. 65, n. 1). The epithet of George Monachus is *Hamartolus* (= the Sinner), a typical self-appellation by a monk, not *Harmartolus* (as it occurs four times on p. 133). The correct reference on p. 133, n. 9 to Vasiliev's *History of the Byzantine Empire* about the old Slav-Russian translation of George's *Chronicle* is (n. 181) 193, not (n. 2) 192-3. It is most unlikely that John of Damascus died in c. 760 (p. 134). The iconoclastic Council of 754 and other evidences point to an earlier date, c. 750. The work of George of Pisidia is *Hexaemeron* (p. 130). Also the word is *οὐσία* (actually *οὐσία*), not *οὐσία* (pp. 93, 95).

This is a book of substance that analyzes and relies upon primary sources and demonstrates a profound knowledge of follow-up studies and secondary literature on the subject.

Daniel Sahas  
University of Waterloo

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**The  
Greek  
Orthodox  
Theological  
Review**



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# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

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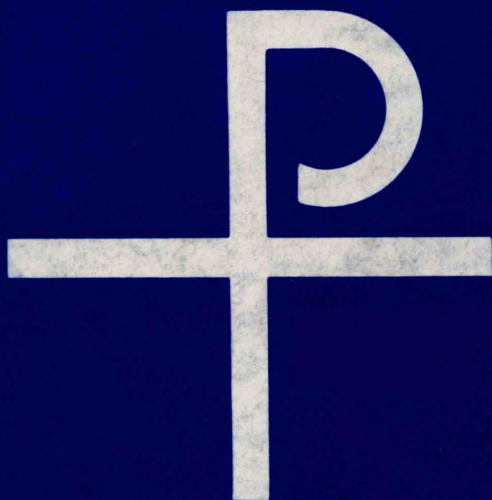
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**The  
Greek  
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Summer 1976



# **The Greek Orthodox Theological Review**

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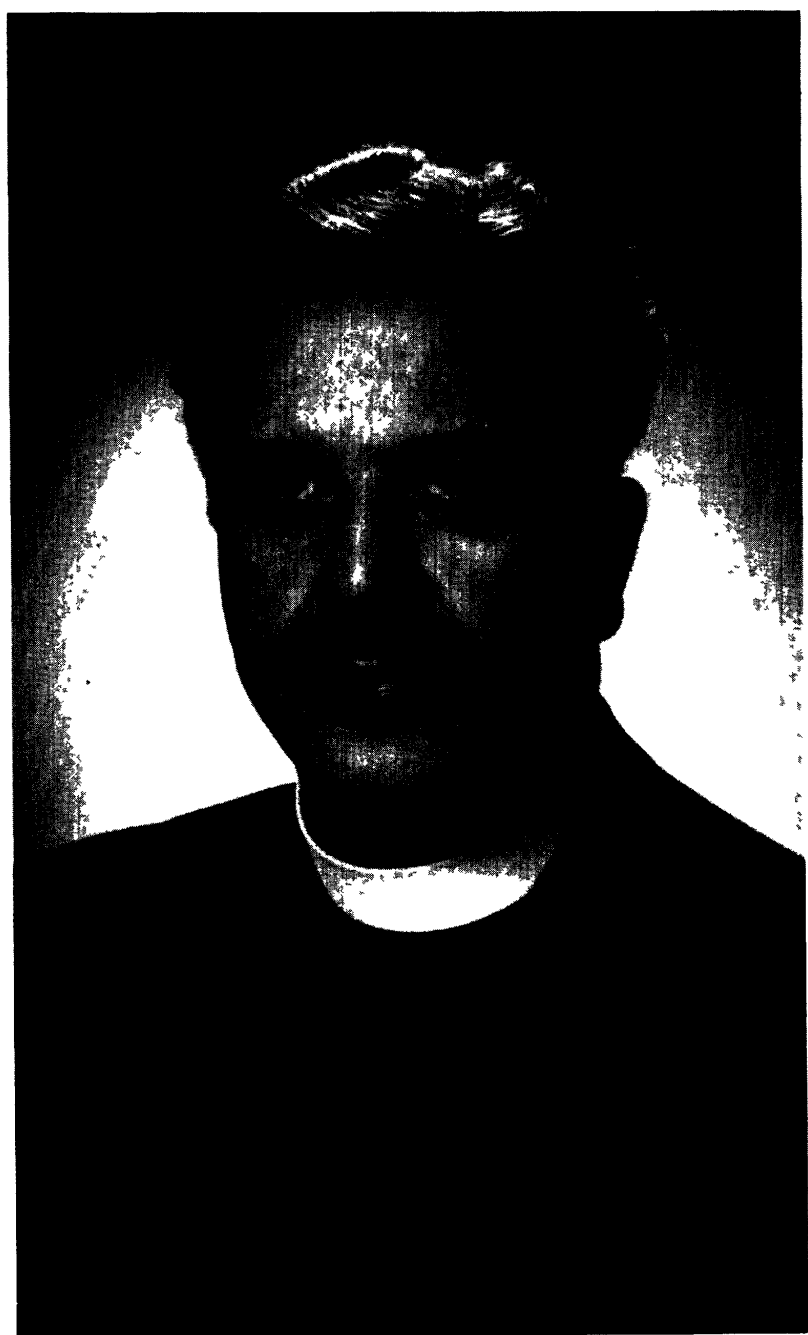
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**This number of *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* is dedicated respectfully to The Very Reverend Doctor George J. Tsoumas, professor of Ecclesiastical History at Holy Cross School of Theology since 1938, by a few of his students on behalf of over four hundred graduates whom he has taught.**

*Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη*



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## REVIEWS

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*Experiential Religion.* By Richard R. Niebuhr. New York: Harper and Row, 1972. Pp. 143. \$5.95.

Theology's task has often been defined in terms of its ability to clarify religion's meaning for its day. The complexity of modern times, however, has inspired few theologians to assess religion's value for contemporary man.

Professor Richard R. Niebuhr's book *Experiential Religion* meets this challenge in his effort to explore and to understand secular man's struggle with faith. This account does not discuss dogmatic categories of believing but describes the welter of how men see and experience faith today.

This book discusses religion and faith "beyond the powerlessness of the too stylized and contracted beliefs of institutionalized Christendom to the experiences itself from which it arises." Thus man is presented in a world of energy which transforms and reminds him that reality is power and that power drives and moves him, healing and shaping him: "He is radial man in a radial world." Dr. Niebuhr does not say that modern man necessarily repudiates the Church but that it is undeniably difficult for man to feel at home in it. He explains that in order for him to live in the Church "he has first to collect himself."

Religious man is understood, here, in quest for orientation and direction amidst the powers which shape him: "Religious man is man taking stock of himself." Faith is explained, here, as man's method of sharing in the economy of his age, accepting and addressing himself as a "suffering being." The faithful experience is knowing that God is in the world. It is one's realization of the "God-ruling." Finally, Jesus is focused upon as the exemplar for modern Christians as he assimilates the enlarging ("joyful") and diminishing ("fearful") powers of human life and manifests the direction towards the true power.

Niebuhr objects to Bultmann's statement, "Man who listens to the radio and who has been shaped by the scientific milieu cannot believe in miracles." He feels that man in this technological age ("radial man," as he calls him) is not necessarily skeptical of the Bible; he *can* believe in miracles but his difficulty is that he is "being asked to take part in too much." The author observes that the world converges upon its citizen, intensely enlarging and diminishing him; in one sweep it brings him before the assassinations in Dallas and Burundi, then, in another, before the civil strife and killing in Saigon and Orangeburg. Modern man thus lies pathetically in the network of "constant contact news" and has no hour of the day, no sabbath rest, when he is not sharing in the abrading or engulfing sensations of other men.

*Experiential Religion* demonstrates how secular man is not only a communicant of the local Church but how "radial society" cultivates his involvement with *all* who do not necessarily share in his religious orientation. Niebuhr points out that our richness is our confusion and that the "manyness" stirs our generation to a pathos for simplicity—which takes form in the plainness of architecture, dress, and theology.

Niebuhr emphasizes that man's response to his world is not merely rational and volitional but affectional as well. He notes that by ignoring the affectional dimension we commit a psychological reduction. Continuing his wholistic thesis of man's faith involvement, he analyzes the varieties of human doubt and inventiveness.

Although this exposition attempts an "objective" treatment of experiential religion, the work has, in fact, a particular theological orientation which in some instances detracts from its purpose and potential application: First, even though the thesis sets out to address "radial man" it draws heavily from the journals and letters of Coleridge, Schleiermacher, Hammarskjöld, Sâtre, and Jonathan Edwards. Would it not have been truer to the author's objectives if he emphasized or at least included data reflecting modern man in faith? Second, Niebuhr scans tradition's value for faith in two pages and concludes with a

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## INTRODUCTION

We are very pleased in this issue of the *Review* to present four of the Bicentennial Lectures delivered at Hellenic College and Holy Cross School of Theology during 1976 and also two other studies on related themes by John E. Rexine and Eva Catafygiotu Topping. As Chairman of the Bicentennial Committee I count it a privilege to have the opportunity to introduce these contributions for the *Review's* readers.

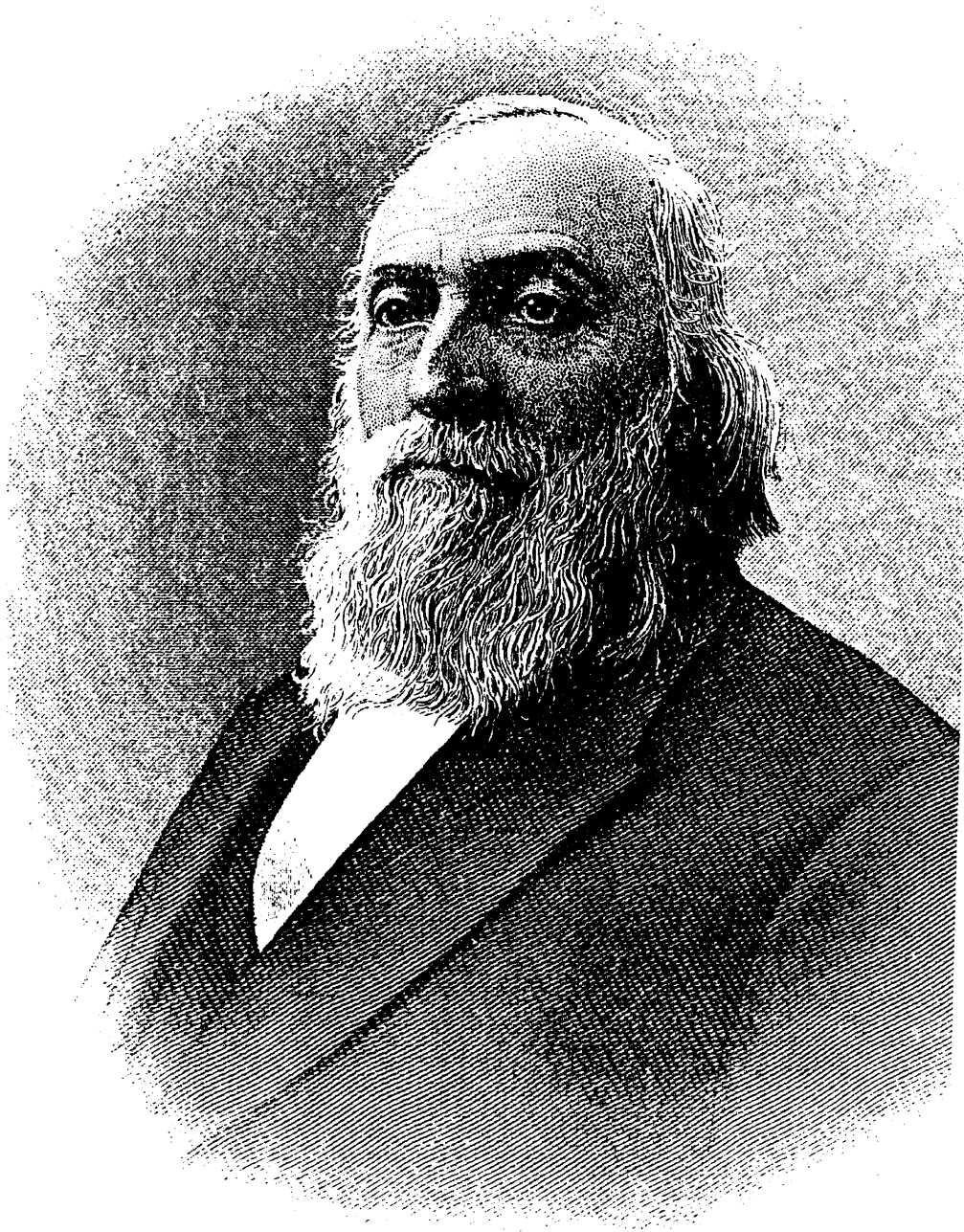
The Bicentennial understandably stimulated various reactions. For many it marked a welcome occasion for festivities, display of the American colors, and travel to historic sites. For others it offered a special opportunity for reflection on the American past—political, economic, social, and religious—in order to lift up the unique values of the American character and/or to address burning problems of contemporary concern. For others still it was an empty ceremony, perhaps even moral travesty, because of the continued grave social and economic injustices at home, on the one hand, and the consistent contradiction of the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence by American policy abroad on the other. No doubt all of these views contain their own elements of truth and are in different ways all legitimate. America is a complex, massive, and even self-contradictory historical and cultural entity. That the Bicentennial should elicit a paradoxical variety of responses is no surprise. Having a realistic view of the divergent currents and cross currents of American society is probably the first prerequisite of a hopeful application of the principles of the American dream, namely, justice, equal opportunity, and the pursuit of happiness for all Americans and other peoples as well. Greek Orthodox Christians, who are making a greater and greater impact on American society in such fields as politics, education, science, business, and others, have their own bonds with and their own views of America.

The articles included in this issue are only a small part of the Greek-American vision of America with no effort systematically to address a single theme or issue. Rather, they offer interesting glimpses of the interaction of American and Greek ideals, both old and new. In the first article John E. Rexine reminds us of the essential connections between the political models of ancient Greece and the formation of the American Constitution. The reader will enjoy insights into the impressive knowledge which the American Founding Fathers had of ancient Greek history and politics. Then, Albert Stone, Jr. refreshingly interprets the life of Samuel Gridley Howe. As Stone shows, partly because of romantic idealism and partly because of hard-nosed dedication to a just cause, Howe contributed precious medical and other services to the struggling Greeks during the 1821 War of Independence. In the third contribution Eva Catafy-

giotu Topping enthusiastically portrays the personality of John Zachos, a most intriguing and noble-minded nineteenth-century Greek-American who was brought to this country as a war orphan by Samuel Gridley Howe and later made pioneering contributions to American education and humanitarian causes.

The remaining articles have a contemporary focus. Michael D. Papa-  
giannis candidly and incisively paints his own personal experience in American higher education, culture, social life, the Greek-American society, and the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States. His personal anecdotes, comparisons of contemporary Greek and American ways and values, observations about the Greek Orthodox Church in America, contain typically both wit and wisdom. Costas M. Prousis sketches an invaluable critical outline of modern Greek literature and poetry in English translation since the nineteenth century and provides rich bibliography on the subject. In the final article Father Stanley S. Harakas compares the relationship of Church and State in the Orthodox tradition and in present-day America and suggests ways in which cooperation between the two in America may be essential.

Greece has had many centennials. America has had only two. But the same noble values and great temptations are found in the history of both: democracy, freedom, equal justice under the law, exploitative foreign policy, abuse of military power, corruption of political authority, and the like. There are many lessons in the age-old Greek experience which Americans of Greek descent in particular have a duty to try to apply in America not only during the Bicentennial year but permanently if these lessons can be learned and be remembered.



John Zachos





In the course of studying the different bilateral conversations we are provided with the context, background, history, terms of reference, purpose, and aims of these conversations. Furthermore, in addition, the program, status, appointment and composition, work, series of discussions, results, co-chairmen and co-secretaries of the groups and their publications are cited. In cases of mergers the characteristics of the new bodies are also specified.

In this work conversations are described on two levels: 1) as conversations at the world level, and 2) as conversations at regional and national levels, within which the part played by Orthodoxy, either as a whole or as local and national Churches, is duly studied.

*Orthodox Contributions to Nairobi.* By Ion Bria and Constantin G. Patelos, eds. Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1975. Pp. 35.

The inter-Orthodox preparatory consultations for the V General Assembly (1975), called by the local Orthodox Churches in cooperation with the related offices at the Ecumenical Center in Geneva, constitute a recent phenomenon of inter-Orthodox cooperation in relation to the World Council of Churches.

These consultations defined the Orthodox positions and responses to the matters for discussion in the V General Assembly at Nairobi. Their reports were incorporated as contributions in the material for Nairobi. They were called at: Bucarest, Rumania, June 4-8, 1974; Crete, Greece, March 7-14, 1975; Lenin-grad, USSR, April 21-24, 1975; Etchmiadzin, Armenia, USSR, September 16-21, 1975. Due to the lack of time available for the publication of this booklet the reports of the last two meetings are not included herein. There are, though, some other reports of meetings related to Orthodox participation in the World Council of Churches.

The new event in the field of cooperation of Orthodoxy with the World Council of Churches could be thought parallel to the various meetings of delegates of member Churches within the wider spectrum of the World Council of Churches.

At the beginning there is an introduction to the book written by the editors (pp. 1-6).

*The Orthodox Church and the Churches of the Reformation. A Survey of Orthodox-Protestant Dialogues.* By the Faith and Order Commission. Geneva: the World Council of Churches, 1975. Pp. vi-101.

Part I of this work, entitled *Survey of Orthodox and Protestant Dialogues Today* (pp. 1-40) and written by Nils Ehrenstrom, contains material available in the work of the same author, *Confessions in Dialogue, 1959-1974*, (third ed., Geneva, 1975). Moreover, it includes the conversations of Lutheran-Orthodox-Reformed Churches in Rumania (pp. 19-23), and, in the Appendix, the contacts between the Church of the Brethren and the USA-Russian Orthodox Church (pp. 26-27).

Part II, *Personal Statements from Orthodox and Protestant Theologians* (pp. 41-100), presents an important critical study and evaluation of the above bilateral conversations. Participating in the discussions are: on the Orthodox side, Dr. Chrysostom Constantinides, Metropolitan of Myra, Professor John Zizioulas, Dr. Constantine Patelos, Fr. Thomas Hopko, Metropolitan John of Helsinki; and on the Protestant side, Prof. Reinhard Slenczka, Dr. Gunther Schulz, Prof. Joseph McLelland, Jean-Jacques von Allmen, Dr. Daniel Martensen.

Ἡ Ἀπολογία τῆς Ἑλπίδος. By N.A. Nissiotis. Athens: n.p. 1975. Pp. 80.

Prof. N.A. Nissiotis, University of Athens, taking as a starting point the theme "Accounting for the hope that is in us" studied at the conference on Faith and Order, Akkra, Ghana, July 23-August 5, 1974, deals in his present study with modern theology, its new form, its new trends, its role for the rapprochement of Christian Churches, and its duty to have constant relations and a living dialogue between faith and the modern spiritual, scientific and ideological world. In doing so he is aware of the crisis, through which theology passes by, and the increasing burden the theologians have to carry in order to fulfill their difficult tasks.

There are two main theological trends: 1) On doing theology, and 2) The eschatological tendency. The first trend is being analyzed as a) contextual theology, b) inductive theology, and



c) theology of the revolution or political theology.

The book of Prof. Nissiotis is an effort to bring to the attention of Greek-speaking Orthodox theologians the above-mentioned movements within the Western world and its theology.

*Πατριαρχική Μεγάλη τοῦ Γένους Σχολή, τόμος Β'.* By Tasos A. Gritsopoulos. Athens: The Library of the Society of Friends of Education, 1971. Pp. xv-487.

Before entering into the main body of his material, Dr. Gritsopoulos gives by way of introduction a historical sketch of his earlier volume which treated the period (1453-1804). Introductions of the same kind are provided for each of the remaining two historical periods which cover the years 1804-1923.

The present study comes to an end with the fall of the Ottoman Empire (1923), while the story of the still-functioning School is told in a space of only three pages (322-24). After the Epilegomena (pp. 325-50), there are the Appendices: Patriarchal and other Documents (pp. 351-452), and the Indexes (pp. 453-77).

The greater part of the present volume is biographical, primarily a prosopography of the directors and the teachers of the School. Mention is also made of the names of students and other persons. Aside from facts about the School, much information on the Ecumenical Patriarchate is available. This is explained by the fact that the Patriarchate was the main patron of Education in this period.

Beginning with the second part of the nineteenth century, the greatest problem the School faced was the tension between tradition and the new trends coming from the West and affecting education. Finally the School adopted the new trends and methods in education. Other problems, which had more or less been positively solved, were location and housing of the School and finding the proper personnel.

*Ἐπιστημολογική Θεώρησις τῆς Θεολογίας.* By Athanasios J. Delicostopoulos. Athens: n.p., 1974. Pp. 208.

In his previous work *Θεολογία, Δημιουργοί καὶ Ὁρόσημα*, (Athens, 1973) Prof. Delicostopoulos spoke about a coming second volume with the title "Theology as a Science," although

the second volume bears a slightly different title "The Epistemological Study of Theology," being an introduction to or an encyclopedia of the same department of knowledge (pp. 8,84). See also Prof. P.N. Trempelas, *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία τῆς θεολογίας*, Athens, 1964.

The book is equally divided into two parts: I. Epistemological Presuppositions of Theology, pp. 9-84, and II. The Departments of Study, pp. 85-186.

In the first volume theology was looked upon as a "spiritual reality existing throughout the centuries:" Here a study is made of "the epistemological elements of theology, with its contents and problems always in relation and in a dialogue with the world of today, the science of other denominations, and with itself (p. 8)." "The contents of the revealed truth constitute the object of theology (p. 17)."

The author follows the classical division of theology into 1) hermeneutic, 2) historical, 3) systematic, and 4) practical theology. He prefers to use the term "historical branch" instead of "historical theology" (p. 114). The discourses on philosophy and psychology of religion, as well as on the history of dogmas and symbolics are included within systematic theology (pp. 132, 147, 151, 153, 157, 160).

He proposes the establishment of schools of theology in Greece, besides those of the universities of Athens and Thessalonike, in the two other newly founded universities of Ioannina and Patras, as well as in those of Crete and Komotine, now in the process of formation (p. 79).

He hopes that the courses on the history of the Orthodox Church and theology could be taught according to strictly academic standards in the West. One should gladly note the invitations to Orthodox theologians and scholars coming from the Western world, the Americas and even Australia, to teach the above courses, an urgent need to be filled by the Orthodox Church and theology, as an act of service and witness to Orthodoxy and Christendom in general.

Vasil T. Istavrides

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Halke, Turkey*







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## REVIEWS

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Ἡ περὶ τοῦ Λόγου θεολογία τῶν κοντακίων Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελωδοῦ. By Alexandros S. Korakides. Athens. 1973. Pp. 179.

The kontakia of St. Romanos the Melodos constitute a unique treasure of Eastern Orthodoxy. In his elaborate metrical sermons the deacon-poet of Constantinople succeeded in welding together *didaskalia* and *poiesis*, an accomplishment claimed by few poets. A complex, hybrid literary form, Romanos' kontakion typically consists of diverse elements: dogma, prayer, exhortation, polemic, side by side with lyrical hymn and doxology, visions of heaven and angelic music, sacred drama, and sensitive psychological portraits of figures from the Holy Scriptures. These seemingly incongruous elements were brought into harmonious design by Romanos' poetic genius and religious zeal. His poetic and religious vision rests on Orthodox theology, which had already been crystallized by the sixth century. Hence it is important to understand how Romanos incorporated theology into his poetic sermons.

In his doctoral dissertation submitted to the theological faculty of the University of Thessalonike, Korakides examines in detail the theology of the Logos in Romanos' kontakia. This work seeks to end the scholarly dispute about the merits and failures of Christendom's greatest liturgical poet as a *theologos*. He has been disparaged by some critics as either uninterested in theology, mediocre, or unoriginal. In his introduction of seven pages (13-19) the author defines the purpose of his book—to prove the theological competency of a true poet dedicated to the service of the church. Korakides divides his study into three chapters. His argument develops from persuasive exegesis of relevant texts from the kontakia.

In the opening chapter (pp. 20-67) Korakides discusses the relationship of the Logos to the Trinity. Romanos is shown to follow closely orthodox Trinitarian dogmas. Accordingly, he emphasizes the precise relation of the Logos to the other two persons of the Trinity, also the pre-existence of the Logos in the Trinity. There is no doubt that Romanos understood and effectively used this abstruse theology.

The second chapter (pp. 68-111) is devoted to Romanos' treatment of the Incarnation of the Logos. Here again Korakides demonstrates Romanos' ability to handle the subtleties of

theology. Aware of the various heresies and Christological controversies that wracked Christendom, the sacred poet exultantly hymns Christ's divinity, and at the same time proclaims His perfect humanity. To defend Orthodoxy and confound its enemies was part of the sacred poet's calling. Theology provided the weapons. Although Romanos' polemics sound stridently unpoetic to the contemporary reader, they were pure music in the ears of his congregation. To praise the *mysterion* of the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ, Romanos borrowed the thought and language of apophatic theology. This chapter also includes a discussion of the role of the Theotokos in the Incarnation.

In the third and last chapter (pp. 112-61) Korakides deals with the soteriological mission of the Incarnate Logos, the dominant theme of Romanos' thirty-four Christological kontakia. The author correctly perceives in the kontakia the indelible imprint of the poet's intense devotion to Christ the Savior. The author discusses at length the significance of several titles given to Christ, among them the "Creator of the Prophets," "Priest of the Universe," and "Most High King." Three events, the Descent into Hades, the Resurrection and the Ascension, are treated in the section on the "Glorified Lord".

After this analysis, Korakides presents his conclusions in understanding and use of theology in his poetic sermons. He rejects the theory that Romanos slavishly imitated the theology of Ephrem Syros, Basil of Seleukia, and Proclus. He reasonably suggests that the deacon-poet was influenced by the great Church Fathers, including Saints Basil of Caesarea and John Chrysostom. He finds no evidence in the kontakia that Romanos was deficient in Christological theology.

To appreciate Romanos' use of theology one must consider the restrictions imposed on him by the fact that the kontakion was a poem as well as a sermon. Detailed theological passages could not be confined to metre. Extraordinary skill was required to weave theology into the design of the poetic sermon. In this art Romanos is an undisputed master. The melodious verses of Romanos made theology comprehensible to the faithful masses throughout the empire. Nor should Romanos be condemned for lack of theological originality. Byzantium never tolerated innovations in theology by sacred poets (or by anyone else), certainly not in the years when Romanos composed kontakia and the pious Emperor Justinian stood vigilant guard over Orthodoxy. Furthermore, Romanos' vocation was that of sacred poet, not theologian. Korakides' book ex-

plains the difference.

Inspired poet and teacher, St. Romanos the Melodos created liturgical poetry unmatched in other Christian traditions. His faith rested on the theology of his church. His poetic genius translated dogma into song. When Romanos sings, he teaches.

Eva Catafygiotu Topping

Cincinnati, Ohio

Jean Chrysostome, *Sur la Vaine Gloire et l'Education des Enfants*. Introduction, critically established Greek text, French translation and notes, by Anne-Marie Malingrey. Sources Chrétiennes Series 188 Paris: Cerf, 1972, Pp. 308. F 55. Paper.

One of the main concerns of Saint John Chrysostom is the education of children by Christian parents of his time. Five of the sermons of the great orator, entitled *De Anna* (PG 54:631-76), devote a large place to this important theme. But there is a specific work which, in the form that has been retained throughout our Christian tradition, reflects many of the educational ideas of the great churchman and saint. This is the work *On Vain Glory and on Children's Education* *Περὶ κενοδοξίας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τοὺς γονεάς ἀνατρέφειν τὰ τέκνα*. The accepted Latin title since the *editio princeps* [1656] is: *De Educantis Liberis*, or *De Inani Gloria et ut Educandi a Parentibus Liberi*. One should be appreciative of the decision made by the directors of Sources Chrétiennes to include this work in their series, and also of the care and diligence of the editor, Professor Anne-Marie Malingrey, of the University of Lille III, who worked out the edition of this text.

Professor Malingrey presents us with a critical edition of the Greek text, accompanied by an *apparatus criticus* based on the two manuscripts in which the text has been preserved: the *Codex Parisinus Graecus* 764, dating from the beginning of the eleventh century; and the *Codex Lesbiacus Leimon* 42, from the end of the tenth century. The conjectures of previous editions, especially of the *editio princeps* by François Combéfis (1656), the German edition by Franz Schulte (1914), and the Greek edition by Vasileios K. Exarchos (1954), have also been taken into consideration.

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*MAXIMOS AGHIORGOUSSIS*

**TOWARDS THE GREAT AND HOLY COUNCIL:  
THE FIRST PRE-SYNODAL PAN-ORTHODOX  
CONFERENCE IN GENEVA**

Geneva, Switzerland, has been recently called the “Capital of Orthodoxy” by the Swiss news media. There is no doubt that Geneva deserves this name because the Pan-Orthodox Conference recently held there is of capital importance for the Orthodox Church.

As a result of this Conference, we know that the Church is finally going to hold a full council, which is long overdue. It was in 1961 that the late Patriarch Athenagoras first spoke of a Council; it has taken fifteen years of preparation, and it might take another five before the convocation of the Council. Yet, 1200 years after the last Ecumenical Council, the Church has finally decided to convoke another General Council. It seems that nothing—not even non-disciplinary evil in the world—will prevent this Council from soon taking place.

All the Orthodox Churches have agreed to designate the Geneva meeting as the “First Pre-Synodal Pan-Orthodox Conference.” Thirteen Orthodox Churches were able to send delegates. Two of the Churches, the silenced Church of Albania and the Church of Georgia, were prevented from sending delegates. The Church of Georgia was unable to participate “for technical reasons,” as it was officially stated. Thus, thirty-six representatives and nineteen theological advisers met in Geneva from November 21 to November 28, 1976 to plan for the “Great and Holy Orthodox Council of the Orthodox Church,” as it will be formally called.

The conference meetings were held at the Orthodox Center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Chambesy, only a few miles away from the downtown area of Geneva. The Center is a modern building constructed upon a hill overlooking Lake Lemman. A spacious modern Byzantine church dedicated to Saint Paul is part of the complex. Both the main liturgical celebrations and the main conference meetings were conducted at this church.

The delegates met in the peaceful and hospitable environment of the Patriarchal Center to discuss the four items on the agenda. The first two items were directly related to the Council: the agenda for the future Council and the procedure to be followed in studying the topics on the agenda. Two other items needed immediate attention: the first was the review and evaluation of the ongoing dialogues with other Churches and Christian communities, and the evaluation of the relationship of the Orthodox Church with the WCC; the second item was the discussion of the possibility of establishing a common date on which Easter would be celebrated by all Christians.

The Conference first attended to the official business of reading congratulatory telegrams from various church leaders, and of listening to the concerns brought to Geneva by the delegates of the Churches. The conference then separated into three committees to study the particular topics. The first committee studied the first two topics which were directly related to the preparation of the Council. The second committee studied the dialogues, and the third committee studied the Easter question.

On the last day of deliberations, Saturday, November 27, the reports of the committees were presented to the plenary session and afterwards were discussed.

The first committee presented its report after long deliberations and hard work. The delegation of the Moscow Patriarchate wanted an extensive list of themes on the agenda of the Council. This would have required long preparation for the Council. The committee, under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Justin of Moldavia, decided instead to adopt the following procedure: only those topics proposed by at least seven of the Churches would be considered. The committee subsequently proposed ten topics for the agenda of the Council.

These topics ranged from the canonical regulations concerning fasting and marriage to unification of the Orthodox jurisdictions in countries where Orthodoxy is a minority; promotion of the Christian ideals of peace, love, freedom, and brotherhood among the nations in decreasing racism. The other items accepted on the agenda were: autocephaly and autonomy and the method of proclaiming them; diptychs (or the ranking of Churches); common calendar; relations of the Orthodox Church with the rest of the Christian world; and Orthodoxy and the Ecumenical Movement.

The committee also proposed that the methodology established by the Fourth Pan-Orthodox Conference be adopted for the preparation of the Council. There was only one modification in reference to the first stage: the texts prepared by the Churches on particular topics would be considered as scholarly studies. Thus, these studies would not be binding for any of the Churches, but would allow for revisions and modifications under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

The report of the third committee was unanimously accepted by the assembly in its first morning session on Saturday.

Archbishop Paul of Finland, chairman of the second committee, presented the report of his committee during the second morning session. As a result of various reactions of the delegates, the report was given to a special committee to be slightly modified, in order to better reflect the views of the Conference. In its final form, the report asked for the continuation of the existing dialogues with the Old Catholics and the Ancient Oriental Churches. It also asked for the continuation of the dialogue with the Anglicans, in spite of the Orthodox Church's opposition to the Anglican ordination of women. All these dialogues should be continued in the hope of promoting Christian unity.

The committee also suggested that the dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church be initiated soon on a Pan-Orthodox level, that a dialogue be opened with the Lutherans, and that the dialogue be extended to the non-Christians.

Finally, with regard to the World Council of Churches, it was recommended that the Orthodox Church retain membership with the purpose of helping the WCC to promote doctrinal unity among Christians, and of preventing it from being entangled with mere politics. It was recommended that more Orthodox members be added to the WCC staff in Geneva, and that the WCC constitution be, in time, revised according to Orthodox ecclesiological principles.

The revised report of the committee was unanimously accepted in the afternoon session.

The third committee presented the last report, which was on the common Easter celebration. Presented by the committee chairman, Metropolitan George of Mount Lebanon, the report suggested that no action be taken at this moment regarding a

common celebration. It also suggested that a special committee be formed, comprised of pastors, canon lawyers, church historians, astronomers, and sociologists to study the question. This committee would make its report available for the next Pre-Synodal Conference, which in turn would submit it to the Council for final action.

After it had received the praises of the Conference chairman, this third report was also unanimously accepted by the assembly.

On the evening of Saturday, November 27, the Conference completed its work in exaltation and the spirit of Pentecost. Brotherly love and Orthodox unity prevailed. The presence of the Spirit was very much felt, specifically during the last day of deliberations of the Conference. Many of the obstacles which seemed difficult to overcome—such as the position of the Moscow Patriarchate on the agenda question—were finally overcome by the spirit of true Christian brotherhood and love. During the first days some journalists ‘prophesied’ the failure of the Conference due to political difficulties. Metropolitan Meliton had denounced these ‘prophecies’ as false prophecies. The Conference chairman always trusted in the Spirit of God which guides the Church to guide the Conference. He trusted that the Spirit’s power would finally prevail over human frailties. The Spirit of God did indeed triumph: the greatest of His gifts, love, was in the hearts of the members at the conclusion of the Conference.

The Council is now on its way. Most of its work will be done before the Council convenes. According to the Council’s methodology—procedures for studying the topics and preparing for the Council—consensus among the Churches will be built up during the preparation period.

Each Church was assigned up to three agenda topics for study. The Churches were asked to send their studies to the Secretariat in Geneva within a year, but preferably within six months. All the Orthodox Churches will receive these studies, and will react to them. A Second Pre-Synodal Pan-Orthodox Conference will be convened to discuss the results of the work of the Churches. If this Conference feels that the work is adequate, it will indicate that the Council can be convened. If not, more work will be required by the Churches in order to reach the consensus needed. In that case, a Third Pre-Synodal Conference will be in order to finalize the dossier for the Council.



It is evident that this preparatory work is very important, since the decisions of the Council must be unanimous according to the traditional rules concerning Orthodox Councils.

As far as the Council's agenda is concerned, it is understandable that some of the Churches might still not be fully satisfied with the topics put on this agenda. Yet, for now, we can be satisfied with having a council as soon as possible. As Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon observed, after a long moratorium the restoration of the institution of councils is in itself of utmost importance, regardless of the agenda. Once the mechanism has been established, it can be used when needed. What is imperative is to establish this mechanism and to initiate its use. Thus, we can hope for even better things in the future.

Conciliarity is one of the main dimensions of the life of the Church. It exists at all levels beginning with that of the parish and culminating with that of the entire Orthodox Church. The consciousness of the Church expresses itself in all instances of conciliar action. The Church can survive even without General Councils when Regional Synods are convoked; yet it is important for the Church as a whole to have the General Council convened from time to time in order to deal with problems facing the entire Church. General Councils are necessary for the constant renewal of the Church. The consensus of the entire Church expressed in these General Councils is required in order to foster more unified Christian action among the particular Churches and more unified Christian mission in the world. This consensus is all the more important as it bears the seal of the Holy Spirit of God guiding the Church in the Council.

Faithful to the injunctions of the Holy Spirit and guided by Him, the Church must continue to speak to man in all times and meet his spiritual needs, leading him to salvation in Christ. As Metropolitan Meliton said, through the Council the Church today has decided to meet its responsibilities, both towards God and towards man. In carrying out its saving mission in the world, the Church has decided to serve man "regardless of race or religion," to serve "not only the man of the third world . . . but also the man whom we would like to call the 'man of the fourth world': man of the one and undivided world, man who is created by God and whom God encountered in Christ, true

man . . .” It is this man “for whom Christ was sent and came into the world” and “for whose salvation Christ died and rose again” (Metropolitan Meliton of Chalcedon, “Homily at the Beginning of the First Pre-Synodal Pan-Orthodox Conference,” Chambesy, 21 November 1976).

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## REVIEWS

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*Transfigurations: Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography.* By Anthony Cutler. University Park and London: the Pennsylvania State University, 1975. Pp. xvi, 158; 107 figs. \$22.50.

Ever since the time of Vasari, critics and admirers of Byzantine art have been aware of its formulaic qualities, and have observed how certain details of composition tend to repeat themselves across the spectrum of Byzantine iconography, from scene to scene, and from century to century. Dr. Cutler's book examines this aspect of Byzantine art through three essays, each devoted to a different element of Byzantine iconography: the lyre-backed throne, the attitude of *proskynesis*, and the Virgin on the city walls. The work opens with a brief introduction, which links the three apparently disparate subjects in terms of the purposes and methods of the author's research. Dr. Cutler's stated aim is to answer the problem of whether meaning inheres in the individual motifs, or whether they only acquire meaning in combination with other motifs when presented as a total scene, such as the *Anastasis*. His method of enquiry is to trace the formal origins and subsequent transformations of each of his chosen iconographic details, and to demonstrate modulations in their meanings.

In his first essay, on "The Lyre-Backed Throne" (pp. 5-52), Dr. Cutler finds that in the pre-Iconoclastic period this piece of furniture, according to his definition of it, "...is reserved for Christ either alone or supported by the vehicle of his incarnation." He feels that the artists and die cutters who depicted lyre-backed thrones were not trying to reproduce an actual imperial throne at Constantinople, but that they were illustrating a concept, that of divine harmony, which had its pagan origin in the myth of Orpheus and his lyre. However, in the post-Iconoclastic period the throne appeared in more varied contexts, and by the middle of the eleventh century the original significance of the throne had begun to be forgotten.

The second essay, entitled "Proskynesis and Anastasis" (pp. 53-110), gives to the term *proskynesis* a broad definition, including various genuflecting and kneeling poses, which

are explored through a wide range of periods and contexts, from the defeated captives on the obelisk base of Theodosios to Adam and Eve in the wall painting of the *Anastasis* in the Kariye Camii. Dr. Cutler considers that to the Byzantines *proskynesis* indicated an attitude of mind, which could be expressed through a variety of physical postures. In works of art these variant gestures of *proskynesis* were interchangeable; the precise pose was determined not by subject nor by date, but often by the requirements of the composition, or even by the artist's whim.

The last essay, devoted to "The Virgin on the Walls" (pp. 111-141), is a set of variations on a theme suggested by Palaeologan coins which show the Virgin surrounded by the walls of Constantinople. In this section Dr. Cutler presents a brief sketch of the Virgin's association with gates and fortifications, both in Byzantium's history and its art.

Dr. Cutler's book makes valuable contributions to the study of Byzantine iconography, particularly in his discussion of the variant forms of *proskynesis*, but his work also illustrates some of the unavoidable difficulties which attend research in this field. One of these difficulties is the necessity for the modern scholar to base his conclusions on a very small fraction of the original artistic output of the Byzantine empire. This problem is especially acute in the case of pre-Iconoclastic art. Thus Dr. Cutler, excluding the imperial double thrones which appear on coins, maintains that in the pre-Iconoclastic period his "lyre-backed throne" was reserved for Christ or the Theotokos. But since he is drawing his deduction from only five surviving works of art, one wonders whether a larger sample might not have produced some exceptions to this rule.

Another difficulty faced by the iconographer is to guard against the creation of classifications which reflect his own mental processes, rather than those of the artists he is studying. In his introduction Dr. Cutler acknowledges this danger, yet he cannot altogether avoid it in his text. For example, a crucial point in his discussion of the thrones is his distinction between the true "lyre-back," with upright supports describing serpentine double curves, and simpler throne backs with single curves. However, as Dr. Cutler himself observes, at least one Byzantine artist blurs this distinction. The illuminator who portrayed the Emperor Julian on folio 374v. of the Gregory manuscript in Paris, B.N., gr. 510 (fig. 23), depicted a throne with a composite

back, having on the left side a single curve, and on the right side a serpentine profile.

Finally, the historian of Byzantine iconography is presented with the task of determining when the repetition of a motif or figure type in two apparently separate contexts is merely a matter of artistic convenience, and when it carries a deeper significance. This problem is illustrated by another page from the Paris Gregory (folio 226v., fig. 50), which shows Moses striking the rock, and the people kneeling prostrate beside the flowing water. Here it is hard to determine whether the Israelites' kneeling poses were just intended to show the action of drinking from the stream, or whether, as Dr. Cutler suggests, they bore a further meaning, of *proskynesis* or reverence for the living waters flowing from the Rock as a symbol of Christ. In other cases, however, Dr. Cutler can convincingly demonstrate from texts that the Byzantines intentionally repeated the same figure type in two different contexts, in order to express visually a connection in theme or subject matter. A striking example is the parallel between the genuflecting poses of Adam raised from Limbo in portrayals of the *Anastasis*, and of Peter saved from the waves in the Walking on the Water, poses which were specifically linked as images of redemption by the Byzantine ecclesiastic Mesarites, in his *ekphrasis* of the mosaics in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.

The book is neatly produced, but there appear to be several misprints, particularly in the Greek texts cited in the notes.

Henry Maguire

*Dumbarton Oaks*

*Agape: An Ethical Analysis.* By Gene Outka. New Haven: Yale University Press; 1972. Pp. 321. \$15.00

This book is an ethical analysis of the concept of Christian love or agape from the point of view of a writer deeply indebted to a protestant theological stance, but who seeks to objectively analyze the idea of love in terms of its logical, rational, philosophical, and theological implications and consequences. Of the eight chapters, the first and the last serve best to articulate

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## TRIBUS AGATHAS (THE GOOD WAY)

Eric Werner

### PRECIS

The continuity of the Old and New Testaments is emphasized in much of the symbolism of Orthodox church architecture. Orthodox liturgy also reflects many Jewish elements. Even the martyrology and the practice of pilgrimages parallels Jewish usage. The iconoclasm controversy unfortunately brought about a cleavage between Judaism and Orthodox Christianity, although there continued to be a relatively peaceful coexistence up until recent times. The author points out similarities in Orthodox and Jewish poetry, external gestures of prayer, and hymnology as examples of the close contact between the two communities in earlier ages.

A historian of religion who reflects on the relations of the Byzantine-Orthodox church to Judaism will first remember the profound symbolism that pervades everything that church has touched. He or she might compare, for instance, the symbolism which the Jewish sources, beginning with Josephus Flavius, attributed to every detail in the Temple of Jerusalem with the symbols that are integral elements in the very architecture of Orthodox churches. That the builders were aware of the resemblance is apparent when we quote the Emperor Justinian, "I have conquered thee, O Solomon," after the erection of the Hagia Sophia.

The church is oriented toward the East, the origin of light, just as is the synagogue; the two courts before the main hall (*náos*) remind one of the two courts of the Temple. The strict separation between priests and laity—or between the altar and the profane world—reminiscent of the separation between "the holy and the profane" is created by the *iconostasis* or "wall of icons." This institution symbolizes the victory over iconoclasm, the decisive event. Only the Byzantine Emperor and the Russian Czar were excepted from the prohibition to go into the sacred room which, like the Holy of Holies, was covered by a curtain, and was accessible only to the High Priest. Almost all the symbols which Philo explains can be found, but the resemblance ceases in the *hieron*. It is usually connected by three portals in the *iconostasis*, of which the central one is the "King's Door." The curtain usually contains a painting of St. Michael with flaming sword, symbolizing the angels who similarly guarded the entrance to Paradise. The main altar is called *bima* (from Greek *baino*), and we Jews have borrowed this designation of the main pulpit. In the

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church it represents the royal throne of Christ. Its covers represent Christ's shroud, the robe, and the *sudarium*. This connects the main altar with the *antiminsion*, a precious drapery into which sacred relics are woven. The cross lying on the altar is said to symbolize the staff of Moses, and the image of the gospels recalls the two tablets of the Law. Thus the continuity from the Old to the New Testament is constantly emphasized. In fact, even the architectural division of the church by the *iconostasis* is interpreted allegorically, as in the Temple.

The vivid drama of the Orthodox liturgy, too, contains many Jewish elements of post-biblical origin; I shall mention a few, for it is still generally believed that the Jewish element in the Eastern churches is exclusively limited to Old Testament quotations. This is an error and the following items may prove this point:

(1) The last three psalms of the Psalter, called *ainoi*, form part of the Sunday matin; this practice goes back to the period before 150. At that time R. Yose Bar Halafta observed it as a desirable custom to chant the last six psalms, and there is evidence that the custom was instituted in the ancient synagogue.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The *Trisagion* as well as the *hymnos epinikios* can be traced back to the synagogal morning prayer, called in Hebrew *yotzer*, and its subsequent sanctification, which is found at the corresponding place in the Roman liturgy as *Tersanctus*. Although *Trisagion* and *Anaphora* can be exactly matched in every traditional Hebrew prayerbook, and although they also appear in the eighth book of the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, it must be emphasized that all these texts are post-biblical, even if they occasionally paraphrase biblical passages.

(3) The third point is probably well-known to Christian scholars; it concerns the benedictions over wine and bread in the Didaché. I know that Christian scholars debate whether these prayers introduced the *eucharistia* or the common meal of the *agapé*; for our purpose this question is irrelevant, but passages from the text do concern us. I shall quote only two short passages which have assumed a new significance during the last twenty-five years:

IX (#5) "Let no one eat or drink from your Thanksgiving but those who have been baptized into the Name of the Lord. For concerning this also the Law said: Give not that which is holy unto the dogs."

X (#1) "And after you are satisfied, you shall give thanks thus." The invitation, indeed the demand, to give thanks after a meal is even today still a part of the Hebrew prayer after a meal. Prof. Baumstark, whom nobody can accuse of Judaeophilia, called the blessings of the Didaché "a Christianization of the essentially Jewish benedictions over bread

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<sup>1</sup>B. Sabb, 118 b; also Sofer, XVII. 11.

and wine and the sayings of grace after a meal. . . . The Roman formula of the invitation, *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostra*, is nothing but a literal translation of the same prescription of the *Mishna* for the prayer after a meal, when at least 10 male persons are present."<sup>2</sup>

Neither in Hippolytos' *Paradosis* nor in later sources were pagans or even catechumens permitted a "table-fellowship" with the faithful members of the church. This principle was a strict rule in the order of *Qumran*, and the Dead Sea Scrolls clearly state this principle three centuries before the Didaché.

(4) The oldest calendaric martyrology has recently been re-edited in Latin; it is a Syro-Byzantine document, and has been published under the title "Breviarium Syriacum seu martyrologium Syro-Byzantinum, juxta Cod. SM. Mus. Brit., Add. 12150." It was critically edited by Bonaventura Mariani, O.F.M., Rome, 1956. The colophon of manuscript gives the year 411, but there is evidence that it is slightly older. It opens with the words (translated from Latin):

In the first month according to the Greek calendar, we remember the confessors of faith whose remnants were buried in Antioch, namely in Cherateia; they are the sons of Smuni, they are mentioned in the book of Maccabees.<sup>3</sup>

The name *Smuni* has correctly been explained by Prof. Bacher as Syriac for Hashmonai, the Hasmonean. The date of their martyrdom, August 1st, was universally accepted by all Christian churches—a rare exception, because usually local saints or martyrs enjoy priority. In later centuries the Roman Church celebrated August 1st as the feast of St. Petrus in *vinculis*. The martyrology contains another name, well known in Jewish history, that surprises us: it is the name of Ananias. There were quite a number of sages by that name, but possibly only one martyr known to Byzantine writers: Rabbi Hanania ben Teradion. Two other Ananias are known: one bishop of Damascus, the other a Jew who recognized Jesus at the cross and was stoned.

At the time when the first martyrology to be ordered calendarically was compiled, Ananias was either considered a Judeo-Christian, or he was confused with a Christian missionary of the apostolic age. I have mentioned this in order to demonstrate how institutions such as hagiolatry or even names of saints were originally common to Christianity and Judaism. Later I shall name a much more famous Greek saint who came from Jewish parents and never forgot his origin.

<sup>2</sup>M. Berakot, VIII, 3. Cf. A. Baumstark, *Liturgie Camparee*, ed. by Dom Botte, O.S.B. (Paris, 1953).

<sup>3</sup>E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Supplem. vol. to be published in Spring, 1977, by Dennis Dobron, London.

Until a decade ago, when I began the research on this problem, I was convinced that the custom of pilgrimages to the graves of martyrs and the celebration of the anniversaries of their death was specifically Christian, inasmuch as the entire hagiolatry derives from them. How great was my surprise when I discovered, very much *contre coeur*, that all these customs were of Jewish ancestry, before they were adapted by Christianity! For the exact historical and philological proofs of this statement I must refer to the supplementary volume of my *Sacred Bridge*.<sup>4</sup> Here I shall mention only the most important points.

The practice of celebrating the anniversary of a martyr's death can be traced, in Judaism, to the first Christian century and even before. From a strictly historical point of view the earliest reliable references to Jewish martyrdom always name the so-called *Maccabean* martyrs first. Another instance, linking Jewish and Christian literature, is the Ascension of Isaiah. This apocryphal book, written by Jewish authors of the first century, is of no historical significance, but a biblical fairy tale about the martyrdom of the prophet Isaiah, culminating in Isaiah's vision of the heavens, of God, and his dialogue with the Holy Ghost.<sup>5</sup> The next martyrs, in chronological respect, after Ss. Stephen, Peter, and Paul, were James the "Brother of Christ" and R. Yose ben Yoezer, both law-observant Jews.<sup>6</sup>

Without discussing the different *theological* interpretations of martyrdom in Judaism and Christianity, we turn to the *liturgical* significance of martyrs and saints. It began with pilgrimages to, and prayer at, their graves. Of the frequently visited graves prior to the Christian era, I mention those of Isaiah, David, Joshua, Aaron, Pinhas, and Eleazar, son of Aaron. They are seriously believed to be the true resting places of biblical persons.<sup>7</sup> Of post-biblical heroes the graves of the so-called Maccabean martyrs were most venerated; then follow some graves of rabbinic scholars of the second century, especially that of R. Shimon bar Yohai; this place in Meron is still visited every year on the 18th of Iyar, the *lag b'omer*, by many thousands of devout Sephardic and Oriental Jews, and the night of this anniversary is celebrated with torches, prayers, dances, and the first haircuts of newly-born sons.

The anniversary bears the Aramaic name of Hillula de R. Shimon bar Yohai, hinting at the harmonious union of the world effected by the Rabbi's death.<sup>8</sup> Usually these pilgrimages to the graves were believed to be effective, for the dead saints were considered good advocates of just causes before God. This idea was abhorrent to most of the talmudic sages, but not to all; R. Hanina seems to express the popular sentiments in saying: "Why

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>See H. W. Surkau, *Martyrien in jüdischer und frühchristlicher Zeit* (Göttingen, 1938).

<sup>6</sup>See *ibid.*, p. 34; also J. Chag, II, 2.

<sup>7</sup>J. Jeremias, *Heiligengraber in Jesu Umwelt* (Göttingen, 1958), pp. 114-116.

<sup>8</sup>Cf. Zohar, see art. Simon bar Yochai in *J.E.*

does one visit the cemetery? So that the dead ones may pray for mercy.”<sup>9</sup>

(5) Of practical importance is the institution of the Byzantine *Octoich* (*oktōēchos*). This system of eight modes of music was originally connected with the calendar device called *pentakontade*, the unit of seven weeks plus one day, containing together eight Sundays or feast-days. It has been traced back to ancient Babylonian and Jewish institutions; these calendaric arrangements play a considerable part in the psalms, where the eighth mode is specially stressed and Ps. 119 consists of a nine-fold alphabetic acrostich.<sup>10</sup>

The *pentakontade* was used by the Jewish sect at Qumran, and the so-called temple-scroll, which has not yet been published, contains some details on the principle of the *Octoich*. Thereafter it appears in Christianity, first in the “Plerophorai” of *Yohanan Rufos* in the convent of Mayuma near Gaza in the fifth century; the passage referring to the musical *Octoich* can be found in the eighth volume of the *patrologia Orientalis*, where the treatise of *Yohanan* is published. Later the great collection of hymns by St. *Serverus* and *Johannes Damaskenos* bear the name of *Octoich*.

Considering so many ideas and practices, so much of common ground, one might expect that the Orthodox Christians and the Jews of the Near East and Russia were bound together by strong spiritual ties. Alas, it was not to be! For a fundamental conflict between the two faiths ruined all chances of a peaceful symbiosis: the watershed of iconoclasm! And this revolution did not, as is generally believed, erupt suddenly in the eighth century, for there were many precedents and portents. One of the most interesting champions of the iconoclastic spirit, a full four centuries before the outburst, was the Church Father *Epiphanius*, bishop of *Salamis*, who died, a very old man, in 403. This *Epiphanius* had written a letter to *St. Jerome* (in Greek), which *Jerome* translated into Latin and which is found in his *epistolae*. The letter was written by *Epiphanius* in his seventy-eighth year—it shows him as a ruthless fighter, an aggressive puritan. I quote one passage:

I came to a villa called *Anablatha* and, as I was passing, I saw a lamp burning there. Asking what place it was and learning that it was a church, I went in to pray and found there a curtain hanging on the door of . . . that church, dyed and embroidered. It bore an image either of Christ or of one of the saints; I do not rightly remember whose image it was. Seeing this, and being loth that an image of a man should be hung up in Christ's Church contrary to the teaching of Scripture, I tore it asunder and advised the custodians of the place to use it for a winding sheet for some poor person.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>B. Ta'an, 16a.

<sup>10</sup>E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, Vol. I, 1959, pp. 189-190, 373-374; also in HUCA, 1948.

<sup>11</sup>St. Jerome, *Epistolae* 51 and 57.

This was by no means an isolated incident; for the same Epiphanius left three treatises or pamphlets. The first was an essay against any form of images; this pamphlet remained unsuccessful, and the indomitable Epiphanius wrote a letter to the Emperor Theodosius I in which he complained that all his attempts against the manufacture of images were futile. In his opinion the walls of a church should be without paintings and remain pure white; new mosaics should not be allowed in the churches. When this epistle was without visible effect, Epiphanius resorted to a last opportunity: he wrote a last will and testament in which he implored his own community not to place images of Christ or of saints in churches or cemeteries, but to bear the image of God in their hearts. Perhaps I should mention now that his parents were pious Palestinian Jews.

About three centuries later another highly colorful incident occurred during the Second Council of Nicea in 787:

In its Fifth *actio* a Jew is quoted as believing in Christ, but who could neither accept nor tolerate the images in the Christian Churches. Confronted with evidence of similar practices in Jewish worship, he changed his mind.<sup>12</sup> At that occasion a miracle-story that culminated in the Jew's conversion is hinted at.

These miracle-stories connected with Jews and Judaism became a popular part of the Byzantine literature during and after the iconoclastic tempest. In some instances they offer interesting glimpses into the symbiosis of Jews with their Greek environment.

More important for our topic is the often repeated accusation that the Jews stirred up the iconoclastic conflict in order to ruin or at least to hurt Christianity. Indeed, there is some evidence that Byzantine Jews at least sympathized with the iconoclasts; there survives a poem (called) *Piyut* in Hebrew, from *poiētēs*, for the main service on New Year's Day, that glorifies the universal God, and contains the passage:

All shall come to serve thee and bless thy glorious Name,  
Declare thy righteousness among all *the isles*  
They shall also offer their sacrifices to thee alone  
They shall cast away their *images*, be ashamed of their graven idols, inclined to serve thee with one accord. . . .

This anonymous poem seems to have been written in the Eastern Mediterranean during the eighth century. As do most Hebrew poems written at that time, it contains traces of the then usual Syro-Byzantine meter, the so-called isosyllabism, another indication of the Byzantine influence. Some of the furor of the iconoclastic struggle has remained in certain parts of the Greek liturgy, e.g., the anathema on the ring-leaders

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<sup>12</sup>*Collectio Conciliorum Amplissima*, ed. Mansi, XIII, p. 166.

named Lizix, Theodotus, and Johannes. In Lent their names are anathematized and with them "their mode of thinking as the Jews do."<sup>13</sup> During the first Sunday of Lent the synodicum is read. It consists of the decisions of the Second Nicaean Council against iconoclasts. At that occasion a strange memory is conjured up: the blessings and curses that are pronounced and "deposited" at the mounts *Hebal* and *Gerizim* respectively, referring to Josh. 9. In Czarist Russia, when this synodicum was read, curses against any revolutionaries, anarchists, etc., were added. On the third Sunday Christ is praised for holding the Ismaelite people in subjection by his power.<sup>14</sup>

After the Easter Sunday there is general jubilation, and "who doesn't eat and drink freely without sadness during the first week, but spends it according to Jewish custom in sadness, he should be cursed according to the Holy Fathers!"<sup>15</sup> Did the Jews mourn after the Easter Sunday, or was it on account of their own calendar that they behaved soberly and gravely? It is an interesting question and, as far as I know, nobody has tried to answer it. While the role of Islam is not stressed in the church literature, the iconodules had no doubts concerning the responsibility of the Jews. As a countermeasure they hit upon the idea of conversion of Jews by miracles performed by the help of images.<sup>16</sup> Needless to say, neither faith persuaded the other. The church continued to venerate images; the Jews refused any hagiolatry.

The motifs of the miracle-conversions of Jews are rather monotonous: an image is desecrated or even attacked by a Jew and begins to bleed, often leading to the person of the attacker, who is either persuaded and converted or else killed. Of course, some of the Byzantine miracles were matched by Jewish ones. Nor did the Jews lack imagination. One of their stories has it that R. Hananel of Oria in Byzantine Italy, was challenged by a bishop, around the year 1000, to prove the superiority of Jewish calendrical calculations over Christian by predicting exactly the day and hour of the next entrance of the New Moon. Hananel agreed to accept Christianity if he calculated less accurately than the bishop. He made a mistake in reckoning, but the moon did him the favor of appearing at the wrong, but predicted hour.<sup>17</sup> These tactics did not help too much for, after 1000, a number of Byzantine emperors, beginning with Basil I, decreed the forced baptism of many Jews.

After the storms of iconoclasm subsided, the spiritual climate sharply

<sup>13</sup>Max, princeps Sax., *Praelections de liturgiis Orientalibus* (in Latin) (Freiburg, 1908), pp. 94-95.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>16</sup>E.g., Combefis De Maximo miraculo, in *Historia Haeresis Monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648), John of Nikious.

<sup>17</sup>*Sefer Yuhasin*, ed. by Neubauer, II (Oxford, 1895), pp. 120-121; transl. J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire*, no. 68.

worsened for the Jews. And so it remained until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Yet there occurred an event a few centuries before which might have opened some of the simple Greek folks' eyes: the sack of Byzantium by the Crusaders at the beginning of the thirteenth century, unsurpassed by anything the Moslem conquerors did. This catastrophe sealed the fate of Byzantium, but it had one benefit for the Greek church: it enforced a de facto separation of church and state, and it can be said that even under Moslem rule the Orthodox Church thrived, not only in the Near East, but in all of Eastern Europe.

Before discussing the common ground in liturgy and poetry, I should like to tell you one of the most charming stories of the Judaeo-Byzantine symbiosis; it might be called, after Professor Parkes, "Merchant of Byzantium." I shall follow Parkes' outline, which describes the social climate of Jews in Constantinople very well indeed.

The Christian Theodore loses his fortune with the wreck of his fleet. He goes to his Christian friends to raise money. They refuse to lend it, and he remembers Abraham, a Jewish merchant, who had frequently desired to share his ventures, and to whom he had consistently refused this participation. After some negotiations Abraham consents to the loan if surety can be found. Theodore returns to his Christian friends—who categorically refuse him any security or guaranty whatsoever, as they do not wish to get even indirect commerce with an unbelieving Jew. Theodore, depressed, goes and weeps in a church—the ancient synagogue which Emperor Theodosius II had taken from the Jews. There an image tells him that it will be the guarantor. Abraham, amazed by his faith, accepts the guarantee of the image, and after initial failure his loan leads to the re-establishment of Theodore's fortunes. Impressed thereby, Abraham is converted and later identified with a subsequent abbot.<sup>18</sup>

One may describe the attitude of the Orthodox Church toward the Jews as ambivalent. Judaism as religion, as ethical foundation, was deeply suspect to the Church and was considered its hereditary and dangerous rival and enemy; the Jews, on the other hand, were citizens. If they were second class citizens, they still did not live in perennial fear of death and expulsion, as outcasts and pariahs, as did the Western Jews. Strangely, this ambivalence is evident even in some liturgical forms and their champions. I shall confine myself to the two most typical forms of Greek liturgical poetry and their two great *melodoi*, St. Romanos and St. Andrew of Crete. Both men are said to have been converted Jews; in the case of Romanos this has been demonstrated beyond any doubt; in the case of St. Andrew it is nothing but a legend.

The two main forms of the old Byzantine liturgy were the *Kontakion*

<sup>18</sup>James Parkes, *The Conflict between Church and Synagogue* (London, 1935), p. 294.

and the *Kanon*. The former is a kind of versified dialogue in 20-40 stanzas; sometimes it is preceded by a *proasma* or *prosomoion* from which the Hebrew term *Pizmon* might have been derived. The greatest master of the *Kontakion* was Romanos, who died about 555 in Constantinople. He was the son of pious Jewish parents who lived in Beirut, where he was born. In one of his most celebrated *Kontakia* he elaborates on a complex of eschatological visions, based upon rabbinic sources. In this celebrated poem on the reappearance of Christ, he comes very close to an equally great Hebrew hymn on the day of judgment, called *Unetanne Tokef*. The oldest manuscript of this *piyut* comes from the eighth century. The common sources seem to be Daniel VII and the Tosefta *Rosh hashana*. For further examination I must refer to my *Sacred Bridge* or to my study on Oriental Christian hymns in HUCA, Jubilee volume.

How closely related Orthodox and Hebrew poetry sometimes appears to be may be seen by comparing one stanza of the "*Kanon of the Bodyless Ones*" by Joseph Studites (died 883) with a poem by the greatest Hebrew poet after the biblical age, Yehuda ha-Levi, who lived in Spain during the twelfth century. The Greek text comes from J. McNeale's collection, *Hymns of Eastern Churches* (London, 1876); the Hebrew text (in my translation), from ha-Levi's *Divan*, no. 45. Both poems go back to the same scriptural motif, Job 38:7.

*Joseph Studites*

Stars of the morning, so gloriously bright  
Filled with celestial resplendence and light,  
They, whose night never followeth day  
Raise the Trisagion ever and aye  
These are Thy counsellors: These dost  
thou own,  
God of Sabbath (or *Sabaoth*).

*Yehuda ha-Levi*

Stars of the morning in perpetual dances  
To Thee they owe their bright resplendence;  
Sons of the heavens are ever on guard.  
They are thy ministers, counsellors, yea!

In this instance the scriptural basis has inspired a similar content; in the *Kantakion* of Romanos and its Hebrew parallel, the substance is Jewish; the form—isosyllabic meter, Byzantine.

The form of the *Kanon* is based upon the 9 *Odes* or Canticles of Scripture, namely Ex. 15; Deut. 32; 1 Sam. 2 (Hanna's song); Habak. 3; Isa. 26; Jon. 3; Dan. 3; Apoc. Dan. 3:44; and Luke 1 (*Magnificat*). Usually the second canticle, Deut. 32, is omitted because of its "sad and unpleasant nature," as Zonaras maintained (twelfth-thirteenth century). The parallel Hebrew form is the *Shib'ata*, an extensive hymn of seven parts. How theologically and poetically artfully the Old Testament elements are interwoven with New Testament ideas can be seen in this example by Georg Sikeliotēs, based on Ex. 15, The Song of Victory:

Miriam, the prophetess of old, took the lead among the Maidens,  
singing a new song who led the people through the Red Sea. But now



she takes the lead of all creatures created from the beginning, singing a song more new to him who led forth the pure maiden whose child is divine, from a barren and unfruitful womb.<sup>19</sup>

The poet has interwoven the motif of Ex. 15 with four other biblical ideas: "the new song" from the psalter, "creatures created from the beginning" from Paul and Genesis, the "pure maiden" from the gospels, and the "barren and unfruitful womb" from 1 Sam. 1 (Hanna).

Even external gestures of prayer were used by Byzantine theologians as well as by Jewish rabbis and Syrian doctors—and it is not easy to say who borrowed and who lent. Thus the Byzantine term of *Kathisma* and the solemn hymn called *Akathistos*, which designates the sitting or standing at attention during a prayer, have parallels in the Hebrew *Amida*, i.e., the main prayer which is to be recited while standing, and the Aramaic-Syrian *Motva*—which indicates a section of psalms to be chanted seated—and others such as the *umdatha* which should be recited standing. Such distinctions seem to be trivial, but the liturgist knows better; and a similar case might be made for the *ekphonesis*, the cantillation of all pericopes of Holy Writ pertaining to the Orthodox churches.

This is a rather intricate and thorny field worked by philologists and musicologists, and I shall not bother you with it unduly. This much is sure in that realm of controversy: (a) The system of ecphonetic accents—that is, signs to guide the inflexion of the public reader's voice—is common in the Eastern Mediterranean from the fourth century on; Byzantines, Armenians, Hebrews, Syrians, Copts, and Ethiopians have developed their own systems of such accents. (b) There has been a close give-and-take relation between Byzantine grammarians and Jewish scholars of Palestine during the eighth and ninth centuries; the Byzantines seem to have borrowed some of the external signs from the Jews, and they in turn took over many of the grammarians' names and functions. The Hebrew species of these accents is known as the famed *Masoretic accents* of Scripture, and in Byzantium the ecphonetic signs have an almost identical function.

Yet one group of these Byzantine accents was developed into a kind of exact musical notation that has been completely deciphered during our generation. The Masoretic Hebrew accents never grew into a true musical notation. Today we are, therefore, able to compare Byzantine tunes and Psalmodies with the oldest Hebrew traditions and many similarities have been established.

Under conditions like these which again and again indicate strong and frequent intercourse of Jews and Christians in Byzantium and certainly in Salonica, where the Jews had established wide reputations as silk-workers,

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<sup>19</sup>Transl. by Prof. Tillyard and Wellesz, in *History of Byzantine Music* (Oxford, 1961), p. 227.

we should ask if the human relations were friendly or at least tolerable; and here one must state that the Jew never had the status either of the foreigner or of the regular citizen. The Jew was treated badly and well at the same time; perhaps Jews might be compared with certain minorities in America, who are in principle equal before the law, but which *de facto* are not treated as equals. Yet some Jewish institutions were greatly respected. Their oath was held high, and their Sabbath and their Passover were even admired; polemics against the Christians who celebrate Sabbath and Passover with the Jews permeate the entire Greek patrology. An early example of that same ambivalence may be found in a newly-discovered Greek homily on Passover, written by Melito, Bishop of Sardes in the second century. In it, the author combines a characteristic admiration of the Jewish Passover with a vicious anti-Judaism in his christological interpretation.

Despite the vehement anti-Judaistic spirit in much of Byzantine literature and legislation, the day-to-day contact between Jews and Christians was incomparably more human than in the West. Nothing in the experience of Jews in Byzantium can match the massacres of Jews by the crusading mobs. Their march through Germany and Italy was marked by mass murder and pillage of the Jewish communities near or in their path. The religious excitement which their coming aroused had quite the contrary result: Byzantine Jewry did not suffer as German Jewry had done. And history has, unfortunately, repeated itself with similar results.

If we pass over the centuries, however, and consider the attitude of the Orthodox Church to Jews and Judaism in Russia, we can hardly describe it as ambivalent. From the moment when the Church was again represented by the Czar, the Jews experienced little but suffering and sorrow, and what were occasional anti-Semitic outbursts in the West became the chronic condition in Russia. One instance will suffice: the general expulsion decree of Czarina Katherine I of 1727, which was strongly favored by her religious advisers, notably by Feofan Prokopovitch, an elder of the Holy Synod.

The situation of the Orthodox Church in the Near East raises another set of issues and possibilities which certainly deserve future consideration.

In light of this complex interaction between the Greek Orthodox and the Jewish communities, I have often wondered: can the churches and the synagogues, can Christianity and Judaism, make an effort to forget and start a new leaf in their Book of Life? Could they do it and remain faithful to their mission? If they did, would the basis of coexistence be of value to all parties concerned? These are three weighty questions; yet they will be asked by more and more people, and they must be answered, positively or negatively, in public. We all know that history, our past, is more than just ballast which drags our feet. How then can we forget what we perhaps must forget in order to live together in peace? I am satisfied to let this question be answered by Goethe:

Who knows himself and others well  
to him it will be plain  
Orient and Occident  
All but one Domain.

Wer sich selbst und andere kennt  
Wird auch hier erkennen,  
Orient und Okzident  
Sind nicht mehr zu trennen.

#### Study and Discussion Questions

1. Give examples of the similarity of symbolism between Orthodox and Jewish architecture.
2. Indicate aspects of Orthodox liturgy that contain Jewish elements.
3. The author finds a close connection between the Jewish and Orthodox customs of pilgrimages to the graves of martyrs and the celebration of the anniversary of their death. What evidence does he present for such practices in Judaism?
4. According to the author, what fundamental conflict ruined the chances of a peaceful symbiosis between Orthodox Christians and Jews? Do you agree that this conflict was as important as the author makes it out to be? Discuss.
5. Discuss in what way the iconoclast controversy might have been responsible for anti-Semitic attitudes in the Church.
6. "One may describe the attitude of the Orthodox toward the Jews as ambivalent." Does the author make this statement about all periods of Orthodox-Jewish history? If not, of what periods might it be truly said? May it be said of the contemporary period?

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*Women Priests: Yes or No?* By Emily C. Hewitt and Suzanne R. Hiatt. New York: The Seabury Press, 1973. Pp. 128. \$2.95. Paper.

*Women Priests: Yes or No?* is written by two Episcopalian women. Both of these women teach in seminaries and both are ordained to the diaconate in the Episcopal Church. The authors use a wide range of idiom in dealing with the subject of women's ordination to the priesthood—sociology, psychology, church history, scriptural study, theology. They seem comfortable with and authoritative in each of these. And one does not have to read too many pages before it is clear that their own answer to the question in the title is an enthusiastic and firm "Yes!"

The book begins with a summary of the history of attempts to deal with the issue of "the 'proper place' of women" in the life and ministry of the Anglican communion. The events presented here with a kind of clarity are all too familiar in contemporary experience: a world in ferment; human confusion, ambivalence and impotence in the face of decisions; "studies" by committees whose only conclusion is that more study is needed, etc. The authors communicate a sense of impatience and "Let's get on with it!"

The format of the remainder of the book is to present a catalogue of the usual positions and arguments against the ordination of women. This material falls into roughly three categories.

The first of these categories may be described as "the usually unexpressed but very real doubts people may feel about women priests."

There are dimensions of the feelings that people have about the priesthood that cause both men and women to see it as different from other vocations. The authors see these feelings as based, at least partially, on a desire to keep "women" and "mystery" separated.

Woman as a threat to men or what Karen Horney has called "men's secret dread of women," is described in order to make the point "that man is ambivalent toward woman." The psychoanalytic concept of mother's love coupled with mother's rejection (in the weaning process) is presented to point to the unconscious hostility to woman as mother with which we are all, men and women, saddled. The authors go on to show how this

hostility is exaggerated by the special challenge that men face, viz, "the widely discussed fragility of the male ego and how to live with it."

Finally, what priests do connotes femininity in our culture. There is a real threat that "once women start wearing that costume and doing his work," doubts and questions about "the 'manliness' of priestly work may arise." The conclusion drawn from this socio-psychological/anthropological study is that being "fearful of women at a deep level of his being" man "has constructed an elaborate system of defenses to keep her at bay." So: "As Christians we are bound to ask seriously whether women's 'difference' is part of God's revelation and the divine order, or whether it is an accommodation to male ambivalence. If it is the former, Christians should deplore the changing role of women in society and reject any thought of women clergy. If it is the latter, Christians should be in the forefront of the people working to shape a new life for both women and men based on their common humanity."

This paragraph, it seems to me, is a witness to the authors' sincere Christian fervor, but also to their bias and to the limitations of their thinking. Somehow, they see the very real and extremely complex human issue of the relationship of men and women from the perspective of the *failure of men*, i.e., their ambivalence toward women. Given this ambivalence, can it and the human conditions which precipitate it in individual men be, simply, removed? Is it man alone who has constructed the elaborate system of defenses to keep women at bay, or is it really a misguided but joint effort to keep each other at bay? If women are free to compete with men in every realm except one . . . and that one in conjunction with a profound mystery . . . are not men, too, free to compete with women in every realm except one?

The insights dealt with in this section, I feel, sound biased for the same reasons that insights of the nineteenth century about the psychology of women sound biased. The nineteenth century statements about female psychology and the present statement about male psychology both focus on traits that are a result of male-female inter-dynamics. When the traits of one gender are isolated from the dynamic they are perceived as static and a moral overtone accompanies the perception. This kind of limited perception and value investment limits freedom

in searching out *really new, creative* alternatives.

The alternatives offered in the paragraph quoted above are polarized and limited. Yes, Christians should be in the forefront of the people working to shape a new life for both women and men based on their common humanity; and yes, God's revelation and the divine order include a dimorphic human creation . . . male and female God created them.

A second group of arguments are theological and based on Scripture and church tradition. The argument of woman's "subordination" to man based on both Old Testament and New Testament scriptures is studied.

The authors analyze parts of St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians to show how he has conflated the two creation accounts in Genesis to state that man is "in the image and glory of God," while "woman is the glory of man." But is Paul concluding here that man is in the image of God while woman is not, or is the statement prompted by his recognition of the complexity of the male-female dynamic?

Paul's thought, as expressed in the Epistles, outlines two very different types of man-woman relationships. In the one relation, under the law, "woman should be subordinate." In the other, in Christ, "there is neither male nor female." "These two approaches existed in tension in St. Paul's thought and are both recorded in Scripture. The problem for the contemporary reader is deciding which of the two approaches best embodies the central message of the Gospel, in order to find a guideline for man-woman relationship today." Again, it seems that the authors are arbitrarily limiting their options. Perhaps it would be more productive to understand the meaning of the tension. The question here is not "which of the two approaches embodies the central message of the Gospel"—can that be questioned? Rather the question is: "How *best* do we move toward the embodiment of the central message of the Gospel in our everyday life?" Can this be achieved merely by the interchangeability of roles? Or are we faced with a much more complex challenge in the relationship of the sexes? Perhaps it is this complexity that causes the curious polarity—the tensions between the everyday practical rules and the Gospel message—in St. Paul's writings.

The section on "anatomy and ministry" includes several fine insights. I especially value the following:

In his personal dealings with women, Jesus never gave special directions for their behavior as women; he treated them always as equals of men. In fact, if his attitude towards woman's role can be drawn from the Gospel reports, we would have to assert that he rejected a stereotyped view of woman as homemaker and childbearer. In Luke 10:41-43, the Lord gently rebukes Martha for her preoccupation with household duties; he would rather she acted as did Mary, who had chosen to listen to Jesus' teachings. On another occasion, he rejects the view that Mary his mother could be reduced to her reproductive functions. A woman in a crowd addressed Jesus saying, "Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that you sucked!" To which Jesus replies, "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it!" (Luke 11:27-28). According to Jesus, Mary's blessedness consisted not in maternity as such, but in her obedience to the will of God.

One recent writer quoted in this context suggests that woman is excluded from the *Levitical* priesthood of Israel because: "Her true and special *priesthood* was to bring into the world sons who would perpetuate the chosen people until the coming of the Messiah." Thus there is a distinction between the *Levitic* priesthood, that excluded women, and the *Christic* priesthood, which should be open to women.

Although the role of woman in the Old Testament accounts is never considered as a "priesthood," woman in the New Testament is included in the ranks of the *Christic* priesthood. However, the authors and the writer to whom they refer are identifying the "Christic priesthood" with "ordained ministry." This is a serious mistake, for the "Christic priesthood" is the "priesthood of all believers"—men and women baptized in the Death and Resurrection of Christ and sealed with the Holy Spirit. It is within this royal priesthood of all believers that each Christian man or woman manifests his/her special gift.

A final section [of arguments] looks at the "ramifications the priestly ordination of women might have ecumenically." The position of the Anglican Church in this respect is as a "bridge" between Protestant denominations that already ordain women *ministers*, and Catholic and Orthodox, for whom the answer to the question "Women Priests Yes or No?" is "No."



The last chapter, called “Yes, But . . .” is a chronicle of all too human attempts to avoid the radical dimensions of this important issue:

“The Oversupply of Clergy”

“There are Aspects of Priesthood Women Can’t Handle”

“When Women Enter a Profession, Men Leave It”

“The Women of the Church Don’t Want Women Priests”

“Women in the Priesthood Would Downgrade the **Role** of Mary.”

This book *is* an important contribution to an important issue. The material it presents needs to be read, and studied. The authors say: “Christians are free to direct their own lives, but they are also obligated to try to understand their own feelings and to judge them in the light of Christ’s freeing work.” Paradoxically, we must be free, too, to say “No.”

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